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THE
MODERN PART
OF AN
Universal History,

FROM THE
Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from
ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANCIENT PART,

V O L. XXI.



L O N D O N,

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C O N T E N T S

OF THE

TWENTY-FIRST VOLUME.

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to that of Lewis the Fifteenth.

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S E C T. X. *Continued.*

*The Reigns of Francis I. Henry II. Francis II. Charles
IX. and Henry III. in whom the Branch of Valois
was entirely extinguished.*

H E N R Y III.

HENRY III. at the time of his accession, was in the twenty-third year of his age. He received the news of it at Cracow in a fortnight, and, from that moment, resolved to make his escape; however, he concealed his design with great address, and prevented the Poles from taking those violent measures which they first intended, of seizing all the French, and putting them to death without mercy, in case the king should abandon them. He quitted the court, however, in the night, within a week after he had the news; and was followed by Bellievre, the French minister, with such expedition, that he joined him in the emperor's territories, where he was

Henry III. makes his escape from Poland, and returns through Germany and Italy into France.

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overtaken by the lord high chamberlain, to whom he made his excuses. presented him a diamond ring of great value, and entreated him to be kind to the French he had left behind in Poland^a. He was extremely well received by the emperor Maximilian II. with whom he staid a week at Vienna, and his Imperial majesty behaved towards him in a manner not very common amongst princes: he pointed out to him the errors committed in the reigns of his father and brothers, advised him to regain the confidence of his subjects, to grant the Protestants reasonable terms, and to observe them punctually. He gave him a good escort, and caused him to be accompanied by his two sons into the territories of Venice^b. He was received there with all possible marks of respect; the republic gave him the same advice, and he was so exceedingly pleased with his entertainment, that he ever after called the time he spent there the nine enchanted days^c. He proceeded from thence to Turin, where he was exceedingly caressed by the duke and duchess of Savoy; but he paid a little too dear for this entertainment, since he was persuaded to part with Pignerol, and two or three other places which he held in Piedmont. There he conferred with marshal Damville, who seemed to stand high in his favour; but, upon the coming of some of the emissaries of the queen-mother, he intended to seize him, if the duke of Savoy, upon whose faith he came, had not sent him away with a strong escort. The marshal, however, was so much frightened, that, as he returned into Languedoc, he made a vow that he would never see the king more, except in a picture. About the latter end of August he set out for Lyons, accompanied, as he had been from Venice, by the duke of Savoy, and escorted by a small army, composed of his troops, a circumstance of a very new and extraordinary nature, that a French monarch should stand in need of the protection of the duke of Savoy, in order to pass with safety through part of his own kingdom; and yet, in spite of this precaution, the Protestants, who were in arms, carried off a part of his baggage, a circumstance which alarmed and incensed him exceedingly. On the 6th of September he arrived safely in the above mentioned city, having been met at a considerable distance by the duke of Alençon and the king of Navarre, and when he drew near the place, by the queen-mother^d.

^a Jacobi Thuan. P. Dan.
Thuan. P. Dan.

^b Dupleix. Mez.

^c Jacobi
Dup.

^d Journ. du Regne du Roy Henry III.

Henry, at his first return to France, seemed inclined to mind his own affairs, and to live and reign like a king. He received the duke of Alençon and the king of Navarre but very coldly, yet heard their excuses and apologies civilly, and at length gave them their liberty. He gave the bâton to the famous Montluc, for the service he had rendered his predecessors, for his age and infirmities disabled him from doing much more^e. The king made a regular partition of his time, and took every method to make the world believe, that he intended to be a man of business. He was still amorous of the princess of Condé, and spoke to the queen-mother of the means of obtaining a divorce; but, while he flattered himself with these notions, the princess died suddenly at Paris, as the duchess of Savoy had done a little before at Turin^f. In spite of all the good advice he had received at Vienna and Venice, the king positively determined to continue the war against the Hugonots, and to continue it with vigour. Marshal Damville, upon this determination threw off the mask, assembled the states of Languedoc, and informed the world that he had put himself at the head of a confederacy, for restoring vigour to the laws, tranquility to the state, and driving foreigners out of the court and the kingdom. The king went from Lyons to Avignon, where he first gave a specimen of that strange temper which rendered him contemptible and ridiculous; for, not content with assisting at the solemn processions, he put himself at the head of a band of penitents, and the complaisance of the cardinal of Lorrain, who made one of the number, cost him his life; some say by the cold he got by marching at midnight with his legs half bare, though others affirm that he was poisoned: he was certainly a very great man, admired and idolized by the Catholics, abhorred and dreaded by the Hugonots. The queen-mother, according to her custom, spoke of him sometimes as if he had united the two different characters of saint and statesman; at others as the curse of France, and the real author of so many years troubles^g; in which, without doubt, she had as large a share as the cardinal.

Affects the character of a wise and great prince.

A.D. 1574.

In a very short time, the king broke through all his good resolutions. He spent the greatest part of his time with his young favourites, to whom his subjects gave the

^e Matthieu Histoire de France. Commentaires de Montluc.
^f Jacobi Thuan. Dupleix. Memoires pour l'Histoire de France, tom. i. p. 44.
^g Serres. Mez.

A conspiracy against the life of the king, which he narrowly escapes.

ignominious name of minions; and with the ladies, by whose charms and address the queen-mother thought to govern him, as she had others, who managed the duke of Alençon and the king of Navarre in the same manner^b. The time for his coronation being fixed, he was surprised on the road with a discovery which he little expected. Forvagues, one of his brother's favourites, was introduced to him in the night, in the disguise of a peasant, and throwing himself at his feet, declared there was a conspiracy against his life. Henry was amazed, but his mother made light of it. However, he sent one of his pages, whose name was Barat, properly instructed, to the place of rendezvous of the conspirators, who at his return, reported that no less than two hundred determined men were embarked in this designⁱ. The king sent for the duke of Alençon, and threatened him, but on his falling upon his knees, and confessing all, he was pardoned. Those who embarked in this bloody attempt quitted the kingdom in a body^k. On the 13th of February the king was crowned at Rheims, by the cardinal of Guise, but in such confusion, that the Te Deum was forgot. He complained, when the crown was set upon his head, that it hurt him, and it had like to have fallen. Next day he espoused Louisa, daughter to the count de Vaudemont, of the house of Lorraine^l. The war with the Protestants went on with indifferent success; but Montbron, who had surprised the king's baggage, being made prisoner in an action, lost his head by the sentence of the parliament of Grenoble. His party replaced him by the famous monsieur de Lesdiguières. In consequence of a negociation that had been set on foot, the confederates, by their deputies, presented a remonstrance, consisting of ninety-two articles, in which they demanded an assembly of the states; a reduction of the taxes to what they were in the reign of Lewis XII. the punishment of atheists, blasphemers, and magicians; and the total suppression of those infamous debauches, which could not fail to bring the heavy judgments of God upon the nation. The king was exceedingly provoked, and dismissed the deputies with a rough answer^m. The new method was practised to quiet marshal Damville, that is, he was poisoned, but had the good

ⁱ Le Laboureur dans la Continuation des Memoires de Castelnau.

^j Jacobi Thuan. Dupleix.

^k Serres. Mez.

P. Dan.

^l Journal du Regne du Roy Henry III. Matth. Histoire de France.

^m Memoires de Brant.

fortune to recover. However, on the rumour of his death, the queen-mother extorted an order for Souvrai, one of the king's favourites, to dispatch the marshals Montmorency and Cossé. Souvrai was the only man of probity the king had about him. He made no scruple of accepting the order, that he might delay the execution: as soon as it was known that Damville was alive, the queen-mother caused it to be superceded; and Souvrai persuaded the king that the only way to make the marshals forget what was past, was to set them at liberty, an advice which was complied with accordinglyⁿ. In the month of August, the king was seized with a dreadful pain in the head, which produced an ulcer in his ear; he made no doubt but that he was poisoned, and it was upon this occasion that he sent for the king of Navarre into his bed-chamber, conjured him to dispatch that villain, meaning his brother, and thereby secure the crown to himself. Henry of Navarre consoled him in the most tender manner, but at the same time told him, he would not purchase all the crowns upon earth by so detestable an action^o. The king recovered not long after; but the duke of Alençon found his situation so uneasy, that, upon the 15th of September, deceiving those who were appointed to keep their eyes on him, he retired to Dreux, where he was presently surrounded by many of the nobility. A body of Germans entered the kingdom soon after, who were attacked and defeated by the duke of Guise, who, in this battle, received a wound in the face, from whence he had the surname of Balafre^p. The queen-mother, notwithstanding this success, was very desirous of bringing about a peace, in which she had the assistance of marshal Montmorency; but the Protestants were so suspicious of her, and even of the duke of Alençon, that all she could obtain was a truce for six months; and even this upon hard terms, the king agreeing to pay a fresh body of German troops, whom the prince of Condé had hired, allowing the duke of Alençon guards, and promising to disband his own troops. The following six places were given as cautionary towns to the Protestants, Angoulême, Niort, Saumur, Bourges, La Charité, and Mésieres; but because the governors of Angoulême and Bourges absolutely refused to evacuate those places, the confederates were content with St. John de Angeli and Cognac. This truce, negotiated by the

ⁿ Popelinière.^o Matt. Histoire de France. P. Daniel.
^p Mémoires pour l'Histoire de France. Jacobi Thuan.

A D. 1575. queen-mother in person, was proclaimed on the 23d of December^p.

*The war
ended by a
peace with
the Pro-
testants.*

From the time the duke of Alençon had quitted the court, the king, and even the queen-mother, was firmly persuaded that the king of Navarre had no connections with him, and were only in pain about the prince of Condé, who refused to accept the truce. In the beginning of the month of February they had the mortification to find themselves mistaken; the king of Navarre, under the pretence of hunting, withdrew, and took his precautions so well, that he arrived safely in his government of Guienne, where he presently declared that he had been forced to abjure his religion, and that, in his heart, he never had any other than the reformed, in which he was brought up^q. This step alarmed the court exceedingly; more especially when they understood that the prince of Condé had joined the Germans, and that the duke of Alençon, having put himself at the head of that army, found it to consist of thirty-five thousand men. The duke of Mayenne, in the room of his brother the duke of Guise, who was not yet recovered, commanded that of the crown, which consisted but of eighteen thousand men. The queen-mother, according to her old system, negociated on all sides, and, at length, with the help of the marshal de Montmorency, concluded a peace about the middle of May, the terms of which were digested into the famous edict of pacification, which contained of no less than sixty-three articles^r. By these, liberty of conscience, and the public exercise of their religion, were granted to the reformed, without any other restriction than that they should not preach within two leagues of Paris, or any other place where the court was: party-chambers were erected in every parliament, to consist of equal numbers of Catholics and Protestants, before whom all suits were to be tried; the judgments against the admiral, and, in general, all who had fallen by the sword of war or of justice, were reversed; eight cautionary places were given to the Protestants; and, as in general, so in particular, every body was contented to the full of his demands, except the king of Navarre. This edict, that seemed to promise at least a temporary calm, produced greater mischiefs than hitherto had fallen upon France.

^p J. de Serres, Dupleix.
Jacobi Thuani.

^q Matth. Histoire de France.
^r Memoires du Duc de Nevers, D'Avila,
D'Aubigne, Memoires de la Reine Marguerite, Dupleix.

The Guises took this opportunity to introduce a measure that had been long before concerted in favour of his father, by his uncle the cardinal of Lorraine, and this was the famous Catholic league, which was first signed by Jaques d'Humieres, in Picardy, soon after by the count de Lude, governor of Poitou, and, in a very short space of time, by all the angry Catholics in the kingdom^s. The king was mentioned with respect, but he could not help seeing that it struck at the very root of his authority; for as his Protestant subjects had already their chiefs, so the Catholics were, for the future, to depend upon the chief of the league; and were, by the very words of it, to execute whatever he commanded, for the good of the cause, against any, without exception of persons. The king, to avoid the effects of this clause, by the advice of his council, declared himself head of the league, notwithstanding it derogated from what he had done, and was directly calculated to annul the edict of pacification^t. Besides, the pope and the king of Spain were its protectors, so that nothing could be more unworthy of him, as a monarch, than the part he was obliged to take. To speak the truth, he was already but one king amongst many, and some of them pretty considerable; his brother had the countries of Anjou, Tourain, and Berri, with an additional pension of one hundred thousand crowns. The prince of Condé was to have his government of Picardy, and the strong fortress of Peronne; till he was put in possession of this he seized Brouage, and remained in arms. The king of Navarre kept his own territories in Guienne. Marshal Damville acted as sovereign in Languedoc; and what grated the French most of all, prince Casimir was to have Chateau Thierry erected into a principality, a company of one hundred men at arms, a numerous body of German cavalry, which he was to furnish; a pension of twelve thousand crowns, besides seven hundred thousand in ready money; and till all this could be given him, he lived at free quarters in the bishoprick of Langres, where he ravaged the country without mercy^u. In the beginning of November the states met at Blois, where the king made them a very good speech, in which lay his talent. Before the close of the year they cancelled the edict of pacification, and sent their deputies to the king

*Beginning
of the
league by
the Guisan
faction.*

A D. 1576.

^s De Laboureur dans la Continuation des Memoires de Castelnau, Jac. Thuan. Mez. P. Daniel.

^t Matth. Journal de Bo-

^u Jacob. Thuan. Matth. P. Daniel.

The History of France.

of Navarre, the prince of Condé, and marshal Damville, to invite them to the assembly, but without effect; as for the duke of Anjou, he was reconciled to the court already, and it was strongly suspected did nothing but by his mother's advice, all the time he seemed to be against it ^w.

*The king
declares for
the league,
and begins
a new
war.*

The year opened with the absolute declaration of the states against any toleration or indulgence to the Protestants, the king's avowing himself the head of the Holy League, sending it into the provinces, with his recommendation, to be subscribed, and, at the same time, renewing the war against the Hugonots, all with a view of procuring money, which, at their close, the states positively refused to grant. The duke of Anjou, at the head of the army, having under him the duke of Guise and the duke of Aumale, took some places, and particularly La Charité, and, upon the whole, the Catholics had the advantage in most parts of the kingdom. This was chiefly owing to the misunderstanding that subsisted amongst the chiefs of the Protestants. The people of Rochelle were jealous of the prince of Condé; the king of Navarre did not act with vigour; marshal Damville laboured to keep his own principality, and was even suspected of some understanding with the court, which suspicion put the Protestants upon seizing Montpellier and some other places in his government. Very happily for them, the like feuds ran as high, or higher, at court, where the king was excessively jealous of the duke of Anjou, and, at the same time, more afraid of the duke of Guise ^x. The duke of Montpensier, more than half a malecontent, took this opportunity to propose a peace, which was preceded by a truce, in the month of September. At length it was concluded in the succeeding month, and signed by the king at Poitiers, and by the king of Navarre at Bergerac ^y. By this treaty the edict of pacification was again revived, with some restrictions, at which the warmer Hugonots were highly provoked; but the prince of Condé, who understood their affairs and his own situation better, was so extremely pleased with it, that he caused it to be proclaimed by torch-light at St. John de Angeli, for fear of any accident that might happen by deferring it till next morning ^z. All this time the luxury of the court continued, and, if possible, increased: of which it may not be amiss to give two instances; the first was that of the Italian co-

^w Journal de Bodin.
^y Jacobi Thuani.

^x Popeliniere. Dupleix, Mezeray.
^z Matth.

medians^a, who, till then, had never been in France. Their buffooneries were mixed with such indecencies, that, notwithstanding they produced the king's letters patent, the parliament forbade them to exhibit their performances under severe penalties; but the king, though otherwise a very mutable prince, was so delighted with them, that he, by repeated letters of jussion, forced the parliament to give way. The other, the behaviour of monsieur Villequier, one of Henry's favourites, who finding, by a letter of his wife's, that she was with child by another man, who had poisoned his wife, and solicited her to poison him, stabbed her and her maid at her toilet, in the king's palace, and in a room not far from the chamber of Henry; notwithstanding which outrage he had his pardon as soon as he asked it; which occasioned a report that, though free enough of her favours to others, she had refused them to the king.

A.D. 1577.

Animosity still subsisted between the Papists and the Protestants, and frequent enterprizes were executed by each party, notwithstanding the peace. The disturbances at court rose higher than ever; the bravoës of the duke of Guise were continually quarrelling with, and sometimes killing the king's minions, whose murder, however, he durst not revenge^b. The duke of Anjou had his favourites likewise, in whose disputes with the minions he took such a share, that at length he retired again from court, a step which raised an apprehension of fresh disturbances. The queen-mother interposed, and, to save France, she directed her views to England and Flanders, though he did not behave to her either with the tenderness of a son, or the respect due to her as a queen^c. She made afterwards a tour to Nerac, where the king of Navarre kept his court, under colour of carrying her daughter back to her husband, but, in reality, with an intention to gain that prince if possible, or at least to adjust disputes, so as to prevent a new war^d. With this view she carried with her some of her syrens, and continued there many months; but it is reported that the queen of Navarre made such an impression on the heart of a grave magistrate, who had the ear of her mother, that turned the stream of advantage in favour of the king her husband. The marshal de Bellegarde had seized the marquisate of Saluces, and held it in

The queen-mother negotiates with her son and son-in-law in order to prevent a new war.

^a Journal du Regne du Roy Henry III. p. 24.

^b P. Dan.

^c Thuan. Dupl.

^d Memoires de la Reine Marguerite, D^e Aubigny.

spite of the court, being supported by the duke of Savoy^e and the king of Spain; and the queen-mother knew no better way to gain him, than by confirming him in the government which he had usurped. In the absence of his mother the king continued his indolent luxurious course of life. Studying nothing so much as how to pillage his people, he sent at once twenty-two edicts, *burdeaux*, that is, according to our manner of speaking, money bills, to his senate, of which the parliament thought fit to register only two; but the king forced them afterwards to give their sanction to some of the rest that were the least oppressive. The chancellor Birague being honoured with a cap from Rome, the king gave the seals to Chiverny, who was the creature of his predecessor. As miserable as France was at this time, the Low Countries were still more so, having no less than four or five princes who aspired to the government, each at the head of armies; and, to increase those miseries, the Catholics called in the duke of Anjou, who, as it might be expected from his turbulent temper, accepted their invitation, and thereby augmented that confusion he came to suppress^t.

A.D. 1578.

*The court
again re-
joices on
war.*

On the first day of the new year the king executed a design which he had long resolved, and was the most worthy of his whole reign. The order of St. Michael had been long declining in credit, and was at length fallen so low, that the ensigns of it were called, in derision, collars for all beasts. Without suppressing this the king erected that of the Holy Ghost^s, limiting the number to one hundred, and uniting the mastership in perpetuity to the crown of France. His view was to attach a considerable number of the nobility closely to his person, to detach some of those who had entered into the league, it being provided, by the institution of the order, that no knight should accept salary, pension, or honour, from any other prince than the king; and lastly, to draw back some of the Hugonot nobility to the old religion, none but Catholics being capable of this new order. In the mean time, through the address of the queen of Navarre, not out of love either to her husband or his religion, but out of hatred to the king her brother, the conferences at Ne-

^e Guichenon Hist. de la Maison de Savoye, Memoires de Brant.
^t Journal du Regne du Roy Henry III. Strada de Bello Belgico.
^s Jacob. Thuan. Le Laboureur dans la Continuation de Memoires de Castelnau, Journal du Regne du Roy Henry III. P. Dan.

rac ended entirely to the advantage of the Protestants, towards the close of the month of February, three new places being granted them in Guienne; which they were to hold till the month of August, and eleven in Languedoc, which they were to retain till the month of October^b. The queen-mother continued her tour into the remoter provinces, having a particular desire to confer with marshal Bellegarde, who was closely united with Lesdiguières and the duke of Savoy, and, as it was suspected, with the king of Spain. The marshal made some difficulty of passing the mountains; but the queen having prevailed upon the duke of Savoy to accompany him, he could not refuse. She received his excuses very graciously, promised him all that he could desire, and sent him away perfectly satisfied; but some thought the queen's earnestness about this interview was sufficiently explained by his death, which happened six days after his return into his government, which, however, was given to his son; and, because he was a youth, Negarette de la Valette, afterwards duke of Epèrnon, was appointed to assist him. She likewise cajoled the marshal Damville, known henceforward by the title of Montmorency, his elder brother dying, not without suspicion of poison, as in these times great men seldom died a natural death. At her return to the court the queen found a new set of favourites, but the king continued in his old disposition. The duke of Anjou passed the seas in August, to pay his addresses to queen Elizabeth, whom his minister, monsieur Sinière, had strongly prepossessed in his favour, in which he stood very high himself, by means of some bold truths he had told her of some of her ministersⁱ. The queen treated the duke in such a manner, that she sent him thoroughly persuaded the possession of the Low Countries would procure him her person and her crown. The queen-mother, after having taken so much pains to make peace, towards the close of the year, relapsed into a desire of making war; at least so it seemed to all France, by marshal Montmorency's demanding, in a peremptory strain, from the king of Navarre, cautionary towns, which the king, with equal firmness, refused to deliver. He had already taken his measures with the prince of Condé and Lesdiguières; the former, at the close of November, surprised La Fère in Picardy, and im-

A.D 1579

^b Memoires de la Reine Marguerite, Dupleix, Mez. ⁱ Jacob. Thuan. Dupl. Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth.

mediately

*The king of
Navarre
surprises
Cahors.*

mediately after went in person into Germany, to negotiate a supply of troops from the Protestant princes *.

In the last war the Protestants thought the king of Navarre inactive; from the late treaty of Nerac they began to have a good opinion of his head; but having seen little or nothing of his conduct as a soldier, they concluded that he had been too hasty in having again recourse to arms. They had some colour for this opinion, for, out of sixty places, in which the king, the prince of Condé, and Lesdiguières, had intelligence, they were not able to surprise above three, and the Hugonots, judging by the events, censured a conduct which they did not comprehend. The king of Navarre was extremely hurt by the manifest tokens of coldness he received, which bordered nearly upon contempt. He proposed in his council of war the surprising Cahors, the capital of Quercy, a place strongly situated, well fortified, with a numerous garrison, commanded by Verins, esteemed one of the ablest as well as one of the bravest officers in France. His council unanimously dissuaded him from attempting a thing which, for the reasons they assigned, seemed to be impossible. He answered calmly, that, supported by men so brave as he knew them to be, there was nothing impossible. It happened, the night he made his attack, there was a most dreadful storm. He forced the gate of the bridge next the country by a petard, the first time that expedient had been practised in France, and, having cut in pieces the guard on the bridge, forced the gate of the city in the same manner, the thunder hindering the inhabitants from distinguishing the report of the petard^l. Verins, however, made an obstinate defence, disputing the ground inch by inch; so that it was five whole days before he was beat out of the place, the king being at the head of the foot who forced the last and strongest entrenchment in person^m. This event had a great effect; it gained Henry of Navarre a place of very great consequence, and it established his character with respect to firmness and conduct; but it was followed by a great disappointment; he had quarrelled with the admiral Villars, who was the king's lieutenant in Guienne, and the queen-mother, at his own request, had bestowed that post on marshal Biron, who was the king's friend; but he soon gave him to understand, that he had no notion of

* Serres, P. Dan.
Thuani, Dupl. P. Dan.

^l D'Aubigny, Mez.

^m Jacobi.

friendship when it came in competition with his duty, so that he was able to make no progress on that side ^a.

In the mean time the crown army, commanded by marshal Matignon, laid siege to La Fere, where the army was, in every respect, so well accommodated, that it was styled the velvet siege. It was gallantly defended for six weeks, and surrendered, at the end of August, upon honourable terms. Some other actions passed of little importance; but the deputies from the states of the Low Countries having made an offer of their government to the duke of Anjou, he offered the king his brother his mediation for terminating the civil war, which the king, who was now reconciled to him, readily accepted; and promised, in case he succeeded, to give him all the assistance possible, as well in regard to his marriage as his establishment. The duke had a conference on this subject with the king of Navarre, at the castle of Flex, on the Dordogne, in Perigord; where, after consulting the deputies of the Protestants, the terms proposed by the king were esteemed so moderate, that the treaty was very quickly concluded, by which the edict of Poitiers, as explained by the articles at Nerac, was confirmed, and the cautionary towns were left in the hands of the Protestants for six years ^o. The prince of Condé vehemently opposed this peace, on account of a treaty which he had made with the elector Palatine, in order to have brought a new army of Germans into the kingdom, to whom he had promised cautionary towns, till they should be paid the vast sums that he had offered them. The Protestants could by no means digest the putting any of their strong places into the hands of foreigners; on the other hand, the preventing this irruption was the chief motive that determined the king to peace: so that both parties having an equal dislike to this measure, the king of Navarre, with the full consent of the Hugonot deputies, ratified the peace towards the close of November, as the king likewise did a month afterwards, and caused it to be also ratified by the parliament of Paris ^p. This placed the king of Navarre in a more conspicuous light than ever; and at the same time his consort merited no less applause, since it was by her skill and intrigues that her brother's affairs in the Low Countries had been brought into so good a condition. This, however, would in all probability never have happened, if Don John of Austria's

The court and the Hugonots seem alike disposed to peace.

A.D. 1580: —————

^a D'Aubigny, Mez. Le Gend.
^p Duplex, Mez.

• Strada, P. Daniel.

death had not fallen out so opportunely for their designs, which death, though imputed by many to poison, was not laid to their charge.

The duke of Anjou enters the Low Countries, and raises the siege of Cambray.

Immediately after the conclusion of the peace, the monarch of Navarre acquainted the king, that though in appearance he was compelled by necessity to make it, yet, in reality, it was otherwise, since the king of Spain had offered him money and troops sufficient to conquer Guienne, and importuned him to accept them still. He also assured the court that he would take no share in the rash enterprize of the prince of Condé, who still persisted in refusing the peace; and he kept his promise so punctually, that the duke of Mayenne easily obliged Lesdiguières, and the rest of the malecontents, to accept the pacification. This behaviour was equally pleasing to the king and to the duke of Anjou, who now thought themselves sure of carrying their point in England, insomuch that a most splendid embassy, at the head of which was the prince dauphin of Auvergne, son to the duke of Montpensier, was sent into England to demand the queen in marriage for the duke of Anjou. They had a public audience in April with all possible marks of grace and favour. The two great points of the marriage and the league seemed to be absolutely settled, in consequence of which the warm Protestants in England declaimed most vehemently against this scheme for bringing back popery, while in France the friends of the league insinuated, that both the treaty and the marriage were proofs that the king and his brother both had too great an inclination to heresy, notwithstanding the continual efforts made by the former of these princes, proved that he was not only a zealous Catholic, but a downright bigot. The prince of Parma, who succeeded Don John of Austria in the government of the Low Countries for the crown of Spain, laid siege to Cambray, to the relief of which the duke of Anjou marched with a superior army, and having disengaged the place about the middle of August, removed the Spanish governor, who had sacrificed every thing for his service, and gave the command to John de Balagny, the son of Montluc bishop of Valence; a step which occasioned much discontent; so that, finding his enterprize become daily more and

^a Avant propos de la Chronologie Novennaire de Victor Cayet.

^r Relation de l'Ambassade du Prince Dauphin dans les Memoires du Duc de Nevers, tom. i.

^s Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth.

^t Mez. P. Daniel.

more difficult, he resolved to pass over into England, in order to remove, by his presence, the obstacles raised to the alliance between the two crowns against Spain, which the king, his brother, insisted should be preceded by the marriage; whereas queen Elizabeth alleged the necessity of the treaty's being signed to satisfy her people on the conclusion of the marriage.

In the month of November the duke arrived at the English court, where he was received with all imaginable testimonies of affection and esteem^u. The French historians say, that the queen went so far as to sign a contract of marriage with him, and to receive his, at the same time that she presented him with a ring, assuring him, that from this time she should consider herself as espoused. The English writers mention the ring^w, but are silent as to the contract; however, it is on all hands agreed, that she presently revoked all she had done, but without breaking off the treaty of marriage, which she pretended only to defer. It may, however, be very justly suspected, that the whole of this was a contrivance, to which very few, if any, were privy. Her affairs were then in a very critical situation; she knew very well the temper and genius of those with whom she treated; she knew it was her interest to over-reach them; and she believed that, all things considered, they would not be very willing, perhaps not very able, to resent it, when they found themselves over-reached. If the duke of Anjou was disappointed in this journey in the essential point, he found, at least, his account in it, from many collateral circumstances. The very reputation of it did him great credit. The queen gave it all the countenance in the Low Countries that he could desire; she furnished him with some troops; she supplied him at once with one hundred thousand crowns; she made a shew of detaining him at her court against his will, that his returning unmarried might be no prejudice to his affairs; she made him great presents, and she caused him to be honourably accompanied, even by some of the first nobility of her kingdom^x. Bodin, chancellor to the duke, took the liberty of telling her one day, while his master remained at her court, that he was writing the characters of the most eminent persons of the age, and was desirous to know how he should do justice to her's: "In this particular, Mr. Bodin, replied she frankly, do

His journey to England, and the mysterious conduct of queen Elizabeth, in the affair of her marriage.

D.A. 1581

^u Memoires du Duc de Nevers. Camd. Annals of Q. Elizabeth.
^w Strype's Annals. ^x Holinhead.

you know what the world will think of your memoirs, if you attempt to give any account of this business in them? trust me, they will be of opinion that the materials were communicated by a liar, and that they were put together by a fool^y." This is a very singular circumstance, and we leave the reader to make his own reflections. The most penetrating of the French historians suspect, that the queen had chiefly in view the preventing the duke of Anjou from espousing a daughter of Spain, a match which would have been by no means acceptable, either to her or to the prince of Orange, who still suspected the influence of Spanish counsels at the French court.

*Affairs go
but indiffer-
ently in the
Low Coun-
tries.*

At the return of the duke of Anjou into the Low Countries, the highest honours were paid him, as well out of respect to the queen of England, as of his own high birth, and the great service he had rendered the states^z. To keep him steady in his enterprize, he was, in the month of March, solemnly installed at Antwerp marquis of the holy Roman empire, and duke of Brabant^a. Yet this solemnity, appointed to do him honour, occasioned his receiving an open affront. The prince of Orange being wounded in the face by Jareguay, the servant of a broken banker, the populace, who strongly suspected the duke of Anjou, rose immediately in consequence of this accident, and disarmed all the French in their quarters. The prince took care, notwithstanding his wound, to restore the public tranquillity in a few hours; but the duke could not so soon forget the affront. He went afterwards to Ghent, and was there saluted earl of Flanders; but, with abundance of fine titles, he had little authority^b. It was not easy for their new duke to digest this want of power; and besides, there were those about him who would not suffer him to remain quiet, even if he had been so inclined: they followed him with a design of making their fortunes; and it was necessary that he should have it in his power; for attaining which they pointed out the means, and he was forward enough in undertaking to carry them into execution. But while he was meditating great things, a plot, through the sagacity and vigilance of the prince of Orange, was discovered against both their lives, and that of the king, the duke's brother. One Salsedo, the son of a Spaniard, who had

^y Histoire de France, tom. ix. p. 141.
Thuan. P. Dan.

^z Strada. ^a Jacob.
^b P. Matthieu. Duplex. Mez.

failed a regiment at his own expence for the duke's service, was at the head of this design, in which one Francis Bafa, an Italian, and a banker, were also embarked. Bafa, in hopes of mercy, made some important discoveries; but soon after dispatched himself in a fit of despair^c. Salcedo talked of strange things, in hopes of being transferred to Paris, and having at least a chance to be rescued by the way. There he made great discoveries, after being tortured, in the king's own hearing; but he denied them all before his death, and was torn in pieces by four horses^d. All that was published, was, that he had laid a scheme for betraying Calais and Dunkirk into the hands of the duke of Parma, and for destroying the prince of Orange and the duke of Anjou; but it is generally believed that he laid open the conspiracy of the Guises, which struck the king and the court with the greatest terror^e. This year Strozzi, whom the queen-mother had sent with the fleet to the Azores islands, in support of Don Antonio's claim to the crown of Portugal, to which she herself had formed some pretensions, part of his squadron was taken, and those on board it treated with great severity by the Spaniards, under colour of their coming to assist the rebels^f. As to the domestic affairs of France, the king seemed to be wholly occupied in aggrandizing his two great favourites, the dukes of Joyeuse and Epernon. Towards the close of the year the Gregorian calendar was introduced, by striking out the days between the 15th and 25th of December. The alliance was also renewed between the crown and the cantons of Switzerland, which was indeed an affair of consequence^g.

A.D. 1582.

He attempts to seize Antwerp and other places.

The next year opened with a very strange scene. Though the crown of France pretended to take no share in the war in the Low Countries, yet it was a thing of notoriety that the king permitted his brother to levy troops in his territories, and that the queen-mother and the queen of England furnished him with money to pay them. If Philip dissimulated the knowledge of this, it was because his affairs were not in such a condition as would permit him to revenge them; but he had his intrigues, and it was not long before the effects made them clearly known. The duke of Anjou, after having maturely deliberated on the complaints made by his creatures, and the project pro-

^c Memoires du Duc de Nevers.

^d Journal d'Henry, p.

57, 58.

^e Jacob. Thuan. P. Dan.

^f Dupleix.

^g Mezeray.

posed by them for their relief, resolved to make use of the French troops to surprise the towns where they were in garrison, and to begin with Antwerp. This enterprize, formed in the month of January, proved abortive, through the skill and courage of the prince of Orange; so that, after losing a great many brave men in the attack, and many more in a precipitate retreat, he was obliged to abandon the place he thought to surprise, and to retire to Dunkirk^h. He entered next into a private negociation with the Spaniards, in which he offered to deliver up to them all the places he held, in case they would furnish him with money to pay his troops, and give him a small equivalent in the neighbourhood of Cambray. The duke of Parma, however, being slow in his proceedings, and the prince of Orange gaining intelligence of their designs, he, with his usual prudence, interposed, and, by accepting the king's mediation, disappointed the Spaniards, and procured them upon easier terms for the statesⁱ. The duke, finding that all his hopes in the Low Countries were lost, and his character blasted by the last ill-judged and ill-conducted event, retired full of chagrin into France, to the no small satisfaction both of the Spaniards and the states. Part of his forces, commanded by marshal Biron, being defeated by the duke of Parma, the small garrison he had in Dunkirk were obliged to surrender that important place, an event which augmented the general distaste, that was but already too great against that unhappy prince. His conduct, wild and extravagant as it was, altered the sentiments of the king, who, no longer jealous of the duke of Anjou, treated him with contempt^k. Yet his own behaviour was not a degree better; for if the duke had wasted his revenue, and involved himself in immense debts by these strange expeditions, the king was precisely in the same situation; and, after having exhausted his own treasures, and harassed his people to the last degree, he was scarce in a condition to defray the expences of his household. He had married the duke de Joyeuse to the sister of his queen; and, some say, had taken a strange resolution of dividing his dominions between him and the duke of Epemon. On some project of this kind, it is said, he sent the former of these dukes to Rome. The queen of Navarre being suspected of having a hand in the slipping a courier of his letters, with a view to discover

^h P. Matth. Strada.^k Mezeray.ⁱ Jacob. Thuan. P. Daniel.

this secret, he turned her out of his court, where she had come to make her mother a visit, with all possible marks of ignominy, and sent her under a guard to her husband, who, after such usage, refused to receive her, till he was compelled to it by marshal Matignon, at the head of a considerable army¹. The queen-mother had now lost her power, which was divided between the minions and the Guises, whom she hated alike, but caballed with them both; while the king of Spain laboured to excite a new civil war, sometimes by making vast offers to the king of Navarre, sometimes by proposals which he made to the marshal de Montmorency, with whom he actually concluded a treaty, by discovering which to the duke of Guise, he induced him to accept of his offers.

A D 1583.

If we may credit some historians, there was a kind of policy even in Henry's conduct, who, fearing the Protestants, and hating the Guises, endeavoured, by elevating his minions, and bestowing no employments or favours but by their recommendation, to create a new power, or rather faction, in his dominions, entirely attached to himself. But if this had been his real intention, he would either have himself been less extravagant, or have recommended oeconomy to them; whereas, in feasts, masques, funerals, processions, and donations^m, he wasted more millions than his predecessors had done in their wars, and he raised those sums by greater acts of violence and extortion. Henry, who believed himself the most refined politician of that age, while he affected the state of an eastern emperor, and affected to shew himself rarely to the people, was suspected of incapacity. Shutting himself up with his young minions, he gave too much countenance to the most infamous suggestions, and his endeavours to stifle these, by extravagant acts of a counterfeit devotion, afforded his enemies an opportunity to represent him as an atheist, and a prince of no religionⁿ. At all events his refined policy, instead of supporting, ruined him, by irritating both the factions that were already formed, but more especially that of the Guises, who finding that they were abhorred by the king, who laboured by every method possible to curtail their power, and lessen their influence, began to revive those intrigues^o, for which their family had

¹ Dupleix. Mez. ^m Jacob. Thuan. P. Daniel. Le Gendre.

ⁿ Du Verdier Prosopographie, tom. iii. ^o Brief Discours & véritable des principales Conjuracions de ceux de la Maison de Guise contre le Roy & son Royaume, les Princes de son Sang, & les Estats.

*Monsieur
dies at
Chateau
Thierri.*

been ever decried from their very first entrance into France. With a view of aggrandizing themselves, they caballed with Monsieur the king's brother, and presumptive heir, who, since the ruin which he had brought on his own affairs in the Low Countries, had removed from place to place, like one disturbed and distracted in his mind, ashamed of what he had already done, and not knowing what to do next. In this disposition the Guises found him; and, ravished with the hopes of being again trusted and placed at the head of a puissant faction, he threw himself at once into their hands, and seemed for a little while to be the creature of their will. But, from the natural inconstancy of his temper, or it may be from some better motive, he repaired, during the season of Lent, to his brother's court, where he was little expected, and, falling upon his knees, told the king all that he knew; which confession procured him a very kind reception, and, in all appearance, the brothers were then cordially and entirely reconciled^p. The duke, at his departure, returned to Chateau Thierri, where he quickly fell into a very bad state of health, and, growing daily worse and worse, the queen, his mother, went to visit him, and finding him past hopes of recovery, carried away the most valuable of his effects^q. He died on the 10th of June, of a slow consumptive fever, attended with a cough, which occasioned a violent straining, so that by bursting a vein in his lungs, he was choaked with his own blood^r. An opinion prevailed, however, in France, and elsewhere, that he was poisoned; and the attempt made upon queen Elizabeth by Dr. Parry, and the barbarous assassination of the prince of Orange in the same year, gave more credit to this report than perhaps it deserved^s.

The death of Monsieur, whatever his character or disposition might be, was justly esteemed a very great misfortune to the nation, and the source of those troubles that followed. In the first great assembly held not far from Nancy, in the house of the sieur de Bassompierre, were present the duke of Lorraine, the dukes of Guise, Mayenne, the cardinal of Guise, several of their great confidants, and some agents from the court of Spain: they deliberated there on the means of engaging the people to take up arms; drew up a long state of the errors in government, and grievances with which the nation was

^p Mezeray.
den's Annals.

^q Duplex.

^r P. Matth.

^s Cam-

oppressed; charged these upon the minions and thier creatures in the first place, and in the next on the king's incapacity, from whom there was never any thing better to be expected. There was nothing said at this time of the fear of a heretic successor, because the duke of Anjou was living, and they were in hopes of having him for their head; they were also silent as to religion, that they might not compel the Protestants to attach themselves unanimously to Henry, and that they might obtain the assistance of duke Casimir, who having more than once before rissled France, had no dislike to a new enterprize, provided it was not against the Protestants or the king of Navarre. The discovery first, and afterwards the death of the duke of Anjou, disconcerted a little, but did not discourage or dissipate the conspirators, who thought their affairs mended, since they had now the popular pretence of standing in fear of a heretic successor. What gave them most trouble was, to find a prince whom they might set at their head. The queen-mother had certainly views of altering the succession in favour of her grandson, the prince of Lorrain, and the duke, his father, was for having him declared chief; but the duke of Guise, who intended to be the head in effect, preferred his own interests to those of his house; and therefore supported Charles, cardinal of Bourbon, an old weak man, who had for many years entertained a notion of his right to the crown, grounded on this pretence, that as it passed to the branch of Bourbon by descent, he was one degree nearer than his nephew. Besides, he had shewn himself, perhaps from this motive, not only a warm and active, but a zealous, and even a furious Papist.

The Guise faction resolve to support Charles cardinal of Bourbon, as presumptive heir to the crown.

The king was not uninformed of all these consultations and contrivances, and it is even said that he talked very roundly to the cardinal upon the subject. But he thought it necessary to go farther; he had married his favourite the duke de Joyeuse into the house of Lorrain; and, therefore, he made choice of the duke of Epemon to execute a commission of importance to the king of Navarre, acquainting him with the designs of the Guises, giving him the strongest assurances of his own kind intentions, and at the same time exhorting him to return to the Catholic church, as the most effectual means of securing his succession. The duke discharged his trust with great fidelity, and urged all the arguments that could be drawn from

* P. Matth. Journal d'Henry III. P. Dan.

prudence and policy, but without success. The king of Navarre, however, gave him a very gracious reception, testified a great sense of the king's goodness and high confidence in his justice, but excused himself as to the point of religion^u. Plessis Mornay, who stood very high in this prince's favour, thought to render him a great service in making his sentiments on this subject public, which he expressed in his own manner, ascribing to his master great zeal for the Protestant religion, which cured indeed the Protestant ministers of their apprehensions of the duke of Epernon's visit, but at the same time afforded the Guises an opportunity of decrying both princes, Henry of Navarre as an obstinate heretic, and Henry of France as a favourer of heresy^w. At his return the duke of Epernon formed a design of securing the duke of Guise, who thereupon retired into Champagne, fully determined to have recourse to arms, the rather because the king of Navarre had reconciled the marshal de Montmorency to his master, at the very time he was on the point of attacking him in his government^x. The king, as he had resumed his understanding, in the month of November published an edict, forbidding all leagues and associations under pain of high treason, cancelled sixty-six edicts that had been verified in parliament for imposing taxes, reduced the tailles seven hundred thousand livres, shewed himself in public, and did many things to render himself popular^y. On the other hand, the Guises entered into a treaty with Spain, by which they undertook to acknowledge the cardinal of Bourbon for king, on the demise of Henry the Third, to cause the council of Trent to be received, and to restore Cambray to his Catholic majesty, upon condition that he furnished fifty thousand crowns, or, as some say, pistoles, a month, for carrying on the war against the Hugonots. This treaty, which was negotiated with great secrecy at Joinville, was concluded the very last day of this year.

The king takes divers popular steps, while the Guises engage in a treaty with the king of Spain.

A.D. 1584.

It was of great consequence to the Guises and their faction to have the approbation of the pope, to whom they sent father Claude Matthieu so often, that he acquired the name of the Courier of Rome. The answers he brought were not so full as they expected. The pontiff

^u Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espèrnon, par Mr. Girard, tom. i. p. 72. ^w P. Matthieu. ^x Memoires du Plessis Mornay. ^y Jacob. Thuan. ^z Memoires du Duc de Nevers, tom. xi.

approved taking up arms in support of the Catholic cause; but condemned any attempt upon the person of the king^z. The states of the Low Countries, finding their affairs growing daily worse and worse, offered their sovereignty to Henry the Third, without restriction or reserve, which he thought fit to decline^a; but, because he had admitted the deputies into his presence, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Spanish ambassador to prevent it, the emissaries of the Catholic king forced the duke of Guise and his party to declare, before they had assembled a proper strength. All they could do, was to carry the cardinal of Bourbon to Peronne; and being there in safety, they published a manifesto in his name, as first prince of the blood, and presumptive heir of the crown, in which they drew a most dreadful picture of the state of public affairs; and, by a mixture of truth and falsehood, exposed the king's conduct in such a manner as was most likely to render him both odious and contemptible to his subjects^b. The duke of Guise took the field at the head of between four and five thousand men, with whom he surprised Verdun, but failed in a design upon Metz, through the care of the duke of Epemon^c. An attempt was made upon Bourdeaux, which was rendered abortive by marshal Matignon, who secured that city for the king. Marseilles was seized by the league, but recovered next day by the royalists, who ventured to try, condemn, and execute the principal conspirators. This step was supported by an arret of the parliament of Aix, which declared all who took up arms without the king's authority, disturbers of the public peace, notwithstanding which, the city and citadel of Lyons was surprised by the faction^d. If the king had followed the advice of marshal d'Aumont; had put himself in arms, and shewn a spirit worthy of a monarch, he might easily have dispersed the forces of the league, and obliged the duke of Guise to quit the kingdom. But the queen-mother had, in a great measure, regained her influence, as appeared by the king's publishing a feeble apology for his own conduct, at the close of which he invited his subjects, now in arms, to return to their duty, promising them pardon, and, which was more extraordinary, favour. She went afterwards to Rheims, to meet the

They publish a manifesto in the name of the cardinal de Bourbon, and take arms against the king.

^z Memoires du Duc de Nevers. P. Daniel.

^a Strada.

^b Jacob. Thuan. Memoires de la Ligue.

^c Memoires du

Duc d'Espemon. Histoire de France, tom. ix. p. 178.

^d Memoires de Brant. Dupl.

*Peace con-
cluded.*

duke of Guise and the cardinal of Bourbon, received from them an insolent memorial, in which they demanded that the king should oblige the Protestants to restore the cautionary towns they held, renounce the protection at Geneva, give them a multitude of strong places, money to pay their troops, and annul all the edicts that had been given in favour of the Hugonots. In the beginning of July a peace was concluded upon these terms; and on the 18th. of the same month an edict was published to confirm it^e. A deputation soon after was sent, at the desire of the leaguers, to invite the king of Navarre to return to the Catholic church. The intention of Henry the Third was to gain time; whereas the Guises aimed at rendering that prince more and more odious, and consequently more irreconcilable to the Papists. Marshal Montmorency declared himself head of a third party, composed of such as should remain firm to the constitution in church and state^f.

The edict, which gave the royal sanction to the peace, was dated from Nemours; and when the king of Navarre first read it, it threw him into so great a consternation, that leaning his head upon his arm for some time, buried in thought, he found afterwards that the mustachio on that side of his lip was turned white, a circumstance which the historian, who records it, affirms he received from the mouth of the king himself^g. How much soever it affected his mind, it did not in the least abate his courage, or hinder his acting with equal prudence and spirit upon every occasion. As for the unfortunate Henry III. he went to Paris to demand a kind of benevolence from his subjects for carrying on a war, which, in his heart, he disapproved. His capital was, properly speaking, no longer his: a burgher, whose name was Rocheblon, had framed a scheme of a particular league in that city; and, that he might keep up a correspondence amongst his party, and know the strength of it the better, he fixed an intercourse with sixteen persons in the different parts of Paris; which expedient was so highly approved by the duke of Guise, that, in a little time, they assumed the title of, the Council of Sixteen; became formidable to the king and kingdom; and, so long as history lasts, their memories will be odious to the sober and rational part of mankind^h. By

*Council of
sixteen
established
at Paris.*

^e Histoire de France, tom. ix. p. 181, 182.
Dupleix. Mezer. : P. Marth.
Ligue.

^f Jacob. Thuan.
^g Memoires de la

these new rulers, or at least by those under their influence, a considerable sum was raised for the service of the Holy League, for suppressing heresy, hypocrisy, and tyranny: the first expression was levelled against the king of Navarre, and the two last against Henry III. Sixtus V. who by this time was raised to the pontifical throne, on the demise of Gregory XIII. disapproved his predecessor's conduct, who had countenanced the league, and struck out one more extraordinary of his own. He pitied the cardinal of Bourbon as a weak, honest, infatuated man, and treated his associates as they deserved: he foresaw and foretold all the mischiefs that afterwards happened: as if he meant to fulfil his own prophecy, he gave the duke of Nevers a bull, by which he excommunicated such as took up arms against the king; and in the beginning of September published another, by which he not only excommunicated the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, but in the most haughty manner, and with the most contemptuous language, declared them fallen from their dignities, and incapable of any kind of succession¹. This bull made a prodigious noise, but was far from having all the effect that he supposed it would produce. The wiser and better sort of Catholics looked upon this as a most unfounded stretch of papal authority, which induced numbers to repair to marshal Montmorency, as the Protestants every where resorted to the king of Navarre, the prince of Condé, and Mr. de Lesdiguières^k. On the 15th of October, the king, by an edict, commanded all his subjects to return to the old religion in fourteen days, on pain of forfeiting their goods and chattels, an event which was rigorously executed. The king of Navarre made reprisals in his dominions. He published his appeal from the pope's bull to the peers of France, in what regarded the state; to a general council in reference to religion, to which he summoned the pope, on pain of being taken for Antichrist; and this appeal he caused to be posted up in the most public places of Rome. The war began now on all sides, with no considerable advantage to either party, except that the prince of Condé miscarried in an attempt to relieve Angiers; was forced to disperse his troops, and with some difficulty made his escape into England^m.

The king of Navarre excommunicated by the pope; and hostilities recommence against the Protestants.

A.D. 1585.

As soon as the season would permit, the king had five armies in the field, the generals of which commanded ac-

¹ Histoire de France, tom. ix. p. 186, 187.
Dupleix. Mez, ¹ P. Matth. ^m P. Daniel,

^k Jacob. Thuan.

cording to their own notions, and with very different views. The duke of Mayenne, with the most numerous, acted in Guienne, with the sincerest intention of extirpating the Hugonots, and, if possible, destroying the king of Navarre. Marshal Matignon commanded another in the neighbourhood of Bourdeaux; his design was to serve his master, and he apprehended that the best way to do this was to spill as little of his subjects blood as possible. He went, upon invitation, to the assistance of the duke of Mayenne, but they quickly quarrelled to such a degree, that neither of them did much; and the duke, by affecting to hunt the king of Navarre, who had not the force requisite to oppose a royal army, ruined his own. Once, indeed, through the king's imprudence in visiting a mistress, he was very near becoming master of his person, but, either by an expeditious march, or through the connivance of one of the duke's officers, the king made his escape.^a The duke d'Epemon commanded the third, in Provence and Dauphiné, where he acted solely for the king's service, and kept both the Protestants and the leaguers in awe. The duke of Guise had a very small army in Champagne and Burgundy, with which he did more than all the rest. Joyeuse ruined a good corps of troops, in reducing several small fortresses not worth taking, by which conduct the king was convinced that he deserted his service to make his court to the league. The duke of Mayenne returned from the army, making loud complaints that he was ill supplied, that his projects were rejected, and that his troops were dissipated for want of pay. The king went to the parliament, and held his court of justice in the month of June, where he forced them to register twenty-six oppressive edicts; but at the same time caused the people to be informed that the money was not for his service, or the edicts of his contrivance; but that they were indebted for the necessity, and for the means of supplying it, to the league.^b The prince of Condé, having received a powerful supply from the queen of England, carried on the war in Xaintonge with vigour and success: the king of Navarre went thither, and, to please the Rochellers, exposed himself very much in an enterprize against Brouage, not with an intent of becoming master of it, but in order to spoil the port, which interfered with the commerce of Rochelle, which aim he accomplished.^c The

*The king
holds a bed
of justice.*

^a Memoires de la Ligue.
Jacob. Thuan. P Cayet.

^b Memoires du Duc de Espemon.
^c D'Aubigne.

prince of Condé, by marrying a princess of the house of la Tremouille, gained the duke, her brother, though their father had been the head of the league in Poitou, to the Protestant religion, and to the support of that cause in which he was embarked. Marshal Biron was sent to restore affairs on this side, which he did very effectually, for the Protestants suffered him to take several places, where he cantoned his troops, and kept the leaguers at a distance. An accident happened about this time at Aix, which deserves notice. The chevalier d'Angoulême, grand prior of France, had long hated Altoviti, an Italian gentleman in the king's service, and seeing him in a house over against that in which he was, crossed the way, ran up, and, with many injurious expressions, ran him through the body. Altoviti, finding himself mortally wounded, drew his dagger, closed with him, and struck him into the belly; of these wounds they both died in a few hours. The chevalier was of the council that contrived, and was himself one of the busiest actors in the bloody scene of St. Bartholomew. The king gave the government of France to the duke of Epemon, and the post of grand-prior to his nephew, the natural son of Charles IX.

The powers of the North, and the chief of the German princes of the Protestant religion, in consequence of the king of Navarre's solicitations, sent a solemn embassy to intreat the king to restore his Protestant subjects to his favour, and to leave them in possession of the liberties that had been formerly granted them by the edicts of pacification. The king delayed their audience as long as he could, and sent them away at last with a rough answer, importing, that as he did not meddle with their religious differences, he knew not what pretence they had to interfere between him and his subjects. In the mean time the king, who foresaw that this answer would bring new troubles upon his subjects, employed his mother, who had a passion for negotiating, to treat with the king of Navarre. She carried with her the duke of Nevers and marshal Biron, to assist her with their counsels; and she had also in her train abundance of young beauties, who did not serve her so effectually as in times ^w past. The king of Navarre had a due sense of the importance of this conjuncture, and the prince of Condé was lately married. She had no power

^r Dupleix.

^s Hon. Bouche Hist. de Provence, lib. x.

^t Memoires du Duc d'Epemon.

^u Cayet, P. Dan.

^w Jacob. Thuan. Mezeray.

Truce for a few months between the leaguers and the king of Navarre.

Remarkable situation of the marshal de Montmorency.

to grant a toleration; they would not so much as hear of a peace without; so that the conferences ended in a truce for a few months^x. On this occasion the baron de Rosni, the king of Navarre's minister, coming to court, Henry III. told him he would consent to his master's taking twenty thousand Swiss into his pay, provided that, at a proper time, he would suffer them to pass into his service against the league^y. The marshal de Montmorency continued supreme in Languedoc, at the head of the Politiques. His situation was the most extraordinary that perhaps the world ever saw; the king understood and approved his conduct, though, in appearance, a revolt: he was highly considered by the king of Navarre, who depended upon him, in case of the king's death: he drew immense subsidies from the king of Spain and the duke of Savoy, had great regard paid him at Rome, because he styled the Protestants heretics, at the same time that he made no scruple of treating the leaguers like rebels^z.

The troubles of the queen of Scots were finished in the beginning of this year by a violent death on a scaffold. Her being descended by the mother's side from the house of Guise was the source of all her misfortunes. The king sent over Believre to solicit for her, in public; but he and his mother were not displeased with her death, and probably hinted to queen Elizabeth, that it was the only way to enjoy peace^a. The duke of Mayenne remained at Paris, where, in conjunction with the sixteen, he took every measure to render the king odious, and to impute to him solely the miseries the nation endured: at length he went so far as to concert with them the means of drawing him thither, securing his person, and sending him prisoner to the duke of Guise; which project the king discovered and disappointed, but did not think it prudent to punish, being content to tell the duke of Mayenne, who found it necessary to shift his quarters when he came to take his leave, that he did ill to abandon the good leaguers of Paris^b. The army of the Protestant league, under the nominal command of duke Casimir, was assembling in Alsace, and, though it is nowhere said to have been above twenty thousand men, he struck the whole kingdom of France with terror. The king took the best measures he could to render this invasion fruitless, while the emissaries of the league constantly

The army of the Protestant league assembles in Alsace.

^x Dupleix.

^y Memoires de Sully, tom. i. chap. 21.

^z P. Din. Histoire de France, tom. ix. p. 213, 214.

Memoires de Brantome.

^a Camden,

^b Jacob. Thuan. Dupleix. Mez,

gave out that they were invited by him, and that he acted in concert with them^c. The duke of Guise, who had an interview with him at Meaux, uttered all the suspicions, and all the scurrilities of his party to his face; which the king supported and answered with great patience^d. At length he determined to form three armies; the command of the first he gave to the duke of Guise, the second to the duke of Epernon; the third he reserved for himself: these were so disposed, that the duke of Guise was to act in conjunction with the troops of the duke of Lorraine; the duke of Epernon was to prevent their taking any strong places in their march; the king, with the best army of the three, undertook to hinder their passing the Loire^e.

At this period, his situation was truly deplorable. If the Protestant army passed the Loire, and joined the king of Navarre, he was afraid of lying at the mercy of the Hugonots; on the other hand, if they were defeated and destroyed, he was in no less danger from the league. In such an emergency, he took his measures in his cabinet with much prudence; he acted in the field with spirit; he managed every incident with great dexterity, and extricated himself from these embarrassments better than even his best friends expected. Besides the armies, the destination of which we have already mentioned, he formed another, under the marshal Joyeuse, which was to act against the king of Navarre, in order to prevent his marching to join his allies^f. At the beginning of August the Germans passed the Rhine, wasted Lorraine with an army of thirty-five thousand men, including reinforcements of Swiss, the French troops, and those of the duke of Bouillon. The duke de Joyeuse, who was superior in number to the army of the king of Navarre, surrounded by a multitude of nobility, who thought that nothing could resist them, and that no punishment was too great for those that did, marched directly towards the king, who had under him the prince of Condé and the count of Soissons. On the 20th of October the two armies engaged at Coutras, where the king gained a complete victory; the duke de Joyeuse, with four hundred gentlemen, being slain upon the spot, with near five thousand private men. This was the first victory the Protestants ever gained, and it was solely attributed to the king of Navarre, who commanded

The king of Navarre obtains a complete victory over the duke de Joyeuse, at Coutras.

^c Memoires de la Ligue. ^d P. Dan, tom. ix. p. 127.
^e Memoires du Duc d'Epemnon. Dupleix. ^f D'Aubigne.

like a great general, and fought like a gallant soldier^c; but he made no use of this important victory; instead of marching to meet his allies, he dispersed his troops, and went to visit his mistress^b. This misconduct was fatal to his confederates, who, after two disastrous disputes with the duke of Guise, finding it impossible to pass the king's army, began to listen to proposals of accommodation. In November the Swiss accepted four hundred thousand crowns, and retired; and in December the German horse made a treaty of the like natureⁱ. The leaguers of Paris magnified the duke of Guise's success, which, in reality, was due to the king's precaution. The use they made of his exaggerated reputation was to procure from a secret assembly of the young doctors of the Sorbonne, a resolution, that princes, who behaved otherwise than they ought, might be removed from the government, as a tutor, who is suspected, may by the civil law be deprived of the administration of his pupil's effects. The king being informed of this declaration, sent for them to the Louvre, where he reprimanded them severely, and threatened to leave them to the justice of his parliament; but impunity encouraged them more than any sense of shame could disturb them from this public reproof^k.

A.D. 1587.

*Resolution
of the Sor-
bonne,
with re-
spect to
bad
princes.*

We come now to that important year in which the troubles of France came to their first crisis. The death of the duke of Bouillon, who left an only daughter, under the tutelage of the king of Navarre and other princes of the blood, but under the immediate care of the famous M. de la Noue, attracted the attention of the house of Lorraine, who, from the vicinity and importance of her estates, were determined to annex them to their own^l. They accordingly consulted with the duke of Guise and his partisans, about this enterprize, as well as of the affairs of France. In respect to the latter, they drew up an insolent memorial, consisting of eleven articles, in which they prescribed to the king upon what terms they were content to leave him that title. He was to declare himself openly for the league; to receive the council of Trent; to establish the inquisition in all the great cities in France; no quarter was to be given to any heretic prisoner, unless he renounced his religion; the king was to remove all his

^c P. Matthieux.

^b D'Aubigne. *Memoires de Sully.*

ⁱ *Memoires de la Ligue.* P. Matth. Dupleix.

^k Cayet

Preface, tom. i. *Journal d'Henry III.*

^l Jacob. Thuan.

own friends, and to replace them by those in whom they could confide. The rest were of the same nature^m. The king could not help shewing some emotion at reading them, but quickly recovered himself, and promised to take them into considerationⁿ. The duke of Guise came to Soissons, and from thence transmitted his instructions to the sixteen, who, by his orders, provided arms and every thing necessary for a general revolt; to facilitate which, he sent many officers and gentlemen, on whose courage he could depend, to disperse themselves through the city. The king had a faithful spy, whose name was Poulain, from whom he received exact intelligence of every step they took, and of every place in which they met. He might have seized the whole sixteen at once, and this was his intention; but he suffered himself to be dissuaded from it by the queen-mother and Villequier, who betrayed him^o. He did worse; for he sent for the president de Nauilly, who was one of the sixteen, reprimanded him for his seditious practices, and threatened to put him and his associates to death; which menaces rendered them in a manner desperate^p. But the king thought he sufficiently provided for his safety, by forbidding the duke of Guise to come to Paris. His sister, the duchess of Montpensier, laid a scheme for seizing the king as he went to take the air, and sending him to Soissons, which would have certainly taken effect, if Poulain had not given the king notice of it, a few hours before it was to be put in execution^q.

The faction of the Guises behave with great insolence to the king.

On the 9th of May the duke of Guise, contrary to the king's express command, came to Paris, and desired the queen-mother to introduce him to the king. The king consented to it the next day, with a full intention to have had him stabbed in his presence, from which design he was dissuaded by his mother and Villequier^r. As the duke went to the Louvre, he was attended by persons of all ranks, who cried aloud, "Long live the duke of Guise, the defender of the church, the protector of the Catholic religion, and the saviour of Paris." He returned safe from this audience; but he read so much of the king's disposition in his eyes, that he was sufficiently sensible of his danger. The same day the king ordered all strangers to depart Paris; but finding he was not obeyed,

^m Mezeray. P. Matthieu.
^{an} Cayet. P. Matth.
^q Mezeray. ^r D'Avila.

ⁿ Dupleix. P. Dan ^o Thu-
^p D'Aubigne. Jacob. Thuan.

he ordered four thousand Swiss, and two thousand French infantry to enter the city next morning. They entered it accordingly, but not having orders to fire, the scholars of the university and the populace quickly barricadoed the streets, and, by taking themselves to arms, obliged a great part of the guards to submit, and, in a manner, blocked the king up in the Louvre. The duke of Guise amused the queen-mother all the time, who went to his lodging on foot to persuade him to withdraw, till he understood in what posture things were; and then he told her roundly, that he would not abandon the good people of Paris to the king and his evil counsellors. This transaction happened on the 12th of May, styled from thence, by the French, the Day of the Barricades *. Next morning the queen-mother visited the duke again, to make propositions of peace, and entertained him till a person came and whispered him that the king had made his escape, upon which he cried out, "Madam, you have amused and undone me †!" The king, at the time he quitted Paris, said, with an air of indignation, looking back upon it, "I will never enter those walls again, but through a breach ‡." The duke, to shew his great power, soon restored the tranquillity of Paris, and to maintain it, changed all the magistrates whom he suspected, seized the Bastile, and disposed of every thing at pleasure.

*The king is
obliged to
fly from
Paris.*

The king retired first to Chartres, from whence he published a manifesto, to inform his subjects of what had passed at Paris. This was followed by manifestoes on the part of the Guises, on which several great towns and provinces declared, some on one side, and some on the other §. The queen-mother followed the king to Chartres, attended by the deputies from Paris, who came to ask pardon for what had passed; the parliament also sent a deputation, and were well received by the king, who told them at their departure, that he was content to pardon the people of Paris; but that they would do well to change their conduct, and not oblige him to withdraw his presence, his courts of justice, and other marks of favour, with which his predecessors had honoured them, and to which they owed that affluence they had so much ¶ abused. The parliament did their duty in this respect with so much dignity and spirit, that it made a very strong

* Journal d'Henry III.

† Cayet. P. Matthieu. D'Avila.

‡ Duplex. P. Daniel.

§ Histoire de France,

tom ix. p. 289.

* Jacob. Thuan.

impression on the Parisians, which the duke of Guise perceiving, resolved to finish the treaty of peace without delay ^y. The king was gone to Rouen, where the accommodation was quickly concluded, in ten articles, that differed little from the eleven which had been before sent him from Nancy; the last of them contained a general amnesty for what was passed ^z. The appearance of the grand Spanish armada on the coast of Bretagne contributed not a little to influence the king's resolutions. On the 18th of June, the edict of pacification was published, and a general assembly of the states called to meet in the September following at Blois ^a. On the 4th of July appeared a new edict for the reunion of all the king's subjects to the Catholic religion; and the king having now, in all probability, taken his final determination, changed his conduct entirely, and received into high favour the chiefs of the league. He made no scruple of declaring the cardinal of Bourbon first prince of the blood. He constituted the duke of Guise lieutenant-general of his armies throughout the kingdom, with powers little, if at all inferior, to those of the constable ^b. What gave still greater satisfaction was, his taking the government of Normandy from the duke of Epemon, and giving it to the duke of Montpensier, the former being at the same time dismissed the court ^c. From Rouen the king went back again to Chartres, without taking Paris in his way, though he was extremely pressed to pass through that city. The duke of Guise followed him to Chartres, and was received with such high marks of favour, that people in general looked upon the reconciliation as sincere, more especially as the king spoke of nothing but the security of the Catholic religion, and the conversion or extermination of his Protestant subjects. The queen-mother was remarkably kind to the duke of Guise, a circumstance which was supposed to proceed from her desire of transferring the crown to her grandson the marquis of Pontamousson. But, from whatever it proceeded, the duke of Guise seemed to be entirely satisfied, and received from her so many and so strong marks of confidence, that he relied upon her entirely.

At this time it is very difficult to form a just notion of the state of France, where, from the number of governors and want of obedience, there was, in effect, through the

An accommodation effected between him and the Guises.

The distracted state of the kingdom at this juncture.

^y Dupleix. Mezeray.

^z Cayet.

^a Jacob. Thu-

an. ^b Histoire de France, tom. ix. p. 301, 302.

^c Me-

moires du Duc d'Epemon.

greatest part of the realm, no government at all. The king himself was of so mutable, so irresolute a temper, so much in the hands of his mother and her creatures, or they took upon them to use his name and authority with so little ceremony, though without his knowledge, that they made him act, at least in appearance, against his own interest, and for the destruction of his best friends. It was under some delusion of this sort, that the queen-mother and Villeroy, who hated the duke of Epemon, sent the king's orders to the chief magistrate of Angoulême, to drive out this duke, who had seized that place for his service. In consequence of this command, a bold attempt was made to murder the duke, which he prevented by his intrepid behaviour, and afterwards defended the castle with a few of his domestics, where they were thirty hours without food, till he was relieved ^d. His brother, the duke de la Valette, seeing what turn things were like to take, made a treaty, offensive and defensive, with Lefdiguieres, as if they had been sovereigns ^e. The marshal de Montmorency was really so in his government, where he levied money and troops as he thought fit, and by doing strict justice, and living in a princely manner upon his own fortune, he maintained the public tranquillity and every thing in exact order ^f. The duke of Savoy, after offering his assistance to the king, the duke de Guise, and M. de Lefdiguieres, provided he might have the marquise of Saluces for his pains, finding his offers rejected on every side, made himself master of best part of that country, and amongst the rest of the strong fortresses of Carmagnoles ^g, in which were four hundred pieces of cannon, with military stores sufficient to have enabled the king to reduce his rebellious subjects, if they had been properly employed. As for Paris it was entirely devoted to the duke of Guise, who put it under the direction of the sixteen ^h, supported by an infinite number of his friends, that is, of such as were desirous of rising at any rate; for, in conjunctures like this, such as have nothing to lose are in the fairest way of making their fortunes. The king, stripped of his friends, surrounded by his enemies, without force, and without allies, had occasion enough, though little opportunity, to contemplate his ruined condition, and

^d Memoires du Duc d'Espemon. Cayet.

^e Histoire du Condeable de Lefdiguieres, par Louis Videt, livr. iii. chap. iv. p. 163, 166.

^f Jacob. Thuan.

^g Guichenon. J. de Serres. P. Daniel.

^h Histoire de la Ligue, par Maimbourg. Du Tillet.

that labyrinth of difficulties into which his indolence and his luxury had brought him. He derived, however, courage from the prospect of danger.

On the 1st of September he arrived at Blois, where the first step he took was sending orders to the chancellor Chiverni, Bellievre, sur-intendant of the finances, Brulart, Villeroy, and Pinart, secretary of state, to retire to their houses, and meddle no farther with public affairs ¹. The seals were given to Montholon, an advocate of Paris, a zealous Catholic, a man of honour, but very inexpert in affairs of state ^k. From this time the queen-mother lost the confidence of her son. He was ashamed of the concessions he had made; he was provoked by the pope's letter to the duke of Guise, and the cardinal de Bourbon, in which he styled them Maccabees; and he was well informed of the true design of the league, which was to thrust him into a convent, and to place the duke of Guise, or some other prince of the house of Lorraine, upon the throne. He likewise knew that the queen-mother was not unacquainted with these projects, in hopes of having the government under the name of the young prince Henry of Lorraine, her grandson ^l. The meeting of the states was very full. The clergy were represented by one hundred and thirty-four deputies, amongst which were four archbishops, and twenty-one bishops; they chose for their speakers the cardinals of Bourbon and de Guise; those of the nobility were one hundred and eighty, their speakers were the count de Brisac and the baron de Magnac; the deputies of the third estate were one hundred and ninety-one, and at their head was La Chapelle Marteau, provost of the merchants at Paris, all of them zealous leaguers, a circumstance which sufficiently shewed the complexion of the assembly ^m.

The king opened the states, on the 16th of October, with a very wise and weighty speech, which he delivered with much grace and dignity; he professed himself a zealous Catholic, assured them of his willingness to contribute to the utmost of his power to secure and to promote the established religion, and advised the making it a fundamental law, that none but Catholics should be capable of the succession: he added, that, in his judgment, as all leagues and alliances with foreign princes, under pretence of religion, were needless, so in their nature and consequences,

He removes some of his principal ministers, and begins to lose all confidence in the queen-mother.

Opens the assembly of the states with a bold speech.

¹ Cayet. Jacob. Thuan. thieu. P. Daniel.

^k Dupleix. Du Tillet. ^m J. de Serres.

^l P. Mat-

when without the consent of the sovereign, they were acts of high-treason: "I know, said he, that some great men have given their countenance to things of this kind; but from my accustomed clemency, I am willing to overlook what is past ⁿ." The duke of Guise and the cardinal changed colour at these words, and obliged the king to soften his harangue before it was printed. He was likewise compelled to swear to the edict of re-union, and to confirm his reconciliation with the duke of Guise, by receiving with him, at the same altar, the same host ^o. Notwithstanding this ceremony, he quickly discerned that his own safety and the duke's views were utterly incompatible. He discovered that the duke held secret intelligence with the duke of Savoy; he found that he had a superior interest in the states, who pressed to have the king of Navarre, by name, declared incapable of the succession; he perceived that they were bent upon limiting his authority; and some of the princes of the house of Lorraine declared to him privately, that they disapproved the duke of Guise's conduct and designs. But what moved him most was an insolent speech of the duchess-dowager of Montpensier, sister to the duke, who, shewing a pair of gold scissors which she wore at her girdle, said, the best use she could make of them was, to clip the hair of a prince unworthy to sit on the French throne, in order to qualify him for a monastery, while a worthier person should mount it in his stead, capable of repairing the losses which religion and the state had suffered through the cowardice of his predecessor ^p. He determined, therefore, to rid himself of the duke, some way or other.

*Concerts
with a few
faithful
friends the
means for
carrying a
design into
execution.*

In this sad perplexity he summoned a council of his friends, and a better picture of his condition cannot be given than the naming them. They were the marshal d'Aumont, Nicholas d'Angennes, sieur de Rambouillet, and Beauvais Nangis. These were all he could trust with his distress; and to them he explained the apprehensions he was under from the duke of Guise, and the new project that prince had formed of forcing him by means of the states to make him constable ^q. They desired a day to consider the case, and by the king's command, at their next meeting, Lewis d'Angennes, the brother of Nicholas, was present. Marshal d'Aumont advised the arresting the princes of the house of Lorraine, and forming their

ⁿ Jacob. Thuan.
Dupleix.

^o P. Matth.

^p P. Daniel.

^q Serres.

process. All the rest were clear that this step was impossible; the king himself said, the flag would be too strong for the toils. It was then resolved to put him to death; and the king would have confided the execution to Crillon, who commanded his guards; but he answered, that his rank and services rendered him unfit to be a hangman; adding, "I will draw my sword fairly upon the duke; and if he does not kill me, I will kill him, as becomes your majesty's servant". The king did not take this refusal amiss; he then addressed himself to Loignac, the first gentleman of his bed-chamber, who accepted it without difficulty. The king had about him a guard of Gascons, recommended by the duke de Epemon, which, from their number, were styled the Forty-five*, all determined men, who hated the duke of Guise personally, because, under colour of saving, he was for dismissing them. Out of these the king chose nine for the execution. He was also forced to intrust his secret with Ornano Bonnivet, La Grange Montigni, and d'Entraques, to whom he gave his orders. Larchant, who commanded the company of guards on duty, was directed to summon the duke to council, in the evening of the 22d of December. After he had delivered his message from the king, that the council was to be held early the next morning, that all pressing affairs might be dispatched before Christmas, he pressed him, as from himself, for the pay of his men, who he said were so distressed, that they were on the point of disbanding. The duke giving him fair words, he desired leave to communicate them to his troop, and that he might be permitted to put a petition into his hand as he went to council in the morning, a request which the duke readily granted†. All these previous steps could not be taken without creating some jealousy, and, if the duke did not escape his fate, it was not for want of warning. That very day he had a note put under his plate at dinner, in which were these words, "Beware; they are about to do you an ill-turn." The duke, when he had read it, took his pencil and wrote, "They dare not;" folded it up, and threw it under the table". He had himself some apprehensions, but he thought he was too far advanced to go back. Besides, the archbishop of Lyons, who had in view a hat from Rome by his interest, prevailed upon him to

* D'Avila.

* Abrege Chronologique de l'Histoire de France, par Mezeray, tom. v. p. 301.

† Serres. Dupl.

" Jacob. Thuan.

let the two armies of the league be commanded by the dukes of Mayenne and Nevers, and to execute his own office of great-master of the household, with all the authority of the old mayors of the palace; and, for that reason, to keep always close to the person of the king.

*The death
of the Duke
of Guise,
and the
conduct of
the king at
and after
this execu-
tion.*

On the 23d of December, early in the morning, the king having his four friends in his cabinet, ordered Loignac to introduce the nine guards, and to bring as many poniards; he then made a discourse on the business in hand, and concluded it with these words, "It is an execution of justice, which I command you to make on the greatest criminal in my kingdom, whom all laws human and divine permit me to punish; but not having the ordinary methods of justice in my power, I authorize you to do it, by the right inherent to my royal authority." He then disposed them in the passage which led from his chamber to his cabinet, into which he retired with the four persons before-mentioned^w. The council assembled early, consisting of the cardinals of Vendosme and Gondi, the marshals d'Aumont and Rhetz, the sieurs de Rambouillet and d'O. The cardinal of Guise, and the archbishop of Lyons, came afterwards; last of all came the duke, who found, at the door of his apartment, as he came out, the guards disposed in two lines; and before he had time to reflect, Larchant presented the petition, which accounted so well for their appearance, that he went on without suspicion^x. When he had ascended the stairs, leaving all his equipage below, he entered the anti-chamber where the council sat; he found himself faint, and sent to the king's valet de chambre for some plums, and a handkerchief to wipe his eyes, which watered^y. About eight o'clock the secretary of state came to inform him the king desired to speak to him in his cabinet. He went through the gallery that led into the chamber, the door of which, as usual, was shut after him. He then turned to the left, and as he lifted up the tapestry that hung before the passage that led to the cabinet, he received six poniards at once into his breast, on which he cried out, "My God, have mercy upon me^z", fetching so deep a groan, that it was heard in the anti-chamber. The cardinal of Guise and the archbishop of Lyons rose and ran to the gallery, where the guards presented their halberts. They were immediately arrested by the marshals d'Aumont and Rhetz, and con-

^w Serres. Du Tilliet.
^y Duplex. P. Matthieu.

^x Jacob. Thuan. Mezeray.
^z Cayet. Davila.

ducted to a room in the upper part of the castle^a. The lords and great men being admitted into the anti-chamber, the king presently entered it, and addressing himself to the cardinal of Vendosme, said, "I am now a monarch, and, by what has been executed by my orders, those who, under the specious pretence of religion, shall hereafter trouble the state, may learn what they have to expect." He then went to the queen-mother's apartment, who occupied the first floor of the castle, and entering her chamber, for she was indisposed, he said, "I am now a king, madam, and have no competitor, the duke of Guise is dead." She, without approving or blaming the action, contented herself with asking him if he had considered well what consequences might attend it. "I have, madam," replied he, "and have given proper orders." "I hope so," returned the queen, "and that it may prove to your advantage^b." Most writers affirm, that she was totally unacquainted with the king's design; and yet this is a matter very far from being certain.

In obedience to the king's orders, they arrested in the castle the dukes of Elbœuf and Nemours, the cardinal de Bourbon, the prince de Janville, and Anne d'Est, the former the son, the latter the mother of the duke of Guise, and also of the duke of Nemours. Francis du Pleffis de Richelieu, grand-provost, with his archers, seized the president de Neuilli, Chapelle Marteau, Compan, and Cotteblanche, deputies from the city of Paris; together with Vincent le Roi, lieutenant-general of Amiens. Urbain de Laval Bois Dauphin, and the count de Brissac, both of whom became afterwards marshals of France, were confined in their own houses; Pericard, secretary to the duke of Guise, was seized with all his papers^c. Next day the cardinal de Guise was brought from the place of his confinement by a serjeant and three of the guards, to be examined; but, in going through a dark passage, by the orders of du Guast, who was captain of the guards, they dispatched him with their halberts^d. He was more violent than his brother, and, amongst other insolent speeches, had given out, that he would hold the king's head between his knees, till the tonsure was performed at the Capuchins^e. The bodies of both the brothers were burnt to ashes, and

Many of his confederates arrested, and his brother the cardinal put to death.

^a P. Daniel.

^b J. de Serres. P. Matthieu. Dupleix.

^c Jacobi Thuan. Du Tillet.

^d D'Aubigne. P. Daniel.

^e Lettres du Roi au Marquis de Pisani du 24 Decembre, imprimées aux de l'Histoire des Cardinaux, tom. v. p. 614.

A.D. 1578

those scattered by the winds, to prevent their faction from abusing them as relicks. The king endeavoured also to seize the dukes de Mercœur and Mayenne; but they had so good intelligence, that they made their escape, as the duke of Nemours did soon after. On the first news of the duke's death at Paris, the people were extremely surprised; but, as soon as they were informed that Orleans and some other places had declared in favour of the league, they began to recover their spirits, took all the precautions possible for the security of the place, and throwing off all respect to the king, styled him openly, tyrant, apostate, hangman, traitor, and whatever else their brutal malice could suggest, breaking his statues, tearing his pictures, and demolishing his arms in every public place where they had been fixed during his reign^f.

*The death
of the
queen-mo-
ther, and
the great
perplexity
of the king.*

The queen-mother, sick as she was, caused herself to be carried to the place where the cardinal de Bourbon was confined, who no sooner saw her, than he cried out, "Madam, this is one of your contrivances, and by your arts we have been all brought here to have our throats cut." The queen answered with one of those execrations which were then common, that she was entirely ignorant of the matter^g. This conversation made so strong an impression on her mind, that it is supposed to have hastened her death, which happened on the 5th of January, in the seventieth year of her age^h (A). The king now flattered himself

^f Cayet. ^g J. de Serres. P. Matth.
du Regne du Roy Henry III. p. 122.

^h Journal

(A) Catherine, the dowager of Henry II. the mother of Francis II. Charles IX. and Henry III. kings of France, was born at Florence, April the 13th, 1519. In her person she was rather comely than handsome, more especially in the latter part of her life, when she grew coarse and fat. She had great natural talents. But what she principally excelled in; were the arts of a court; easy, affable, and engaging; magnificent without regarding

expence; and liberal even to profusion. She had great preference of mind, and a wonderful fertility in expedients; but her ambition was without bounds, without pity, without natural affection. She created parties, that she might preserve her own power by balancing them; and, to this view, she sacrificed all principles of religion, and all pretensions to integrity. She sometimes flattered, but oftener persecuted the Protestants. She

himself that affairs would go better in the assembly of the states; and, to facilitate this aim, he carried his prisoners to

She sided with the house of Guise against the princes, then with the princes against the house of Guise. She neglected the education of her children in their nonage; she suffered them to be misled in their youth, that she might govern them through the whole course of their lives. In order to judge of her true character, we ought to consider her favourites and her court. The former were men of intrigue, who discovered their parts in a multitude of inventions for fleecing and impoverishing the people: abandoned in their manners, violent in their actions, and blindly devoted to her pleasure. As to the ladies who composed the latter, their characters are sufficiently distinguished in history, at the same time that they disgrace it. In short, the age of Catherine de Medicis, for so we may style the space of upwards of thirty years, in which her genius and example gave the law in France, was a mixture of impurities of every kind. Much of superstition, more of atheism, and an extravagant propensity to magic; splendour without dignity; a policy so refined, as to sap the foundations of government; an affectation of absolutely power, that ended in total anarchy, and such a spirit of dissipation as left industry without hope, and almost effaced all sentiments of probity. After a long life

spent in luxury, she died, in appearance, of the gout, rendered mortal by a distraction of mind, and an incapacity of bearing that contempt which she saw coming upon her (1). In her last moments she was attended by the king, who behaved to her with marks of real affection (2). "I leave you," said she to him, "my last advice; and I entreat that these dying words may be imprinted in your memory, for the good of your state. Love the princes of your blood, and have them always about you; and more especially the king of Navarre. I have found them always faithful to the crown; and they alone have any interest in the succession of the kingdom. Remember also, that, if you would restore that peace which is so necessary to France, you must begin with granting liberty of conscience to your subjects. Amongst the Germans and other sovereign princes of my time, there have been none who, by mere force of arms, have been able to extinguish the troubles excited in their countries on the score of religion." Her death was no sooner known at Paris, than the people publicly declared, that if they brought her body into that city to be interred, they would either cast it into the common sewer, or into the river (3). The reason of this bitterness was, the persuasion

(1) P. Daniel. (2) Davila, liyr. ix.
du Regne du Roy Henry III. p. 122, 123.

(3) Journal

to the castle of Amboise, the command of which he gave to du Guast, who by his order had caused the cardinal de Guise to be murdered. He was prevailed upon, however, to release the count de Brisac, and to send all the deputies from Paris, except Chapelle Marteau, together with Vincent le Roi, to that capital, in hopes that, according to their promise, they would endeavour to calm the minds of the people; and contented himself with taking their oaths, that, if they did not succeed, they would returnⁱ. But in a very little time he found all his expectations vain; the deputies began to retire without his leave from Blois; so that, to save appearances, he was forced to prorogue the assembly: many of the great cities declared for the league, which was now publicly countenanced by the pope and the king of Spain. But what troubled him most, and gave the greatest wound to his reputation, was the conduct of du Guast, who began to treat with the leaguers for the ransom of his prisoners; and had the assurance, when the king on this intelligence demanded them, to drive a bargain with the king himself, who was forced to give him thirty thousand crowns in ready money, for the cardinal de Bourbon, the duke of Elbœuf, and the young duke of Guise^k. As for the archbishop of Lyons and Chapelle Marteau, he kept them to make his market of elsewhere, and sold them afterwards to the leaguers^l. If, instead of following the timid counsels of marshal de Rhetz, the king had listened to the advice of marshal d'Aumont and the sieur de Rambouillet, who advised him to recall the army of the duke of Nevers, and to march directly to Paris^m, he would have probably put an end to the civil war at the very beginning; but the humour of temporizing, which was always fatal to him, prevailed, and gave rise to those troubles which subsisted for so many years, and reduced the monarchy of France to the very brink of ruin.

In the mean time the leaguers at Paris were reducing rebellion into a system. Seventy doctors of the Sorbonne took upon them to decide that the people were released from their oath to Henry of Valois, and by another de-

ⁱ Jacobi Thuan. P. Dan.

Du Tillet.

^m P. Matth.

^k J. de Serres. Dupleix.

^l Histoire de la Ligue. D'Avila. Mezeray.

they had that the death of the Guise, was the effect of her duke and of the cardinal de counsel.

cree the people were forbid to mention the king in their public prayers; they likewise pronounced it lawful to levy money and to take up armsⁿ. The sixteen, who were, in effect, tribunes of the people, had declared the duke of Aumale governor of Paris. In concert with him Bussi le Clerc, a factious attorney, to whom the duke of Guise committed the charge of the Bastile, understanding that the parliament were assembled with intent to send a solemn deputation to the king, went thither, attended by a guard, and carried fifty presidents and counsellors in their robes publicly through the streets, exposed to all the insults of the populace, to his fortress, where they were confined^o. They then formed a new parliament, at the head of which they placed the president Brisson by force; the sieur Mole was made attorney-general, and threatened with death if he did not accept it. This new parliament declared the promise made by the deputies to return to Blois to be null and void, and also took an oath never to depart from the league, and to revenge the death of the duke and cardinal of Guise. On the arrival of the duke of Mayenne, the council of union, which was composed of forty members, declared him lieutenant-general of the state royal and crown of France, an unknown and unintelligible title, but with which they gave him almost sovereign power; and indeed they would have complimented him with the title of king, but that he prudently refused it^p. Rouen and a great part of Normandy declared for the league. Lyons and Toulouse, and the whole province of Bretagne, Bourges, Marseilles, Aix, Arles, and Toulon followed their example; marshal Matignon preserved Bourdeaux, and marshal d'Aumont recovered Angiers; but the provinces of Mayenne and Auvergne embraced the league^q. The Spanish ambassador repaired to Paris; a sufficient indication what side his master was inclined to take. The pope was inclined the same way; for the league had, in cardinal Pellevè, an active and able agent at Rome, where the king was also well served by the marquis Pisani. In all provinces troops were raising for the king and for the league; and though religion was the pretence, yet interest or resentment were the real motives. There was all this time an open war with the

*The league-
guers at
Paris dis-
own the
king, and
create the
duke of
Mayenne
lieutenant-
general of
the realms.*

ⁿ Maimbourg Hist. de la Ligue, p. 297, 298, ad Ann 1589.
Memoires de la Ligue, tom. iii. ^o Journal du Regne du
Roy Henry III. p. 123, 124. ^p Dupleix. Mezeray.
^q Jacob. Thuan.

Protestants, but it was carried on very faintly, the league having no opportunity of attacking them; and the king, and the nobility who adhered to him, having no inclination, though, to save appearances, and to lessen the influence of the rebels, they declared publicly, and in strong terms, against heresy and heretics, with whom they were privately treating, and without whose assistance there was nothing more evident than that the king must be undone, and the constitution overthrown^r.

*The king is
reconciled
to the king
of Na-
varre.*

The distress of princes is the great criterion of zeal and duty. Henry saw himself, at Blois, abandoned by almost all those whom his favour had raised to greatness, decried by the clergy whom he had encouraged, and abhorred by the bigots, to whom, during his whole reign, he had been paying court. In this particular consisted his good fortune; it made room for those who ought to have been always about him. Except the old doating cardinal of Bourbon, who was in prison, and whom the league styled Charles the Tenth, all the princes of his blood repaired to him, not to receive places and preferments, but to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for his service. The cardinal de Lenonœur, the marshal duke de Montmorency, the duke d'Espèron, the duke of Nevers, and other persons of great quality, resorted with what forces they could collect; by their advice he removed to Tours, and by his edict of the 4th of March, transferred thither the parliament and chamber of accounts from Paris^r. He had negotiated with the duke of Mayenne, and, out of a desire of peace, had offered him and the family of Lorraine the government of one third of the kingdom; but their hope of possessing the whole was so strong, that they rejected these offers^r. The king of Navarre, on the contrary, published a declaration, by which he offered himself and his forces for his majesty's service, without any stipulation. Diana de Angoulême, natural daughter to king Henry the Second, negotiated the reconciliation between them, which was perfected in an interview towards the end of April. Some had suggested to the king of Navarre that he might meet the same fate with the duke of Guise: to satisfy them he took some precautions at the first meeting, but went the next morning to confer with the king, attended only by a page, a mark of confidence, which produced a thorough

^r P. Matth. Serres. ^r Jacob. Thuanus ^r Cayet
Hist. de la Vie du Duc d'Espèron, tom. i. p. 248, 249. Maim-
bourg.

reconciliation^u. While the king of Navarre was assembling his troops, the duke of Mayenne was very near seizing the king. A detachment of horse was within a hundred yards of him: a miller gave him notice of his danger; it was with difficulty he recovered the suburbs of Tours, which were gallantly defended by Crillon, with part of the regiment of guards; but both the place and his person would have been taken, if the troops of the king of Navarre had not relieved it on the seventh of May^w. The pope, by his bull, excommunicated the king, for the death of the cardinal de Guise, the imprisonment of the cardinal de Bourbon, and his reconciliation with the king of Navarre. This prince, seeing the king extremely affected with the thunder of the Vatican, said, "Sire, let us march with our forces to Paris; if we are victorious we shall be easily absolved^x." The duke of Aumale, with the militia of that capital, besieged Senlis, which had been surprised by the king. La Noue and the duke of Longueville, with a handful of men, defeated Aumale, and relieved it; a circumstance which encouraged the two kings to prosecute their enterprise. In their march they recovered several places, some of which surrendered, and some were taken by storm; amongst the latter was Estampes, for defending of which the baron de St. Germain lost his head^y. Nicholas de Harlay, seigneur de Sancy, whom the king had sent to raise troops in Switzerland without money, by the sale of his own jewels and lands, accomplished his commission, and brought ten thousand Swiss foot, two thousand Lansquenets, and fifteen hundred Reitres, to Conflans, where they joined the army of the two kings. The compliment Henry made to this gentleman was very remarkable; after embracing him, he said, "In recompensing this service, I shall never be able to reach your deserts; but I will endeavour to exceed your expectations^z." Their forces were now between thirty and forty thousand men, with whom, on the last of July, they invested Paris, the king fixing his quarters at St. Cloud, and the king of Navarre at Meudon^a.

On the approach of the royal army to Paris, the council of union had recalled the duke of Mayenne from Alençon, which he had reduced. He made the best disposition

^u Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espèrnon, tom. i. liv. iii. P. Matth.

^w Cayet. Dupleix. Histoire de France, tom. iv.

p. 195. ^x Journal du Règne du Roy Henry III. P.

Daniel. ^y D'Aubigne. ^z Jacob. Thuan. Guich.

^a Serres. Mezeray.

*Henry III.
murdered
by James
Clement,
a Jacobin
monk.*

for their defence that was possible, and took post himself, with four thousand men, in the suburb of St. Honore, fully resolved, in case things came to extremity, to open himself a passage, or perish in the attempt. It is generally believed, that this capital could not have held out long. The king would very soon have prevented any kind of supplies from entering the place; and when once the inhabitants were distressed, as there were numbers of royalists in the place, the duke of Mayenne and the inveterate leaguers would have found themselves in a manner between two fires: but their danger and their deliverance came together. A Jacobin friar, whose name was James Clement, a native of the village of Sorbonne, near Sens, an ignorant half-witted creature, about twenty-five years of age, distracted with the enthusiastic sermons that were every day thundered from the pulpits, and prompted by better heads, and perhaps wicked hearts than his own, was fixed upon as a proper instrument for dissipating the royal army by dispatching the king. To facilitate this enterprize, a passport was procured, under false pretences, from the count de Brienne, one of the king's generals, then a prisoner, and a letter forged from president Harlay, who was in the Bastile. With these implements he set out from Paris the very day the king came to St. Cloud, and falling in upon the road with the attorney-general, Mr. La Guesle, and his brother, who were going to the king's quarters, and telling them that he was going with very important intelligence, one of the gentlemen took him up behind him, and carried him to St. Cloud. As it was too late for him that night to see the king, he supped with the attorney-general's servants, with whom he was remarkably lively and merry, and slept so soundly, that they were forced to awake him in the morning. When he was introduced to the king by La Guesle, he spoke to him with great readiness, presented his letters, and while he was reading them, drew a knife he had concealed in his sleeve, and thrust it into his sovereign's belly^d. The king drew it out himself, and gave him one, or, as some say, two wounds in the face, on which La Guesle struck him on the stomach with the pommel of his sword, which stunned him; and two of the king's guards very imprudently dispatched him as he lay on the floor^e (B). At first

^d Mem. du Duc d'Angouleme.

^e Mezeray.

(B) There was a pompous account of his martyrdom published at Paris, and his order were so far from being ashamed either of the action or of him who did it, that one of his

first the king's wound was not thought mortal, at least so it was given out; but his swooning frequently quickly discovered his danger. The king of Navarre repaired immediately to the king's quarters as soon as he was informed of what had happened. There are different accounts of their conversation, and perhaps equally ill-founded; but it is generally agreed, that the king embraced him tenderly, called him his dear brother, declared him his successor, and exhorted the nobility who were present to acknowledge and support him. The king died next morning, which was the 2d of August, about four o'clock, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and in the sixteenth of his reign^f (C).

^f Jacob. Thuan. P. Matth. Cayet. Dupl. tom. iv. Davila, liv. x.

his brethren published another account, in which his attempting it was ascribed to a revelation from heaven. With respect to the contrivers of this fact, the best authors speak very cautiously and darkly, and even those, who in other things seem to have been best informed, acknowledge, that in this particular, they could say nothing with certainty; that it was hid under impenetrable clouds, and must be referred to divine justice. Common fame threw it upon the duke of Mayenne, and the duchess of Montpensier his sister: the former disclaimed it in the strongest manner; but the duchess avowed it; and there want not some who assert, that she bribed the monk to commit that detestable action, by granting him the greatest favour in her power: besides other provocations, it is reported, that being disappointed in a love intrigue with the king, was one of the principal causes of her rage and resentment. It is certain that she and her mother drove about the streets in the most indecent manner, pub-

lishing the news to the populace, and then went to the church of the Cordeliers, where the duchess of Nemours, mounted on the steps of the altar, and reviled the deceased king in the most abusive manner. They likewise distributed green scarfs to their friends, instead of the black ones which they had worn from the time of the death of the duke of Guise: but if this behaviour was inexcusable, even in women, much more so was that of the pope, Sixtus V. who, in a full consistory, was not ashamed to magnify the holy zeal of this bloody villain, and to extol his courage and piety beyond those of Eleazar and Judith.

(C) Henry III. was born on Saturday, September the 20th, 1551. At his baptism he received the name of Alexander Edward; his sponsors were Edward VI. king of England, Anthony du Bourbon, duke of Vendosme, and the princess of Navarre, the duke's consort. His name was changed to Henry at his confirmation. While duke of Anjou, he was active, ambitious,

ambitious, and full of generous ardour; but afterwards his nature was quite changed, some say after the short stay he made at Venice; but, in reality, this change happened after the massacre of St. Bartholomew. From this time his mind became disordered, insomuch that he studied sometimes to forget his apprehensions in debauches, and at others to appease his conscience by acts of superstitious devotion. After his return from Poland, he became indolent and capricious; but with these new faults he retained his old obstinacy; for though he frequently changed his opinions, it proceeded not from compliance but mutability. After the death of the prince of Condé, his vices took an unnatural turn, of which this is the clearest proof: the great historian, monsieur d'Aubigne, being taken prisoner by monsieur de Saint Luc, who had been one of the king's minions, St. Luc told him frankly, that, not being able to endure the sight of those excesses into which the king sometimes fell, he concerted with the marshal de Retz and the duke de Joyeuse, the means of frightening the king from them. By the help of an iron pipe conveyed through a hole into the king's chamber, St. Luc spoke as if he had been an angel sent to admonish him, at which this poor prince was so terrified, that he was very near losing his senses; upon which the duke of Joyeuse told him the truth. This discovery incensed him so violently against St. Luc, that he was constrained to abandon the court, and to retire into his government, where he af-

terwards declared for the league. The king waked sometimes in such terrors, that he rose and hid himself under his bed; and whenever it thundered, he took shelter in the vaults under the Louvre. He had but one relapse before his death, which discovered itself in his negotiation with the duke of Mayenne; for after that he resumed his martial spirit, and became what he was when duke of Anjou. In the defence of Tours, M. de Thou assures us, that he gave his orders like a great captain, and shewed all the intrepidity in danger of the most gallant foldier. He was a kind husband to Louisa of Lorraine, who, after his decease, retired from Moulins, and spent the remainder of her days in acts of piety, dying about twelve years after the king. His behaviour, after he received the wound of which he died, was equally pious and brave. The malice born to this prince is almost beyond example: after his body was embalmed, his entrails, being put up in a coffer, while the great lords of the army were assembled in council, this coffer was pierced in several places with daggers, so that the grease ran through. It is from hence argued, that there were some about him very capable of doing what is ascribed to the monk. His intestines were interred in the church of St. Cloud, where an inscription has been since put up by one of his faithful servants, and his body deposited at St. Corneille in Compeigne, whither it was attended by the duke of Espernon, and in 1610, it was removed to St. Denis.

S E C T. XI.

The Reign of Henry IV. surnamed the Great, King of France and Navarre, Founder of the Branch of Bourbon, at present in Possession of the Throne.

HENRY, king of Navarre, was in the thirty-sixth year of his age, when, by the death of his predecessor, he was called to the throne, in right of his descent ^a (A). He saw, however, very few, except the Hugonots, who shewed any great zeal for his service, and resolved therefore to make use of those few as soon and as effectually as he could. Amongst these, the marshal de Biron was one of the first; the king sent him to prevail upon the Swiss to take an oath of fidelity, and to remain in the army, believing, that if this precedent was set, it would be very quickly followed. His endeavours and his hopes were anticipated; their colonel, general Sanci, without so much as going to make his court to the king, had disposed the Swiss to do all that he desired. There was, however, a great cabal amongst the Catholics, at the head of which were the sieurs d'O, Manou, d'Entragues, Chateau Vieux, Dampierre, marechal de camp, who retired to consult with the duke of Longueville, being unwilling to acknowledge Henry, and yet more unwilling to join

^a P. Matth. Dupleix.

(A) To set this monarch's descent in a clear point of view, we will trace him in a direct line from St. Louis. Robert, count of Clermont, son to that monarch, was the father of Lewis the First, duke of Bourbon; Lewis was the father of James, count de la Marche, who was the father of John, also count de la Marche; John was the father of Louis, count of Vendosme; Lewis was the father of John,

who was also count of Vendosme; John was the father of Francis, who bore the same title; and Francis the father of Charles, duke of Vendosme, who was the father of Anthony king of Navarre, who was the father of Henry the Fourth: he stood therefore in the tenth descent from St. Louis; so that he stood related but in the twenty-second degree to his predecessor (1), otherwise than by marriage.

(1) Le Gendre, Hist. de France. tom. v. p. 3. Jacob. Thuan. P. Daniel, Histoire de France, tom. ix. p. 2.

*Henry IV.
proclaimed
king by the
army.*

with the league. After much deliberation they came to the king in a body; and the sieur d'O declared, in their names, that they did not pretend to question his title, but expected and desired that he should become a Catholic. Henry changed countenance several times while he was speaking, and seemed more embarrassed than at any time of his life. He told them he was amazed that any other thoughts should enter their minds, than those of revenging the death of their slaughtered sovereign, which entirely took up his. He told them, that to follow their advice was the worst step he could take; that the change of religion to a man who had any, was not the work of an instant; and that he was determined to consider this point with the attention it deserved^b. At this instant Givry entered, and by a lively unpremeditated speech, did more than all the argument and eloquence in the world could have done: "Sire, said he, the flower of your brave nobility have resolved to put off their mourning for the late king till they have revenged him, in order to which they only wait your commands; you are the king of all the brave men in the army, and none think of abandoning you, but the poltroons." Marshal Biron, Sanci, a crowd of young nobility, all the colonels of the Swiss, came immediately and took the oath of fidelity^c. This circumstance had a great effect upon the Catholic lords, who retired, drew up some propositions, mild in their nature, and modestly expressed, which the king signed on the 4th of August, and then they likewise took the oath^d. The duke of Espernon, under pretence that the marshals Biron and d'Aumont had signed before him, refused to concur, and marched off with his troops, a step which had a very bad effect^e. In the mean time the leaguers gave incredible testimonies of joy for the death of the late king; but the duke of Mayenne acted with great dignity and discretion. He rejected the proposal of those who were for proclaiming himself king, as he likewise did a motion that was made to offer the crown to Philip the Second; he contented himself with publishing a manifesto in his own name, and that of the council of the union, exhorting the inhabitants of the cities and towns to renew the oath they had taken to live and die in the Catholic religion, and to acknowledge for their king the cardinal of

^b D'Aubigny, tom. iii. liv. ii. chap. 24.
P. Daniel. ^d Dupleix.
d'Espernon, tom. i. liv. iii. p. 274.

^c Jacob. Thuan.
^e Histoire de la Vie du Duc

Bourbon^f, the king of Navarre being a heretic. He preserved by this step the protection of Spain and Savoy, and secured the sovereign power in his own hands, on behalf of a captive prince; and at the same time left a door open, through which he might with decency retire, when either compelled by necessity, or invited by a favourable opportunity.

The king seeing his army sensibly diminish, found it necessary to raise the siege of Paris, and to march with the forces he had left into Normandy. He took several small places by the way; but, in all probability, would have found it difficult to reduce either Dieppe or Eu. The former of these was of infinite consequence to him, as it opened a communication with England, the only power in Europe from which he could hope assistance. The commander de Chattes had a good garrison in it, with which he marched out, and met the king, "Sire, said he, there is not a soldier in the town; you may send what governor and what garrison into it you please; as to myself and my troops we pretend to no other title than that of being your majesty's faithful subjects." This event was of great consequence; and a relation of the commander's secured in like manner the town and citadel of Caen. In the mean time the zealous Parisians, upon the duke of Mayenne's suggestion, that the king's forces were dwindled to nothing in Normandy, and that, if followed thither by a good army, he must be presently undone, furnished that prince with men and money in abundance, and having drawn great succours from Lorraine, marched directly into Normandy with near thirty thousand men. As the king's forces were not quite seven thousand, the duke proposed either to retake Dieppe, or to besiege the king in it; and he might have done which he pleased, if he had acted vigorously^h. His caution gave the king time to intrench behind the river, and under the cannon of the castle of Arques, where the duke attacked him on the 21st of September. The leaguers had the advantage at the beginning by an action of the greatest treachery; their Lansquenets, perceiving that their countrymen defended the king's intrenchments, pretended to desert; but as soon as they were helped over, attacked the king's troops, and one of their officers made a bold attempt upon his personⁱ. At length, however, the duke of Mayenne

He raises the siege of Paris, and secures Dieppe and Caen, in Normandy.

Is attacked by the duc de Mayenne, who is repulsed.

^f Memoires de Villeroi, tom. i.
moires de la Ligue.

^g P. Dan.

^h Me-

ⁱ Jacob. Thuan, P. Matth.

A.D. 1589.

*He marches
immedi-
ately to
Paris.*

was defeated, with the loss of six hundred men^k. Soon after this victory, Henry received the acceptable news that the Swiss cantons and the republic of Venice had acknowledged him for king of France; he received likewise four thousand foot from England^l. About the middle of October he made an expeditious march to Paris, and quartered his troops in sight of it on the last of that month. His appearance strangely alarmed the inhabitants, who had let their windows that looked on the street of St. Anthony, to those who promised themselves the pleasure of seeing the Bearnois led in triumph, and had just received an authentic account of his being totally defeated at Arques, with twenty of the royal standards supposed to be taken, but really made for that purpose^m. On the first of November the king insulted three of the suburbs, in which the leaguers lost thirteen hundred men, fourteen ensigns, and thirty pieces of cannon. If the king's artillery could have been brought up in time, or if the duke of Mayenne had not entered with his army, the place would have been carried by storm. The people hanged two or three of their own townsmen, who were royalists, and the king, in return, hanged up one of the sixteen who was prisoner of warⁿ. On the 21st of November Henry made his public entry into Tours, and the same day the duke of Mayenne proclaimed Charles the Tenth with great solemnity^o. Nevertheless, the sixteen and most of the furious clergy were for declaring the king of Spain protector of the league; the duke engaged them to defer it till the arrival of the pope's legate; and upon finding him in the Spanish interest, he proposed declaring the pope their protector, a proposal with which the clergy joined; the legate was forced to approve, and the sixteen to submit. He then declared, that as he governed by the royal authority (though his king was close prisoner in Fontenai le Comte, in Poitou), he would appoint a privy council, and dissolve that of the union, which had the air of a republic. This was a great blow to the sixteen; and, to strengthen himself still farther, he took the seals from Montholon, who, since the late king's death, had refused to act, and gave them to the archbishop of Lyons^p. Some of the great cities and some of the parliaments declared for the king, some adhered to the league, and some affected to remain neuter.

*Different
towns de-
clare for
the king
and the
cardinal
de Bourbon.*

^k Hist. de France, tom. ix. p. 437

^l Dupleix, tom. v.

^m P. Daniel, tom. ix. p. 438.

ⁿ Jacob. Thuan. P. Matth.

^o Davila, liv. x.

^p Histoire de la Ligue.

Under this pretence marshal Matignon held Bourdeaux, by which means he did the king more service than if he had declared for him^a. The duke of Espernon, though he affected a kind of independence, and had a better army than the king's, acted with spirit and success against the league, though he made no steps to be reconciled to the king, for fear he should borrow his money^r. The duke of Savoy demanded from the parliament of Grenoble the title of king of France, and being denied that, would have accepted the kingdom of Arles, but La Valette, Espernon's elder brother, prevented his getting either the title or the dominions, sacrificing his troops, his money, and at length his life, in the king's service.

The duke of Mayenne made himself master of Pontoise, and afterwards besieged Meulan, to the relief of which the king marched in person with a small force. The duke retired; but, as soon as the king was gone, he besieged the place a second time, though without effect. The king relieved it a second time, and the duke, to avoid a battle^s, retired. The king, who had now a superiority, besieged Dreux; but the prince of Parma having sent count Egmont with a potent succour of the best troops in his army, the duke of Mayenne marched with upwards of sixteen thousand men to relieve the place. In his passage the king met him at Yvry with his forces, which were not above twelve thousand men; the duke had no intention to engage, but he could not avoid it. The battle was fought on the 14th of March: the king's speech is worth inserting: "Children," said he to his soldiers, "if you should at any time lose sight of your colours, look about for this, pointing to the white feather in his hat, you'll find it in the way to victory and honour. God is with us^t." He exposed himself extremely, was present when the count of Egmont was killed, and his Walloon horse broke; the duke of Mayenne was entirely routed, lost his baggage, his artillery, and, indeed, every thing he had to lose^u. At the close of the engagement there was a great square column of Swiss troops, to whom some French infantry joined themselves, and, though surrounded by the king's troops, remained firm. Henry sent them a kind message, that he should be sorry to put so many brave men to the sword, and that their safety depended upon them-

*The king
defeats the
duc de
Mayenne
at Yvry.*

^a Mezeray.
Ligue.

^r Dupleix. tom. v.

^s Memoires de la

^t Jacob. Thuan. P. Dan, tom. ix. p. 467.

^u Dup. tom. v.

selves, upon which they threw down their arms, and entered into his service. About two thousand five hundred were killed; but the loss of the leaguers, one way or other, was equal to that of the king's whole army. Marshal Biron, who commanded the reserve, never fought at all, and yet he was the great author of the victory, for he presented his troops so opportunely wherever the enemy began to press, that he obliged them to retire in confusion. After the victory, he made the king a compliment, that shewed he was as great a courtier as a captain, "Sire, said he, you acted the part of marshal Biron to day, and acted it well, while I, for my part, performed that of the king ^w." The duke of Mayenne, who would have been totally lost if he had not persuaded the people of Mante that the king was killed, and thereby obtained a passage over the Seine, endeavoured to retard the motion of the victorious army by a negotiation; and the king was content to be amused, because he could not move for want of money; however, by the 8th of May, he completely blocked up Paris ^x.

*Death of
the cardinal de
Bourbon.*

On the same day, the cardinal de Bourbon died in his prison, of a retention of urine, at the age of sixty-seven ^y. He was very sensible that his royalty was a farce; and, after the death of Henry the Third, made use of the phrase, *the king my nephew*, indefinitely, but would never call him king of Navarre. The leaguers continued to coin their money with his effigies for five years after, and procured a decree of the Sorbonne, fortified by an arret of their parliament, against the title of Henry de Bourbon ^z. The duke de Nemours was governor of Paris, and discharged that office with great capacity. The legate formed a regiment of ecclesiastics, consisting of thirteen hundred men, and had his secretary killed by his side at his first review. The inhabitants suffered prodigiously by famine; and, notwithstanding their solemn oaths to the contrary, were at last forced to treat ^a. The king might certainly have been master of his capital, if he had refused a passage to the old men, women, and children, whom the duke of Nemours turned out. He was reproached for his ill-timed tenderness by some of his officers ^b, but the king was one of those princes who would rather have bore all the reproaches in the world than those of his own heart.

^w P. Matth.

^y Cayet, tom. i.

^b Hist. de France, tom. ix.

^x Memoires de Villeroi, tom. i.

^z P. Dan,

^a Davila, liv. xi.

At last the prince of Parma, in obedience to this Catholic majesty's orders, marched to the relief of Paris, and conducted his design so well, that, at the close of the month of August, the king was constrained to raise his blockade, when the place was on the very point of falling into his hands^c. He met with several other mortifications; the duke of Savoy took Frejus and Antibes, and was received in triumph at Aix, under the title of protector of Provence^d. This turn of fortune induced some to quit the king's party, and go over to the league, while others pretended discontent on the score of religion; but the worst of all was the want of money, sometimes to such a degree, that the king was forced to go under colour of a visit to other people's quarters, for want of a dinner at his own^e. Another misfortune was, the death of pope Sixtus the Fifth, at a time when he was on the point of breaking with the Spaniards, and making an attempt on the kingdom of Naples. He was succeeded by Urban the Seventh, who sat but a little time, and then made room for Gregory the Fourteenth, a subject of the king of Spain, the most determined enemy the king ever had. Before the close of the year, Henry made an attempt, to surprise Paris, and would have succeeded, but that a jesuit, a lawyer, and a bookseller, being upon duty, overheard the troops that were about to scale the wall, shot the first person who attempted to enter, after he had mounted the ladder, and by giving the alarm obliged the king's forces to desist^f.

The king is obliged to raise the blockade of Paris.

A.D. 1590.

As the reduction of Paris was his great view, the king was not to be discouraged. On the 20th of January he sent several waggons laden with corn, attended by sixty determined officers, in the disguise of peasants, to seize the gate of St. Honore, not knowing that the leaguers had caused it to be walled up; so that, though admirably conducted, this design, styled in French, *journee de farines*, also miscarried^g. The pope, being entirely in the hands of the Spanish faction, declared Henry a heretic relapsed, a persecutor of the church, and as such excommunicated, fallen from his dignities, and even from his patrimonial estates, requiring all ecclesiastics to quit his party, on pain of losing their dignities and benefices, and laics also, under the highest penalties; a sentence which

The pope declares him a heretic relapsed.

^c J. Thuan.
^e P. Matth.
tom. v.

^d Bouche Hist. de Provence, tom. ii. liv. x.
^f Memoires de la Ligue.

^g Dupleix.

produced a great deal of confusion^b. However, the king having received a considerable sum of money, and a great quantity of ammunition from the queen of Englandⁱ, recovered several places in Normandy. By the advice of the chancellor Chiverny, to whom he had restored the seals, he besieged Chartres, and took it with great difficulty. Not long after this transaction, a place of consequence being surpris'd in Normandy, the bishop of Evreux, a violent leaguer, was taken prisoner. There was found upon him a treatise he had written to justify the murder of Henry the Third, and to prove the lawfulness of treating his successor in the same way. Upon his refusing to retract these treasonable and atheistical opinions, he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment^k. The parliament of Chalons declared all the pope's bulls and rescripts against both kings null, abusive, and seditious, ordered them to be burnt by the hand of the hangman, and offered a reward for apprehending the pope's nuncio^l. On the 4th of July, the king published an edict at Mante, by which he revoked those extorted from his predecessor by the leaguers, and established liberty of conscience throughout his dominions^m. In the month of August he took Nojon in the sight of the duke of Mayenne, and received the acceptable news that the viscount de Turenne had levied sixteen thousand men for his service in Germany.

He publishes an edict at Mante, establishing liberty of conscience throughout his dominions.

While he was employed in recruiting and augmenting his army, he was informed of the escape of the young duke of Guise from the castle of Tours; on which all he said was, "The more enemies we have, the more pains we must take, and the more honour it will be to defeat themⁿ." It was not long before he heard of another competitor, never thought of by himself or any body else, which was Charles cardinal of Bourbon, son to Lewis prince of Condé, who pretended that he was the nearest Catholic of the house of Bourbon. As for the sixteen, who had now recovered their power in Paris, they declared for the duke of Guise, under the protection of the crown of Spain. The king was quickly apprized of this circumstance, and being so fortunate as to seize their agent with their instructions, sent them to the duke of Mayenne, that

^b P. Dan. tom. ix. p. 522, 523.

Queen Elizabeth.

^m P. Matth.

P. 532.

^k J. Thuan.

ⁱ Camden's Annals of

^l P. Daniel.

ⁿ P. Daniel, *Histoire de France*, tom. ix.

he might see to what sort of people he was become the tool ^p. He likewise consented that the duke should send president Janin into Spain, to discover the true sentiments of Philip the Second. He knew the president to be a very honest man, and he made no doubt of his being disgusted at the Spanish court. He was not mistaken; for the president found Philip the Second so secure of being master of France, that, in speaking to him, he always said, my town of Paris ^p. He likewise heard of a queen of France, and a new king too, in her right: this was the infanta to whom, in the opinion of her father, the crown belonged, as the nearest relation of the late king, and he was content to give both her and it to the archduke Ernest. The king having assembled an army of thirty-five thousand men, formed the siege of Rouen. While he was thus employed, the sixteen caused a citizen of Paris to be proceeded against before their parliament for writing a letter to a relation of his in the king's service; but as there was nothing in it regarding public affairs, he was acquitted. Buffi, Louchart, le Normand, and Anroux, four of the most furious of the sixteen, seized the first president Brisson, and the counsellors Archer and Tardif, condemned and hanged them in prison ^q, on the 15th of November. The duke of Mayenne being informed of this outrage, returned out of Picardy with a small corps of horse, held an assembly in the town-house, where he reprimanded those who had been most busy in the affair, and, by way of adjusting matters, invited the sixteen to supper, where, while they were very merry, he posted guards in proper places, and, after they were returned to their own houses, took four of them out of their beds, and hanged them in his hall ^r. Buffi le Clere saved his life by delivering up the Bastille; but the soldiers plundered him of his wealth, and he himself, retiring to Brussels, lived there for many years, in all the wretchedness of poverty and infamy ^s. Henry, who, with the assistance of a great body of English troops, under the command of the earl of Essex ^t, was on the very point of taking Rouen, found himself obliged to raise the siege, by the arrival of the prince of Parma with a Spanish army, who in this enterprize, as in the

Outrages committed by the council of sixteen at Paris.

^p D'Avila, liv. xii. Memoires de la Ligue. Histoire de France. tom. v. p. 52.

^q Dupleix, Jacob. Thuan.

^r P. Dan. Histoire de France, tom. ix. p. 547, 548.

^s Dupleix, tom. v.

^t Memoires de Du Pleffis Mornai, tom. ii. Memoires du Sully, tom. i. Cayet, tom. i. D'Avil. liv. xii.

*The king
obliged to
raise the
siege of
Rouen.*

relief of Paris, performed what he came to do, and then marched back again into the Low Countries, without suffering Henry to force him to a battle^u. This was one of the greatest disappointments the king ever met with. However, he was in some measure consoled by the death of pope Gregory the Fourteenth, who gave a monthly subsidy to the leaguers, and actually sent a body of troops to their assistance, though they proved of little service. His successor, Innocent the Ninth, who trod in his steps, followed him also into another world; and the duke of Savoy was soundly beaten by la Vallette, notwithstanding he had added Marseilles to the places he had purloined from the crown of France. The king had likewise the satisfaction of knowing that his own party in Paris was increasing every day, and was at least equal to the Spanish faction, and to that of the duke of Mayenne, who favoured them rather than the other.

*He attacks
the van
of the ar-
my com-
manded by
the duke of
Parma,
but with-
out effect.*

The new republic of Holland sent, in the beginning of the year, a fleet of forty-five sail, with a succour of three thousand men on board, which was very acceptable to the king^v, who began to be more and more perplexed with the siege of Rouen. He had before it a much better army than he had ever commanded, falling very little, if at all, short of forty thousand men; but the place was very gallantly defended by Andrew Brancas du Villars, one of the bravest men, and by some esteemed the best officer, in the service of the league^x. The army of the dukes, that is of Parma and Mayenne, did not consist of above twenty-four thousand men, had a long march to make, and through a country that would have embarrassed any other commander than the duke of Parma. He marched continually in order of battle, his cavalry in the center, his infantry on the wings, with a thousand waggons in three lines on each flank, his artillery in the rear. He himself, in an open carriage, unarmed, and at his ease, as if it had been no more than a journey of pleasure, received intelligence, and gave his orders without emotion^y. The king, not being able to credit the news he heard, and being desirous to see with his own eyes how these succours were conducted, advanced with a great corps of horse towards the confederates, leaving marshal Biron to command the

^u Jacob. Thuan. Dupl. tom. v.

^v Jacob. Thuan. Davila, liv. xii. P. Daniel, Histoire de France, tom. ix. p. 578.

^x D'Aubigny. Mezeray.

^y D'Avila, liv. xii. Dupleix,

tom. v.

siege. At Aumale he fell in with their vanguard, attacked and defeated some of the advanced corps, but quickly found himself obliged to make as quick a retreat as possible. It is allowed that he shewed great vivacity in this attack, much intrepidity in the time of greatest danger, and great conduct in retiring, wounded as he was in the reins^z. But it is said the prudence of the duke of Nevers, who foresaw his danger, and advanced with 'a good body of troops to favour his retreat, prevented his being killed or made prisoner. His address was commended by the duke of Parma; his whole conduct severely censured by marshal Biron, who asked him, when he intended to act like a king, instead of a captain of light-horse? The dukes took Neufchatel; and, during the king's absence, Villars made a sally, with so much spirit and success, that he scarce thought he stood in need of succours^a. The duke of Parma, after having thrown relief into Rouen, in the beginning of March, separated his army, as if he had thought all over; but the king, having put his affairs in better order, pressed Rouen so warmly, that Villars sent to inform the dukes, that, unless he was effectually succoured, he would surrender in a week. The duke of Parma suddenly assembled his forces, and appeared before the king's quarters the 20th of April. Henry, apprehending that his whole army might be destroyed, in case he was attacked by the dukes and the garrison at the same time, raised the siege, after it had continued five months^b. The duke of Parma would then have given battle, but the duke of Mayenne, who had been always defeated, doubted of that measure, till it was too late. The confederates then besieged Caudebec, where the duke of Parma had his arm shattered. In the end, however, the place was taken. By this time the king had received such reinforcements, that he began to press the dukes in his turn; and marshal Biron having carried one of their quarters, his son demanded six thousand horse and foot, affirming that, with so small a force, he would undertake to ruin their whole army; to this declaration his father answered, "I believe you may; but then the war will be at an end, and we shall be sent to plant cabbages at Biron^c." The king, notwithstanding, took such measures, that the duke of Parma was entirely blocked up, having the king's army

^z Cayet. Mezeray, P, Daniel.
 moires de la Ligue.

^a J. Thuan.

^b Me-

^c P. Daniel. Histoire de France, tom.

ix. p. 606.

*The duke of
Parma's
masterly
retreat in
the face of
the king's
army.*

on every side, and the Seine a league broad at his back. In this situation the duke of Parma, in half a day, caused two forts to be erected on the opposite banks of the river, and, in a dark night, having assembled a great number of boats, which he covered in haste with planks and beams. He passed first his artillery, then his baggage and army, so that, by the time the king was well apprized of his scheme, the army was on the other side, and their retreat so well covered by the fort and redoubts, that the royal army were little more than spectators^d. The duke of Parma was so well pleased with this escape, that he is said to have sent a trumpet, to ask king Henry what he thought of that retreat? The king was so much out of humour, that he could not help saying, he had no skill in retreats; and that, in his opinion, the best retreat in the world was little better than a flight^e. The dukes continued their march with such expedition, that in four days they reached Charenton, above Paris, from whence the duke of Parma returned, at his leisure, to the Low Countries, and took Espernai in his route. In the mean time both parties negotiated in private; the king being desirous to conclude a treaty with the duke of Mayenne^f, and the Spaniards not averse to sell a peace, upon high terms, to the king, to whom they offered to quit the party of the league, provided he would abandon to the crown of Spain the duchies of Burgundy and Bretagne.

Things went but indifferently for the king elsewhere; the princes of Conti and Dombes besieged Craons, on the frontiers of Anjou, to the relief of which the duke of Mercœur marched with all his forces, and had the good fortune to defeat their army totally^g. This victory revived the hopes of the league; upon which the king sent marshal d'Aumont to command in Bretagne, and the prince of Dombes, now become duke of Montpensier, by the death of his father, into Normandy, where the king, having retaken Caudebec, and fortified the village of Quillebœuf, which the duke of Mayenne besieged in vain, kept Rouen still blocked up^h. Henry resolved next to recover Espernai, which he compassed with little difficulty; but the old marshal de Biron, going to view the place, lost his

^d Dupleix, tom. v. Jacob. Thuan. Mezeray.
liv. xiii.

^e D'Avila,
^f Memoires de Villeroi, tom. i. Memoires de du
Plessis Mornai, tom. ii. ^g Cayet.

ii. Mezeray.

^h Cayet, tom.

head by a cannon ball¹. Brantome is displeased at his being styled the greatest officer in France, because, in his opinion, he was the first officer in Europe. His master owed him certainly great obligations, and yet it is believed he was not much regretted; for, finding he was not to be governor of Rouen, he suffered the siege to miscarry, and had prevented his son from ruining the army of the duke of Parma. He was a man of letters, very polite, and had a vast capacity; but he had two great defects, he loved wine and he loved money. The leaguers commonly said that they could have him at any time, if they had money enough to make the purchase. After the taking of Espernai, the king dismissed the German troops, under the command of the prince of Anhalt, gave them all the money he was able to raise, and strong assurances of having the rest of what was due to them; they were conducted back into their own country by the viscount de Turenne, now become duke of Bouillon, by the marriage of the heiress of the family of la Marck, which he owed to the king's favour, guided by his interest^k. It was of great consequence to have the principalities of Bouillon and Sedan in the hands of a friend; the sons of the two dukes of Lorraine and Nevers had pretended to that princess; the former was the king's declared enemy, and his competitor, and he had not an entire confidence in the other. He was assiduous, therefore, to procure that heiress for the viscount de Turenne; and, soon after his marriage, he declared him marshal of France^l. At his return from conducting the German troops, he paid the king for his bâton by relieving Beaumont, where he defeated the marshal of Lorraine, killed him, with seven hundred men, and took all his baggage and artillery; the king made him a present of the latter, reserving one piece only, to put him in mind of the service. In Languedoc the duke the Joyeuse, who commanded for the league, was entirely defeated by Themmes, who killed two thousand men, took all the baggage and artillery, with twenty-two ensigns, and the duke himself was drowned in his flight. The duke of Savoy was defeated by Lesdiguières, who followed him over the mountains, and made excursions to the very gates of Turin^m. The duke of Espernon,

Death of the duke of Biron.

A.D. 1592.

Successes of the king obtained by the viscount de Turenne, and Themmes, who defeats the duke de Joyeuse in Languedoc.

¹ D'Aubigny. D'Avila, liv. xiii. Jacob. Thuan. tom. v. P. Dan. Histoire de France, tom. ix. p. 551. Me-moires de la Ligue. cap. 6.

^m Histoire de Lesdiguières, liv. iv.

^k Dup.

^l Me-

become governor of Provence by the death of his brother la Valette, recovered Antibes, and the Spaniards were baffled in an enterprize upon Bayonne ⁿ.

We are now arrived at that point of time when things came absolutely to a crisis, in respect as well to the league as the king. With regard to the latter the Catholics of his party gave him clearly to understand, that, though hitherto they had shewn so much complaisance as to take in good part his apologies on the head of religion, it was absolutely necessary that he should now explain himself directly, a remonstrance which the king took in good part; and though he did not immediately comply with their request, yet he gave them reason to be content, by a candid explanation of the motives which had induced him to act so indecisively, in a point of such importance. On the other hand, the duke of Parma, supporting the bigotted Catholics, had compelled the duke of Mayenne to come into a measure which hitherto he had assiduously avoided; this was calling a general assembly of the states, in order to elect a king. The Spaniards were desirous that they should meet either at Soissons or at Rheims, because nearer to the frontiers of the Low Countries, and consequently more convenient for the duke of Parma, who, on the part of his master, was to assist at this assembly: but though the duke of Mayenne, who had hitherto resisted all attempts of this sort, found himself under the necessity of submitting, yet he remained firm as to the place, and would have it at Paris; for knowing well that, under colour of supporting the resolutions taken by the states, the duke was preparing to bring an army with him, he was very apprehensive of his seizing either of those places. He carried his point so far; but it is highly probable he would have found it difficult, if not impossible, to preserve his influence, if that prince had actually come a third time into France; but, while he was assembling his forces at Arras, death put an end to his fatigues ^o, and, so far as they regarded him, to the perplexities of the duke of Mayenne, whom, as he most feared, of consequence he most hated.

The duke of Mayenne was much better qualified to extricate himself out of this dilemma, than to contend with his enemies in the field, though he did not want courage; but the caution so fatal to him in war, was very favour-

*Death of
the duke of
Parma.*

ⁿ Histoire du Duc d'Espemon, tom. i. liv. iv.
Thuan. D'Avila. Dupleix.

^o Jacob.

able to him in negotiation. The edict he published for calling the states was dated on the 5th of January, penned with great elegance and gravity, as well as with the utmost art and circumspection. In it he justified his own conduct, defended the title of Charles the Tenth, reproached Henry of Navarre with his obstinate adherence to heresy; but in a manner that did not please the violent leaguers, or much displease the king; appointing the 17th of the same month for their meeting, and inviting the Catholics in general to assist in settling the kingdom^p. The cardinal legate likewise published a kind of mandate, filled with bitterness and passion, plainly expressing the intent of this meeting, of those he called the states, to be to proceed to the election of a king^q. The states did not meet till the 26th of January, when the duke opened the assembly with a florid speech, in which he laid open the distress of the kingdom, and the necessity of having a king capable of restoring order. The first sessions were spent in the usual ceremonies. In the second they came to the point. The cardinal legate moved, that, in the first place, the states should bind themselves by an oath never to admit of a reconciliation with the king of Navarre, even if he embraced the Catholic religion: he was seconded by the whole Spanish faction. The duke, who knew the importance of the debate, spoke vehemently and plainly against it, with the applause of the greatest part of the assembly. The archbishop of Lyons, with great dexterity, defeated the legate at his own weapons, by shewing that, if they came to such a resolution, they should bind the hands of the pope, which it was indecent to attempt, and not in their power to effect^r. Before the next sessions, a trumpet from the king brought a paper^s, intitled, "Propositions of the princes, prelates, officers of the crown, &c." addressed to the count de Berlin, in quality of governor of Paris, demanding a conference, to be managed by deputies on both sides, in some place between Paris and St. Denis. The Spanish faction were for stifling this paper, but the duke of Mayenne sent it to the states, advising them however, to defer deliberating upon it, till his return from his journey to meet the duke of Feria, whom the king of Spain had sent to make his propositions to the states.

The duke of Mayenne assembles the states at Paris, and rejects the proposition of the Spanish faction.

^p D'Avila, liv. xiii.

^q P. Dan. Histoire de France, tom.

ix. p. 635.

^r Jacob. Thuan. Dupleix, tom. 5.

He quarrels with the duke of Feria, but afterwards acquiesces under the offers made him.

These two dukes met and quarrelled at Soissons. The duke of Feria was for repealing the Salique law at once, and to declare the infanta queen of France. The duke of Mayenne told him that it was impossible, and that he could not persuade the deputies to come into any such propositions, more especially considering the Spanish army under count Mansfield consisted but of five thousand men, and their pecuniary supplies were in the same proportion. The duke of Feria urged, that, when the thing was done, the king would march fifty thousand foot and ten thousand horse in support of his daughter's title, and would set open the floodgates of his treasuries in favour of her adherents. The duke of Mayenne replied, that kingdoms were to be conquered by armies, or to be bought with money, and that to offer only promises was doing nothing. Feria told him, haughtily, that he was better instructed as to the temper of the deputies, and that they would do it without him. Mayenne, more haughtily, replied, that all the world could not do it without him; but that, in eight days, he could reconcile all the different interests in the kingdom, and then drive the Spaniards, and all their adherents, out of France^t. The Spanish ministers soon taught the duke of Feria another language, and, by their assistance, all things were reconciled. The duke of Mayenne was offered, in case he procured the election of the infanta, the duchy of Burgundy in sovereignty, the government of Picardy for life, the title and authority of lieutenant-general of the kingdom under the new queen, the payment of all his debts, twenty-five thousand crowns in hard money, security for two hundred thousand more, and the absolute command of the Spanish troops^u. He seemed to acquiesce in these offers, and the two dukes, as good friends, having taken the city of Noyon, returned together to Paris.

All the Spanish projects defeat in the states.

All imaginable respect was paid to the duke of Feria, on his appearance in the assembly. But he quickly found that his own influence was much inferior to what he expected, and that of the duke of Mayenne much stronger than he could have imagined; of this truth, the most convincing proof appeared in the resolution taken to consent to the conferences proposed on the part of the Catholics in the king's service^w. They were opened ac-

^t D'Avila, liv. xiii.
^w P. Matth. Cayet. Mez.

^u Jacob. Thuan. P. Daniel.

cordingly on the 29th of April, at Surenne, the archbishop of Bourges * being at the head of the king's commissioners, as the archbishop of Lyons presided among those of the league. While these conferences continued, the king thought himself at liberty to form the siege of Dreux, and while he was thus employed, the duke of Feria was not idle at Paris. He observed that the faction of the sixteen were extremely provoked at the conferences, and at the hopes given of the king's becoming a Catholic. He misinterpreted this disgust, as flowing from a blind devotion to the court of Spain; and thereupon roundly proposed to the states, that they should declare the infanta queen, and the archduke Albert of Austria king in her right, to whom her father was inclined to give her in marriage †. The very warmest of the sixteen revolted at this proposition, and declared positively that they could never think of admitting at once of two foreign sovereigns. The duke of Feria then proposed the infanta, on condition that she should espouse a prince of France, including the house of Lorraine, the choice of that prince to be left to his Catholic majesty. This project occasioned debates and delays, and, in the mean time, they received a stroke from a quarter which they little expected; the parliament, by an arret ‡, dated the 18th of June, declared against any treaty for transferring the crown to strangers, as contrary to the Salique law, and to the fundamental principles of the government. The duke of Mayenne affected to be displeased with the first president le Maître, though it was generally believed that he was not so angry as he pretended to be. The duke of Feria then proposed declaring the infanta queen, upon an assurance that she should marry the duke of Guise. If he had made this proposal first, he might have carried his point; but now the duke of Mayenne scrupled his powers, and the duke of Guise, who foresaw that his fortune was for ever ruined if he manifested an inclination in favour of this overture, and be defeated in his hopes, behaved with great coolness and prudence. But, while they were thus perplexed at Paris, the king took his resolution, heard mass § on the 28th of July at St. Denis, and received absolution from the archbishop of Bourges, in consequence of which step a truce was proclaimed for three months, to

The king's conversion and absolution.

* Mémoires de la Ligue.

† J. Thuan. Dupleix, tom. v.

P. Dan.

‡ D'Avil. liv. xiii. Mezeray. Le Gend.

Cayet, tom. ii.

commence from the first of August. This chagrined the determined leaguers exceedingly; and some of their angry preachers declared from the pulpit, that no credit was to be given to the king's conversion, though published by an angel from heaven.

An attempt to assassinate the king, for which the criminal suffers death.

The situation of the most outrageous leaguers being now a little unsafe, they thought it high time to have recourse to their great expedient, to the success of which some of their best preachers devoted their oratory; neither was it without effect; for Pierre Barrier, a waterman on the Loire, who had been also a soldier in their service, moved by the exhortations of those whom he took to be religious men, formed in his own mind^b, a strong resolution to kill the king, which he communicated to, and was encouraged in, by several ecclesiastics, particularly one of the parish priests at Paris. The last he consulted was a Dominican friar at Lyons, whose name was Seraphin Bianchi; this worthy man directed him to come again the next day, at a certain hour, at which he appointed also Brancaleon, a gentleman belonging to the queen-dowager, whom he directed to take great notice of that man, and to make all the haste he could to court, in order to apprize the king of his danger^c. This gentleman, not finding it safe to travel, sent the picture of the assassin to the king, who, by this expedient, knew him, as by chance he met him on the road one day; and, having occasion to alight, gave him his horse to hold, supposing him a peasant. At length Brancaleon arrived at Meulan, where the king then was, and seeing the fellow, soon after, in the street, caused him to be apprehended. He confessed his intention; named the persons who had encouraged and exhorted him to fulfil it; and added, that, in case he was taken up, he was advised to throw the blame on the count of Soissons, as the person who first put it in his head. The count being present at this examination, and the man having no knowledge of him, it plainly appeared that this was only an artifice to help out one villainy by another. Barrier was executed as a traitor on the last of August^d.

The marshal Matignon acted with great vigour, and besieged Blaie, to the relief of which the Spaniards sent a fleet: the marshal procured a small squadron of Dutch ships that were at Rochelle to come to his assistance; to

^b Jac. Thuan.

^c Duplex, tom. v.

^c P. Matth. Histoire de Henry IV.

these joining two or three English vessels, he went on board, engaged and defeated the Spaniards, who returned, notwithstanding, in a dark night, upon the coast, relieved and victualled the place, and then retired^c. The marshal having assembled a body of troops, marched, in obedience to the king's orders, to join him. Lesdiguières was still successful against the duke of Savoy, and likewise so fortunate as to disperse three thousand Spaniards on the frontiers, and to destroy the greatest part of them^f. In Provence the duke of Espernon had rendered himself so odious, that the king found it necessary to send his orders to Lesdiguières to assist the people in ridding themselves of his tyranny^g. In Languedoc all things were so prudently conducted by the marshal de Montmorency, that the king, as the only suitable reward of his services, conferred on him the high office of constable of France^h. He also permitted an assembly of the Reformed, received from them a long memoir, consisting of upwards of fourscore articles, gave them all the satisfaction in his power, and promised them still greater marks of gratitude and favour, with which, however, they were not entirely content, and, on the other hand, the king was as much displeasedⁱ.

Success of the royalists in the provinces, and the office of constable bestowed on Montmorency.

According to the best lights that history affords us, the transactions at Paris had been chiefly governed by secret negotiations between the king and the duke of Mayenne, managed chiefly by the old secretary Villeroi and the president Jeannin, who, though zealous Catholics, were true patriots, and sincerely attached to the king's service. But the duke had other views than those with which he intrusted them; he had procured the states to renew the oath of union, and to establish the council of Trent without restriction: but one of the deputies of the third estate desired that a clause might be added, declaring that this was only so far to be regarded as should be consistent with the liberties of the Gallican church, which appeared so reasonable, that it could not be refused, and which in effect repealed all the rest. The king was not very well pleased with these proceedings, and much less when he detected him in fresh negotiations with the Spaniards,

The duke of Mayenne intrigues afresh with the Spaniards, and imprisons his brother the duke of Nemours.

^c Histoire du Marechal de Matignon, liv. iii. du Lesdiguières. P. Dan. Mezeray.

^f Hist.

de Provence, liv. x. Histoire du Duc d'Espéron. Histoire du Lesdiguières. P. Dan.

^g Bouche Histoire

^h D'Avila, liv. xiii. Thuan.

Dupleix. Mezeray.

ⁱ Memoires de Du Plessis Mornai.

D'Avila. Matth.

who were to furnish him with twelve thousand foot and six thousand horse^k. The truth of the matter was, he delighted in his own authority, and studied, by every means in the world, to maintain it. He was jealous of his brother, by the mother's side, the duke of Nemours, who had formed a design of marrying the infanta, but had taken a firm resolution to render himself independent in the city of Lyons, and in the country adjacent; with which view he had directed a couple of fortresses to be built, for bridling that great city. The duke of Mayenne suspecting this design, had no sooner concluded a truce with the king than he sent the famous Dr. Peter Espinac, archbishop of Lyons, into his diocese, who so wrought upon the minds of the people, that they practised upon Nemours the old device of the barricades; and, having first confined him in his house, transferred him from thence to Pierre Encise, where they kept him in prison^l. The duke of Mayenne was more excusable for this conduct than for treating afresh with the court of Madrid for the marriage of his own son with the infanta; upon which he promised to reassemble the states, now tacitly dissolved, and to proceed to an immediate election^m. The king, being well informed of all this scheme, as well as with the conduct of his agent at the court of Rome, represented it in such strong terms to monsieur de Villeroy, that, to justify the uprightness of his own conduct, he soon after quitted the duke of Mayenne, and retired, with all his family, to Pontois, of which his son was governorⁿ. He was, at this time, reputed one of the ablest heads in France.

The marquis de Villeroy puts Meaux into the hands of the king.

By this time five months had elapsed since the king's first going openly to mass, and not so much as a single place, of any consequence, had declared in his favour, a circumstance more extraordinary, as persons of distinction from all the adjacent places, had been to see and pay their respects to him as their sovereign. In the quarters of the league they began to drop the epithet of Navarre, and to call him simply the king. This behaviour was owing to three causes; some were for making terms, and selling loyalty as dear as they could; many expected the pope's decision, as to the validity of the king's absolution; and not a few hoped that the duke of Mayenne

^k J. Thuan. Dupleix.
Memoires de Beauvais Nangis. P. Dan.

^l Thuan. Mez.
D'Avil. liv. xiv.

^m Cayet.
ⁿ Dup.

would put a speedy and effectual end to the troubles by making a general peace^o. At length an event happened, which contributed not a little to draw the inhabitants of France out of their lethargy. Lewis de l'Hospital, marquis de Vitri, was the only man of rank who followed the example of the duke of Espernon, in quitting the king on the death of his predecessor; but he went farther than the duke; for, he entered into the service of the league, by which he was made governor of Meaux. He had often solicited the duke of Mayenne, as the cause of the war was at an end, to make his peace with the king; but receiving no satisfaction from the duke, he resolved to follow the dictates of his conscience. On Christmas-eve he ordered his garrison to evacuate the town, and, having assembled the magistrates, he delivered them the keys. "Gentlemen," said he, "I scorn to steal a place, or to make a fortune at other men's expence. I am going to pay my duty to the king, and I leave it in your power to act as you please^p." After he had quitted the room, the magistrates, on a short deliberation, broke up their assembly, and, as they went forth, exclaimed, *Vive le Roy!* the people soon caught the acclamation, and the next day, being Sunday, they posted a guard on the marchioness of Estrees and her children, till they sent a deputation to the king to make their submission, and to desire that he would send back their governor^q. At their audience the deputies were so confounded, that they could say nothing, only they threw themselves at the king's feet. Henry having considered them for some moments, burst into tears; then raising them up, "Do not come as enemies to ask pardon, but as children to a father, who is always ready to receive them with open arms^r." At their request he sent back the marquis de Vitri. This reception affected the league more than the greatest defeat could have done. The king, having lost all opinion of the duke of Mayenne's sincerity, at the close of the year declared the truce void, of which, more especially of late, the leaguers made a very ill use.

A.D. 1593.

It is now time to say something of the conduct of the court of Rome. The king, somewhat more than a year before, had sent cardinal Gondi and the marquis Pisani, to negotiate with the pontiff, notwithstanding the extreme

^o Memoires de la Ligue.

^q Jac. Thuani. Cayet.

de France, tom. ii. p. 163.

^p P. Matth. D'Avila. Dup.

^r Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire

Pope Clement VIII. acts very ambiguously, and uses all possible care to make choice of the strongest side.

ill usage the duke of Luxemburgh, who had been sent by the Catholics adhering to the king, had met with from his predecessors; but the pope would not suffer them to come to Rome, so that they were obliged to remain, one in the territories of the grand duke of Tuscany, and the other in the state of Venice. This restraint was imposed, out of fear of the Spaniards, and to save appearances with the league*. Seraphino Olivieri, auditor of the rota, took the liberty of giving the pope a little good counsel: "Holy Father; said he, Clement the Seventh lost England to gratify Charles the Fifth; Clement the Eighth is about to lose France in complaisance to Philip the Second." After his declaring himself, the king sent a letter of submission to the pope by Clielle, who went through all the political discipline of the papal dissimulation with infinite patience. The pope had one James Sannesio about him, a man of slow parts, but honest and secret; through him he instructed Arnold d'Ossiat, who had occasionally acted as a kind of agent for the queen-dowager of France, and from him Clielle received proper hints". At length the duke of Nevers was sent, with two ecclesiastics of rank, as the king's ambassador. He was also treated with a strange kind of mysterious insolence, received as duke of Nevers, not as the ambassador of a heretic prince; and though, at one of his audiences, he fell at the pope's feet, and besought him to put an end to the miseries of France, with an effusion of tears, yet it was to no purpose. The pope, says the historian", was moved but not softened; but the duke of Nevers, by changing his language, made more impression. He represented to Clement, that he had been abused by the Spaniards, and deceived by his legate; that the league was declining; that the Spaniards were not able to support it; that Henry was already master of two-thirds of the kingdom; and that, as the greatest part of the nobility adhered to him, there was no doubt of his conquering the rest. This was to the point; the pope now began to see sincerity in the king's conversion; and though he did not immediately alter his behaviour, yet he gave the duke to understand, that he need not regard it; and that, though he treated him like a dog, and his master as a relapsed excommunicated heretic, yet all in good time, that is, in proportion

* Dupleix, tom. v.
Mez.
686,

" D'Avil, liv. xiv.

" Thuan.

" P. Daniel, Histoire de France, tom. ix. p. 674—

as the king's affairs mended they might both hope for better usage. The pope, it seems, was piously inclined to abandon the French rebels, as soon as it should be a clear case that they could not support themselves.

Henry thought it necessary, in the beginning of the year, to go in person to Meaux, where he did for the people all they could possibly expect, confirmed all the magistrates in their posts, remitted their taxes for nine years, and not only confirmed the government of the marquis de Vitri, but granted the survivance to his son, without burthening them with any greater garrison than their governor's troop of gens d'arms *. The marquis de Vitri published a manifesto to justify his own conduct, addressed to the nobility and gentry of France; the magistrates of Meaux did the like, addressing their discourses to the inhabitants of Paris †. The garrison of St. Denis surprized Charenton, the king reduced l'Ferti Milon ‡, so that Paris was again in a manner blocked up, and its inhabitants were every day alarmed with unwelcome news. The people of Lyons, having intelligence that the Spaniards were about to march a body of troops to secure their city, sent for colonel Alphonso Ornano to support them, revolted, and declared for the king §, to the no small grief of their archbishop; not that he was much offended at the change, but that he missed the credit of making it, and thereby the opportunity of securing, at a proper time, the king's recommendation for a cardinal's hat, his passionate desire of which had been one principal cause of the troubles. The sieur de la Chastre, intrusted with the government of the provinces of Orleanois and Berri, after having applied in vain to the duke of Mayenne, thought it high time to make peace for himself; and having explained his sentiments to the magistrates of Orleans, they very readily concurred with him ¶, so that, in the middle of February, all these provinces were detached from the league. The king confirmed la Chastre in his government, and in his dignity of marshal of France. He was one of the four created by the duke of Mayenne, at the opening of the states; upon which monsieur Chanvalon, a friend of his, said pleasantly to the duke, " You are begetting bastards, who will legitimate themselves at

Several great cities and some provinces quit the league, and submit to the king.

* Thuan. Cayet, tom. ii.

† P. Daniel. tom. ix.

p. 708.

‡ D'Avila, liv. xiv.

§ J. de Serres.

Memores du Duc de Nevers, tom. ii. Dupl.

¶ Cayet,

tom. ii.

your expence." By the advice of his father the sieur de Villeroi, who retired for that purpose to Pontoise, monsieur d'Alincourt delivered up that important place to the king^c. Henry was now intent upon the ceremony of his coronation, which he resolved should be performed at Chartres, Rheims being still in the hands of the league. It was performed, with great solemnity, on Sunday the 27th of February, by Nicholas de Thou, assisted by five other prelates, who represented the ecclesiastical peers, as the prince of Conti, the count of Soissons, the duke de Montpensier, the dukes of Luxemburgh, Rhetz, and Ventadour, held the places of the ancient lay peers. As some scruple was raised about the holy oil, the king sent for that of St. Martin, kept in the abbey of Marmoutier at Tours, which satisfied the people full as well^d. The cardinal legate, either out of zeal for the league, or pressed to it by his friends, the faction of the sixteen, published a letter, addressed to all good Catholics, in which he assured them, that the pope had not acknowledged the duke of Nevers as ambassador of France, and was resolved never to give absolution to the king. From this letter great effects were expected, and much greater followed, but of a very different kind than those which the legate intended; for as there were no reasons assigned, it was considered merely as an artifice of the Spaniards to perpetuate the war, upon which numbers of gentlemen quitted the quarters of the league, and retired into those of the king. This cardinal, bishop of Plaisance, was a zealous leaguer, and by birth a subject of the crown of Spain.

The D. of Mayenne quits Paris, and leaves the C. de Briſac gover-
201.

The duke of Mayenne, as it may be naturally supposed, grew every day more uneasy, as, in effect, his situation grew every day more hazardous. He had of late, from motives that historians do not explain, listened more than ever to the proposals of the court of Spain, of which circumstance the king had authentic proofs: this conduct lost that duke many of his old friends in Paris, and gained him very few new adherents. The faction of the sixteen were irreconcilable; the politics of the king's party abhorred his falshood, and he was still suspected by the Spaniards^e. At length, not knowing well which way to turn, he retired with his family to Soissons, leaving the

^c Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France, tom. ii. D'Avil. Mezeray.

^d Thuan.

^e D'Avila. liv. xij.

government of Paris, and the command of the French garrison, for there was also a Spanish garrison in Paris, to the count de Brisac, from whom he exacted the strongest securities that words could give, that he would use all imaginable care to preserve the place^f. The count de Brisac, when he came to examine things to the bottom, conceived his task to be altogether impracticable, there being by this time a great majority of the best families entirely devoted to the king; so that, to avoid being borne down some time or other by the torrent, he held it best to go along with the stream. The provost of the merchants, Lullier, and the sheriff Langlois, were of the king's party, and it was with them, the president le Maître, and the attorney-general Molé, that he concerted every thing^g. In order to communicate with the king safely, he pretended to refer a family difference with his brother-in-law St. Luc to some persons of distinction in the law; upon which they met at the abbey of St. Anthony, where, having privately settled every thing, they had in public a great quarrel, and parted, in all appearance, open enemies. At his return to the court, St. Luc spoke with all bitterness of his brother, and the king, in public, treated Brisac as a man devoted to the Spaniards. The new gate, which had been for some time blocked up, was the most convenient for the entrance of the royal troops; the count made this observation in public, and that it might be easily opened, for which reason he gave orders it should be walled; for this purpose it was of course taken off the hinges. He posted there, for greater security, and at the port of St. Denis, strong guards, under the command of the sheriffs Neret and Langlois.

The day fixed for letting in the king's troops was the 22d of March^h. The duke of Feria and Don Diego d'Ibarra, had some intelligence, with strong suspicions, upon which they sent for the count of Brisac; he told them he believed there was nothing in it, but for their satisfaction he would go the rounds that night in person; he did so at two o'clock, taking with him some Spanish captains, who had orders from the duke of Feria, upon the least commotion, to dispatch the count. Out of pure complaisance he attended them back to their quarters, where, between jest and earnest, he rallied the duke of

The king's troops enter Paris, and the Spaniards are expelled.

^f J. Thuan. Dupleix, tom. v.
D'Aubig. Mémoires de Sully.

^g Cayet, tom. iii.
^h D'Avil. liv. xiv.

Feria upon his being too easily alarmed ; but, when he retired, he gave orders to the next French guard to fire upon the Spaniards, if they offered to stirⁱ. The king's troops were introduced without noise ; and by five o'clock the king himself entered at the new gate, with the corps de reserve, commanded by the duke of Rhetz : he was met by the count de Brisac, who threw over his shoulders a fine embroidered scarf ; the king gave him his own in exchange, embraced, and declared him marshal of France^k. The whole was performed with very little stir ; a corps of Lansquenets, consisting of about sixty men, who refused to cry *Vive le Roy!* were cut to pieces ; and two or three leaguers, who attempted to raise the populace, were knocked on the head. Cardinal de Pelevé, archbishop of Rheims, the great incendiary of the league, lying sick in his bed, hearing that the city was taken, and the king in quiet possession, turned himself about, and without saying a word breathed his last^l. At noon the king heard mass, and caused *Te Deum* to be sung at Notre Dame. He dined in the Louvre, and in the afternoon went to the gate of St. Denis, to see the Spaniards march out : they were in number about three thousand men, and the king allowed them the honours of war. The duke of Feria, Don Diego d'Ibarra, and Don Juan Baptista Taxis, saluted him with profound respect as they passed. The king returned the salute, and said, laughing, " My compliments, gentlemen, to your master ; but don't come back any more^m." By this time all the shops were open, and the city as quiet as if nothing had happened. The king rewarded every person who had any share in this event ; exiled only a few of the obstinate leaguers, and more especially the clergy. On the 30th of March, the parliament of Paris, now complete by the union of Chalons and Tours, declared null every thing that had been done against the royal authority from the last year of the late reign to that time. The rector of the university came and humbly asked the king's pardon ; the faculty of divinity retracted all their decrees in favour of the league : and thus the quiet of the capital was entirely re-establishedⁿ.

ⁱ Cayet. D'Aubigny. *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France*, tom. ii. p. 195. ^k J. Thuan. ^l Dup. tom. v. ^m J. de Serres. P. Dan. tom. x. p. 11.

ⁿ D'Avil. liv. xiv. Cayet. *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France*, tom. ii.

Villars, who had so gallantly defended Rouen for the league, and on whom the duke of Mayenne, for that service, had conferred the title of admiral of France, treated with the king for the surrender of that place, and the baron de Rhosny was sent to conclude the agreement. He demand four hundred thousand crowns, a pension of sixteen thousand livres, to be continued in his government, and three articles besides, which were harder than all these; that his government should be for three years independent of that of Normandy; that he should be confirmed in the office of admiral; and that Fescamp, which had long before yielded to the king, should be annexed to his government. Henry consented to them all, pacified the duke of Montpensier, who was governor of the province, raised Biron to the rank of marshal of France, and indemnified the governor of Fescamp, so desirous was he to be master of that important place^o. A multitude of other places either made terms, or opened their gates without stipulating for any. The duke of Elbeuf, of the house of Lorraine, who had seized the government of Poitou^p, without the consent of the duke of Mayenne, declared for the king. Marshal d'Aumont, with the assistance of an English fleet, defeated the leaguers and the Spaniards, and recovered a great part of Bretagne out of the hands of the duke of Mercœur^q.

The fleur de St. Pol, whom the duke of Mayenne had created marshal of France, held the government of Champagne, and treated the duke of Guise, who had pretensions upon it, with disrespect^r. The duke, a young prince of great spirit, expostulating with him in the streets of Rheims, in favour of the people whom he oppressed, he not only gave him a surly answer, but laid his hand upon his sword, upon which the duke drew, and killed him upon the spot. The people, in whose quarrel it was done, and who were otherwise well affected to the duke, owned him for their governor. He treated immediately with the king; and, though he refused him all his demands, he accepted the propositions made on behalf of his majesty, and surrendered the province^s. The city of Aix, having declared for the king, Lefdiguières, by his orders, turned the duke of Espernon

^o Memoires de Sully.

liv. xiv. P. Daniel, tom. x. p. 35.

^s D'Avil, liv. xiv.

^p Thuan.

^q D'Avil.

^r Duplex. Mez.

out of Provence^t, the government of which, contrary to the advice of Chiverny the chancellor, and most of the council, the king conferred upon the duke of Guise". In the autumn the king besieged and took Laon; upon which Amiens, and a great part of Picardy declared for him. The pope still continued to act the same double part; after having obliged the duke of Nevers to leave Rome, and received the agents of the league with kindness and respect, he gave assurances to d'Ossat, that he had the best intentions in the world towards the king, and would not fail, at a proper time, to discover them. The duke of Lorraine very wisely made his peace. Baligny, the bastard of Montluc, bishop of Valence, who still held the principality of Cambray, submitted to the king^w, and was confirmed in his post of marshal of France, bestowed upon him by the duke of Mayenne.

*The king
is stabbed
in the
mouth by
John
Chastel.*

Henry, irritated by the behaviour of the Spaniards, and having a better opinion of his own power than formerly, was inclined to declare war against Philip, and to attack the Low Countries. He had certainly good, or at least plausible, reason for this undertaking; but he was chiefly instigated by those who had their own ends in view. His mistress Gabriella d'Estrees was desirous of having a principality for her son: Balogny, the most avaricious man living, hoped to plunder: the duke of Bouillon had more extended views; his consort, the heiress of the great family of la Marck, was dead without issue, however he held her dominions, under colour of their being legally bequeathed to him by will; he thought to enlarge them, and at the same time to make a diversion in favour of the prince of Orange, to whose sister he was contracted. The king relished the project, but resolved to be well advised^x. He returned from Picardy to Paris, and the same day, which was the 26th of December^y, being in a chamber of the Louvre, and two noblemen coming in, as he went to embrace one of them, he received a stroke of a knife in his lip with such force, that it beat out one of his teeth^z. The assassin intended it for his throat, and his stooping suddenly prevented its taking effect^a. The count of Soissons, who stood before the king,

^t Dup. Hist. du Lesdiguières. Bouche Hist. de Provence.
^w D'Avil. Mez. P. Daniel. ^w Mémoires pour servir à

l'Histoire de France, tom. ii. ^x J. Thuan.
^y Mémoires de Sully. ^z Jacob. Thuan. liv. cxi.

^a Dup.
tom. v. Mez. tom. vi. p. 127.

seeing a young man by him change colour, and endeavour to steal away, laid hold of him: "Friend," said he, either you or I have wounded the king." Presently after, the knife was found upon the floor. At first the young man denied, but soon after confessed the attempt^b. His name was John Chastel, in the nineteenth year of his age, the son of Peter Chastel, a rich draper. The youth was silly and very debauched. He had fallen into a fit of despair, in which it had occurred to him, from the monstrous doctrines of those times, that he might expiate all his sins by killing the king. He had been educated amongst the Jesuits, and from whom he learned these principles^c. This circumstance occasioned a strict inquiry into their conduct; and, in the chamber of John Guignard, one of the fathers of the society, there was found a treatise, written in his own hand, in which Henry the Third was styled the Nero and Sardinapalus of France; his murder justified and commended; and, in respect to Henry the Fourth, it was said, that, though he had abjured his heresy, he would meet with milder treatment than he deserved, if he was deposed and confined to a convent for his life. The parliament, by an arret, condemned John Chastel to suffer as a traitor, his father to be banished Paris for ever, and the kingdom for many years, because his son had revealed to him his design, for which, though he had reprimanded him severely, he had not either discovered it or confined him^d. Father John Gueric, under whom he had studied, was banished for life; and father Guignard condemned to be hanged, not for composing those treasonable pieces, but for having them in his custody, after an arret had been published forbidding the keeping of any such flagitious treatises, on pain of capital punishment. A pyramid of infamy was erected where the house of Chastel stood, and the Jesuits were banished^e. The other parliaments of the kingdom followed the example of Paris, except those of Bourdeaux and Toulouse; and thus this affair ended: but the Jesuits, nine years after, were recalled, though the parliament opposed the measure; and some of the ablest lawyers in the kingdom wrote against them.

A.D. 1594.

^b *Memoires de Sully.*^c *Thuan. P. Matth. tom. ii. liv.*^d *Cayer, liv. vi. p. 432.*^e *Memoires de Sully. Chalons.**Le Gend.**Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France,**tom. ii.*

*Henry IV.
declares
war
against
Spain, and
attempts
the con-
quest of
Franche
Compté.*

In the beginning of the year the king made a great promotion of knights of the order, with a view to attach the nobility more particularly to his service. He declared war against Spain; and, that he might carry it on with a better effect, he took into his pay the troops of Lorrain, consisting of about six thousand men^f. The duke of Mayenne was still master of Burgundy, and of some strong places in Picardy, which were very troublesome; but, in the beginning of February, Baune revolted from him, and called in marshal Biron, who secured it for the king. The duke of Nemours, who had made his escape out of Pierre Encise, seized Vienne, and, with some Swiss troops sent him by the duke of Savoy, endeavoured to block up Lyons^g. Marshal Montmorency marching thither with a considerable body of troops, not only relieved the last but recovered the first mentioned city, the loss of which affected Nemours to such a degree that it broke his heart, though others say he was poisoned. About the middle of May^h Autun opened its gates to marshal Biron. The inhabitants of Dijon, the capital of Burgundy, encouraged by this example, expelled the viscount Tavannes, and declared for the king, who soon after went into that province, in order to command his army in personⁱ. Before his departure he committed the frontier of Picardy to the care of the duke of Nevers, the count de St. Pol, the duke de Bouillon, and the admiral de Villars, and declared the prince of Conti head of the council he left at Paris, a nomination which extremely offended the count de Soissons, who was never much in the king's favour. The true design of the king's expedition was to gratify the ambition of his mistress, by the conquest of Franche Compté, which he proposed to bestow upon his son Cæsar, reserving the sovereignty not to himself but to the Swiss cantons, to prevent their being jealous of this conquest, and to engage them to protect this new prince, in case he should die without lawful issue.

He made his entry into Troyes on the 30th of May, and from thence continued his march into Burgundy, where he had the news that Valasco, constable of Castile, had entered Franche Compté, with an army of fifteen thousand men, and was joined by the duke of Mayenne^k. The king, apprehending that they intended the relief of

^f J. Thuan.
Dup. tom. v.
Dupleix.

^g D'Avil. liv. xiv.
ⁱ Mezeray. P. Daniel.

^h P. Matt.
^k Thuan.

the castles of Dijon and Talan, ordered them both to be besieged; and, in the mean time, resolved, with a corps of cavalry, to harraßs the enemies army, in order to give time for the reduction of those places. This corps did not consist of above five hundred men. He had ordered his troops to rendezvous between Lux and Fontaine Francoise, fully determined to give the enemy battle; but continuing to advance, that he might the better inform himself of their strength, he fell in with their van-guard, charged them, and gave the highest proofs of his courage, at the expence of his prudence and conduct¹. The troops he engaged and dispersed were those of the duke of Mayenne, who rode up immediately to the constable, and intreated him not to lose so great an advantage. The Spaniard answered with great gravity, that he knew what he had to do, and, would not advance at all. The duke then intreated him to spare fifteen hundred horse, but in vain^m. The king, all this time, maintained the fight, till at length a body of eight hundred of his forces appeared in fight; upon which the constable recalled his cavalry and retiredⁿ. By this happy temerity Henry carried his point, and, the two castles being taken, he was in a condition to give the Spaniards battle. On the other hand, the duke of Mayenne, not being able to engage the constable to do any thing for his service, and having but two places of consequence left, was on the point of retiring into Savoy. In these circumstances, the king, with great generosity, sent him word, that, if he would go to Chalons, he would grant him a truce of three months, in which they might treat of peace; which offer he very readily accepted^o, under pretence of securing what he had still left, separated from the Spanish army, and marched to Chalons.

Henry, by a fortunate temerity, baffles the designs of the Spaniards, and engages the duke of Mayenne to quit them and retire to Chalons.

After having ravaged Franche Compté, which, after all, the Swiss cantons would not permit him to conquer, the king thought it necessary to go to Lyons, where he had many things of great importance to transact. He made his entry with great magnificence, and was received by the archbishop, who had been stiled the soul of the league, with all possible marks of duty and submission^p. Mr. Bois Dauphin, who held some places in Anjou and Maine, concluded a treaty with the king, by which he

He proceeds to Lyons, but is drawn from thence by the success of the Spaniards in Picardy.

¹ D'Avil. liv. xiv.
^a Cayet, tom. iii.
tom. iii.

^m Mezeray, tom. vi. p. 134.
^o Le Gendre.

^p Cayet,

surrendered them. He was one of the duke of Mayenne's marshals, but the king would not permit him to make use of that title; yet, after he had signed and came to pay his duty, the king, as a mark of his favour, restored him the bâton¹. He was in hopes of concluding a treaty also with the duke of Savoy, but it ended only in a truce². Lesdiguières went thither to pay his respects and to receive his commands, which chiefly regarded the expulsion of the duke of Espernon out of Provence, who was more troublesome there than ever, and who, in return to a message that the king had sent him to quit the province, with an intimation, if he did not, he would come and drive him out, he answered rudely, "Let him come, I shall be his harbinger, not to prepare him quarters, but to lay every place in ashes where he is to pass³." The king was much less affected with this bravado than with the discovery which he received from various hands, that the duke, notwithstanding all his professions, had in reality sold himself to Spain, and received from his Catholic majesty a great pension, paid him in hard money every month⁴. It was, however, some consolation, that, after infinite pains and infinite patience, the pope was pleased, though not in the most gracious manner, to absolve the king on the 17th of September, in the persons of his two agents du Perron and d'Ossat, both afterwards honoured with the purple. But while, on the score of this and some other favourable pieces of intelligence, the king feasted with his fair mistress, and amused himself agreeably in those parts, things changed their appearance in Picardy, where the Spaniards seemed desirous of shewing how much better they could make war for themselves than in support of their allies, whom they sometimes relieved indeed, but never cordially assisted.

*The conde
Fuentes
takes
Dourlens
and Cam-
bray.*

At the very entrance of the campaign the duke of Longueville was killed by a musket ball, that happened to be by chance in the piece of a foot-soldier of the guard who saluted him at his entrance into Dourlens. Don Pedro de Gusman, conde de Fuentes, with an army of fifteen thousand men, and a good train of artillery, besieged Catalet; and, while he was thus employed, monsieur Humiers laid a plan for the surprisal of Ham, a very strong

¹ P. Dan. tom. x. p. 92.
liv. v. Bouche Histoire de Provence, liv. x.
Card. d'Ossat, tom. ii. p. 26.
Matth. Mezeray.

² Dup. Histoire de Lesdiguières,
³ Lettres du
⁴ D'Avila, liv. xiv. P.

place, where the Spaniards had a garrison of sixteen hundred men in the town, exclusive of the duke of Aumale's troops in the castle. This enterprize succeeded, but at the expence of its author, monsieur d'Humieres, and several other brave officers, who were killed in the attack, a loss which so incensed the French, that they gave no quarter to the garrison^u. Catelet having surrendered, the count de Fuentes invested Dourlens, assisted by the sieur de Rosne, to whom the king had refused the confirmation of his title of marshal of France, which he had the greatest reason afterwards to repent. The duke of Nevers intended to assemble an army for the relief of the place; but the marshal de Bouillon, the count de St. Pol, and admiral Villars, who had no mind to be commanded by him, undertook to do what he proposed before his arrival. But when they came to the execution of this scheme, they quarrelled among themselves, and ruined the affair; the admiral and Mr. de Sesseval were taken prisoners, and, in cold blood, murdered, because they had formerly deserted the league: Dourlens was soon after taken. The parliament, irritated at the share the duke of Aumale had in this transaction, declared him guilty of high treason, and caused his effigies, dressed in a Spanish habit, with a red scarf and garters, to be beheaded and quartered by the common hangman^w. The conde Fuentes next attacked Cambray, and partly by force, partly by the assistance of the inhabitants, made himself master both of the place and of the citadel. Henry, on the first news of this siege, set out for the frontiers, having ordered his forces to assemble for their relief; but being met by the duke de Nevers on the road, he advised him to desist, looking upon the attempt as impracticable. As the king was a man of a quick temper, he made him so brisk an answer, that the duke immediately retired, took to his bed, and died in a few days^x, after having refused a visit, which the king proposed to have made him. He was looked upon as one of the bravest, and, beyond comparison, a man of the greatest probity of his rank in France. With the forces intended for the relief of Cambray, the king invested, or rather blocked up, La Fere, and while they were thus employed, he found no small trouble in adjusting the demands made upon him by his new friends of Rome, and his old adherents the Hugonots.

A.D. 1595.

^u Jacob. Thuan.^w Dupleix, tom. v.^x P. Matthieu.

The king grants every advantageous terms to the duke of Mayenne, which are censured.

In the beginning of the year the king finished his treaty with the duke of Mayenne, fortified by an edict dated at Folembray in the month of January; in this edict the king promised an entire oblivion for what was past; discharged the duke from any account for the public money he had received; restored him and his adherents to their estates; absolved him and all the princes and princesses of his house of all suspicion with respect to the murder of the late king; granted him the towns of Seure, Chalons, and Soissons, for his security; gave the government of the former to his son, for six years, independent of that of Burgundy; charged himself with the payment of three hundred and fifty thousand crowns, due from the duke to private persons; and transferred all his public debts, of whatever nature, upon the crown. This agreement seemed too favourable to many, and not a little strange to all, more especially as the king treated with him expressly as the chief of his party, and promised oblivion and his favour to all who would embrace it in quality of adherents to the duke. Some ascribe this indulgence to the intercession of Gabrielle d'Etrees, but it seems more probable that it was owing to some other causes. As great as these conditions were, the duke might have obtained still more advantageous, if he had treated in time; but he always declared that he would wait for the pope's absolution, that he would treat as the head of a party, and that all his public and private engagements should be fulfilled. He remained firm to these articles, and his firmness recommended him to the king. He was persuaded that the duke had a perfect knowledge of the affairs and interests of the kingdom, foreign and domestic; and he felt so many inconveniencies from the rancorous resentment of the duke of Aumale and the sieur de Rosne, that he was resolved not to force a man of the duke of Mayenne's wisdom and weight to throw himself into the arms of Spain. He considered that, from the beginning of the war, the duke of Mayenne had manifested a constant respect for his person, and, what errors soever he had committed, had fairly saved his crown, by preventing the assembly of the states from proceeding to an election, which must have been attended with a long, hazardous, and perhaps disastrous war². The duke came soon after to Monceaux, to kiss the king's hand, and met with such a reception, as attached him entirely to this monarch's service for the remainder of his life.

¹ y D'Avila, liv. xv.

² P. Matth. Mez. P. Dan.

About this time one Francis de la Ramée appeared at Rheims, and endeavoured to get himself crowned king of France. He pretended to be the son of Charles the Ninth, and Elizabeth of Austria; that he had been exposed by order of the queen-mother, and bred up by the gentleman for whose son he was taken. Some people of distinction believed this strange story, and relieved him. He appears to have been an enthusiast as much as an impostor; however, he was convicted, condemned to be hanged, and suffered^f. The duke of Joyeuse, who, upon the death of his brother, had quitted his convent, and the name of friar Hugh, to put himself at the head of one of the armies of the league, made his peace, surrendered Toulouse, and was created marshal of France. The new duke of Nemours took the same method, and was very kindly treated^g. The duke of Guise found himself very little at ease in his new government: he had the Spaniards, the leaguers, the duke of Savoy, and the duke of Espernon to deal with; little money and very few troops. In this perplexed situation he meditated the surprisal of Marseilles, though there was a Spanish fleet in the harbour; he was so fortunate as to effect this scheme, by the assistance of Peter de Libertat, a Corsican, and with the hazard of his own person. When the news came to Henry the Fourth, he could not help crying out, "At length then I am a king^h!" The duke of Guise, in a short time after, drove Espernon to such difficulties, that he seemed inclined to retire, and the Provençals were so desirous to be rid of him, that they presented him with a free gift of fifty thousand crowns, and added thirty thousand more to content his officers. He went, notwithstanding all this, to court, and obtained from the king the government of the Limousin by way of an equivalentⁱ. In that juncture Henry bestowed rather from apprehension than inclination.

The blockade of La Fere, which had now lasted all the winter, was turned into a siege, which the king commanded in person. The cardinal, archduke Albert, had assumed the government of the Low Countries, and had brought with him such supplies of men and money, as, exclusive of the forces that acted against the states of Hol-

The cardinal archduke Albert makes a successful irruption into France.

^f Jacob. Thuan. tom. v. p. 699.
P. Dan. tom. x. ^h Dupl. tom. v.

^g D'Avila, lib. xv.
ⁱ Histoire du Duc de

Espernon, lib. iv.

land, left it in his power to assemble twenty thousand men, with a good train of artillery. With these he resolved to carry the war vigorously into France, and a very strange accident put it in his power to do more than he ever expected. Henry, for very particular reasons, had refused to include the sieur Rosne in his treaty with the duke of Mayenne. One of those reasons was, that he had begun to practise with Rosne himself, who, on the first proposition answered roundly, "Tell the king that I am in debt twenty thousand crowns, let him enable me to pay that sum, and get out of this country (he was then at Brussels), and I shall with great joy throw myself at his feet^k." By some indiscretion in those whom the king had employed, this negociation was discovered to the Spaniards, who immediately sent for Rosne, and as he went to the council he received a note, in which were these words, "Save yourself or you are undone." He tore it immediately, went on, entered the council with an assured countenance, and told them, that, when they sent for him, he was coming to make them a proposal of importance. He was thereupon ordered to withdraw. Don Diego d'Ibarra, who hated the duke of Mayenne, and all that belonged to him, was for punishing without hearing him; but the Conde Fuentes, asserting that Rosne had done great service the last campaign, was a very able officer, and capable of great things, it was resolved to hear him^l. Rosne immediately proposed the taking of Calais, and shewed that it was not only possible but easy. The archduke was charmed with his plan; and this man, who had entered the council a criminal, went out a favourite. The whole direction of affairs was left to him; and before the king was well apprized of its danger, the principal posts were forced, and the town was taken. The stormy weather prevented the Dutch from saving it, and queen Elizabeth of England refused her assistance, except upon condition of keeping the place; a proposal which Henry rejected with disdain. The king, who had advanced with a body of cavalry into its neighbourhood, returned to the siege of La Fere, which surrendered on the 22d of May^m; it was a place of very great consequence; but the loss of Ardes, which was taken the very next day by the sieur de Rosne, chagrined the king extremely. De Rosne did not

^k Histoire de France, tom. x. p. 143.
Dupl. P. Daniel.

^l Jacob. Thuan.
^m Jacob. Thuan. Mez.

enjoy his reputation long, being killed the same year by a cannon shot at the siege of Hulstⁿ.

Cardinal de Medicis, whom the pope had sent legate into France, made his entry into Paris on the 25th of July; the king had just reason to be pleased with his conduct. He treated with contempt some endeavours to excite new disputes with the court of Rome, and did all that was in his power to promote peace^o. The king, notwithstanding, found his affairs very much embarrassed; the duke of Merceur still supported himself in Bretagne, by the assistance of the Spaniards, and amused the king with a very insincere negotiation, although Henry had permitted his sister, the queen-dowager, to make him a visit, and to offer him all that he could desire. The Hugonots, prompted by the dukes of Bouillon and Tremouille, were on the point of taking dangerous resolutions, which the king had much difficulty to prevent^p. His finances were in such disorder, that in the camp before La Fere he wanted the common necessaries of life^q. Henry, however, kept up his spirits; he sent marshal Biron into Artois, where he treated the country in the same manner the Spaniards had treated France. His affairs requiring it, he concluded an alliance, offensive and defensive, with England and Holland^r; and, in order to settle his domestic concerns, he called an assembly of the notables at Rouen, where many good regulations were made, and some steps taken to pacify the Hugonots^s. The queen of England, as a mark of her sincere reconciliation, sent him the order of the Garter.

Public affairs in great perplexity.

A.D. 1596.

The Hugonots, who had transferred their first assembly at Laudon to Vendosme, and from thence to Chattellerault, continued to give the king infinite disquiet, notwithstanding all the methods he could possibly take to make them easy. He suspected, and with good reason, that there was more of faction and intrigue, than of concern for religion, in their manner of behaviour; for while the kingdom was in this distress, they fortified and garrisoned their own places, instead of sending troops to his assistance. To supply their expences they seized the public money; and, in their addresses to him, took such freedoms as chagrined the king the more, because the zealous

Amiens surprized by the Spaniards.

^a Cayet, P. Daniel. ^o Dupl. tom. v. ^p P. Dan. tom. x.
^p 160, 161. ^q Jacob. Thuan. ^r Memoires de Sully.
^s Camdeni Annales de Elizabeth, p. 372.

Catholics testified a malignant joy at these proceedings, and the dukes of Savoy and Mercœur insisted upon higher terms than formerly, and seemed less disposed than ever to peace. While things were in this situation, an event happened which threw the king and kingdom into absolute confusion: Don Ferdinand Tello de Portocarrero, who commanded the Spanish garrison in Dourlens, formed a design of surprising Amiens. The king, who saw that place was exposed, would have thrown a corps of Swiss troops into it; but the inhabitants, who had opened their gates to the king, were averse to this precaution, and Henry was unwilling to give them any cause of discontent. Portocarrero, that he might the better know how to take his measures, went thither several times, sometimes in one disguise, sometimes in another. At length he brought his design to bear, and with very little effusion of blood, made himself master of the place on the 11th of March^u.

Henry exceedingly affected with his misfortunes and is luckily supported by Rhosny.

The news of this misfortune affected the king more than any thing that had ever happened to him. He sent for the baron de Rhosny, and complained to him passionately, that he was surrounded with difficulties and dangers, and entirely destitute of the means to defend himself; that the Hugonots were ready to revolt on one side; that the Spaniards pushed him hard on the other; that the small number of troops he had about him could scarce be called an army; and that his want of money, though extreme, was not greater than his want of resources and credit. Rhosny undertook to form a scheme for delivering him out of his distress. In a few hours he brought him a memoir, which raised the king's spirits; he copied it with his own hand, and resolved to take the honour of it to himself, not to lessen the merit of the baron's service, but to give it the greater weight in his council. This had the desired effect: he raised, by a voluntary loan, by engaging his faith for repayment in two years, with interest, six hundred thousand crowns; he raised the gabelle; and, to stop all enquiries into their ill management, he drew from those intrusted with the receipt of his revenues, in a very short time, two millions and a half, by way of contribution; and, that they might be better managed for the future, he put the baron at the head of the finances^w. These acts of prudence and vigour enabled him to besiege Amiens.

^t J. Thuan. Sully.

^u Cayet, tom. iii.

^w Memoires de

While the necessary preparations were making for this purpose, the king was obliged to go to Paris, on account of a distemper which was the effect of his debauches, and there it was he spent in his chamber the most melancholy three weeks of his life; for, having good intelligence from some about him, who would not on any terms conceal the truth, he understood the real state of his affairs, which were never in a worse condition. The loss of Amiens had cooled that spirit which before prevailed of imploring his clemency, and expiating past faults by present assistance. It was a wind that fanned the dying ashes of the league. The duke of Mercœur having persisted in his revolt, received with open arms such as retired into Bretagne, and encouraged all who were capable of causing little castles or villages to revolt^x. The duke of Savoy carried the war on briskly, and would certainly have made great impressions on France if Lefdiguieres, without any assistance, had not baffled all his projects^y. Even the duke of Florence, who had acknowledged the king so early, and had done him so many services, thought him now in so weak a condition, that he seized the island and castle of If, which, in some measure, commanded the port of Marseilles, without troubling himself about making any excuse for this violence^z. But what affected the king more than all the rest, were the attempts made by the three dukes of Montpensier, Bouillon, and Tremouille, to establish a third party, under the title of Bons François, or True Patriots, under the protection of the queen of England; and, in consequence of this strange design, the refusal of the Hugonots to march any troops to his assistance, under pretence that they were afraid of a new St. Bartholomew in the field; the very thought of which the king abhorred. In this distress he sought the assistance of the parliament, in a manner very different from that in which he had treated them, when he forced them to register the edict in favour of the duke of Mayenne. However, he had much better fortune than his predecessor; his misfortunes operated in his favour; his old adherents stuck fast by him; and his new friends exerted themselves in a manner that he did not expect^a, and which justified his conduct towards them.

Becomes more uneasy at Paris, which excites a general spirit in his friends to assist him and to recover Amiens.

^x Serres: Mémoires de Sully.
cob. Thuan.

^a P. Daniel.

^y Hist. de Savoye.

^z Ja-

tion against a prince who was inclined to do for them all they could reasonably ask. Lesdiguières, upon whom they had great dependence, gave them to understand, that he not only disapproved their conduct, but that, if they persisted in their designs, he would turn his forces against them. At length, by dint of Rhofny's influence, Lesdiguières's menaces, and the king's granting them all that they asked, they were prevailed upon to be quiet, and the third party came to nothing^b. The duke of Mayenne told his old friends that the only way to shew they had formerly acted upon principle, was not to spare either their persons or their purses for the king; the queen of England sent over a body of four thousand foot, and when the king came in person to the siege of Amiens, he quickly increased his army to thirty thousand men^c. But by this time the Spaniards had fortified the place, in which they had a numerous garrison, composed of their best troops, commanded by Portocarrero, who made continual sallies, till, very luckily for the French, he was killed by a cannon shot^d. The garrison then chose for their governor Don Jerom Caraffa, marquis of Montenegro, a man of cool but determined courage, who prosecuted his predecessor's plan, entrenched himself within the town, and gave the archduke time to march to his relief, with twenty-five thousand veterans, by much the best in the Spanish service. On their approach there arose great debates among the king's council. Marshal Biron advised the king to give the enemy battle in the field; the duke of Mayenne vehemently opposed this measure; the king said coolly, "What then is to be done?" "Sire, (replied the duke) you came hither to recover Amiens, and not to gain a victory. To fight, is to stake your kingdom upon the fortune of a day, against an army equal in number to your own, and composed of excellent troops. Remain in your lines; I know the Spaniards, they are slow and cautious, and will not be forward to force you^e." The king took his advice. The archduke with his army advanced towards the lines. The troops in the trenches fell into a panic, and ran away. The duke of Mayenne kept a continual discharge of his artillery, that the smoke might conceal the misfortune, and marched in person to repair it. The archduke, through his caution, lost his opportunity. He advanced a second time to attack the weakest

The cardinal arch-duke marches to its relief, fails, and Amiens is recovered.

^b Dupl. v. liv. xv.

^c Mez, tom. vi. p. 173.

^d Serres,

^e D'A-

part of the entrenchments. The duke of Mayenne posted six pieces of cannon so opportunely, and they did such terrible execution, that the Spanish forces retired. The duke caused that weak part to be fortified, and, in a third attempt they were repulsed with loss, upon which the archduke retired, and the place surrendered on the 25th of September on honourable terms^f. The king would needs carry the news to Arras, where the archduke lay sick: having advanced with his army pretty near the walls, he saluted them with a discharge of his artillery, and resolved to conclude the campaign with the siege of Dourlens, that the enemy might be removed to a greater distance from his frontiers; but the bad season of the year, and the fatigue of his troops, constrained him to desist from that design^g.

The king was received at Paris, on his return from the siege of Amiens, with all possible marks of loyalty and respect. The face of his affairs was entirely changed; and he saw himself now on the point of becoming entirely master of his kingdom^h. Lesdiguières, though constrained to raise money upon his own credit, and by what other methods he could devise, had disappointed all the views of the duke of Savoy, notwithstanding the assistances he received from Spain. He had taken from him five or six places, repulsed his army with loss, when attacked in his entrenchments, and more than once routed his troops in the field. Infomuch that the duke, quite tired out by this Fox of Dauphiné, as he called him, who was never to be outwitted, began to think seriouslyⁱ of peace, because he understood that his Catholic majesty intended, by the mediation of the pope, to put an end to the war without delay. Henry was far from being averse to either of these treaties, though he discovered that the court of Madrid had still some partizans in Paris, who, under the beloved title of the Council of Sixteen, had begun to hold private meetings after the surprize of Amiens; but being discovered and secured, seven of them were hanged, and others banished; two advocates, one of Beauvois and the other of Paris, by whose assistance the duke of Mercœur carried on a correspondence with the archduke in Flanders, were, by an arret of the parliament, condemned to be broke alive upon the wheel at the Greve, which sentence was executed with the utmost severity. But the king

*Amazing
change of
the king's
affairs.*

^f Dupl. P. Dan.
tom. v.

^g Mez. tom. vi. p. 179.

ⁱ Guich. Hist. de Savoye.

^h Le Gend.

spared the life of Peter Owen, a Carthusian monk, and a native of Bretagne, with whom the Spaniards had treated to procure a person to attempt the king's life, because, before it was discovered, it appeared that he repented of his design, and the man being dead with whom he had tampered, refused to proceed any farther^k. The king consented likewise, that marshal de Brisac, who commanded for him in Bretagne, should conclude a truce with the duke de Mercœur for the remainder of the year, to take place from the middle of October; and he sent M. de Villeroy to the frontiers, to settle with M. Richardot, the minister of the cardinal archduke, the place and time for opening the conferences for the conclusion of a general peace^l. The duke of Luxemburgh was the king's minister at Rome, and very well received; but the secret remained with Arnold d'Ossat, one of the ablest and honestest ministers in the king's service; and yet he was more fortunate in this respect than most of his predecessors^m. For in no period the French monarchy ever produced better officers, or abler statesmen, than under this reign.

A.D. 1597.

Bretagne reduced, and the duke de Mercœur's daughter married to the king's natural son.

The king, while his ministers were treating of a peace with Spain, meditated an expedition which he thought might restore at once the interior quiet of the kingdom. Having sent the constable to command in Picardy with a small corps of troops, knowing well that the Spaniards had not inclination or force to give him much disturbance, he ordered marshal de Brisac to renew the war in Bretagne, and not to listen to any propositions whatever. The marshal pursued his instructions with spirit and success. In the beginning of February the king began his march with two thousand horse, and ten thousand foot, directly towards Bretagne. On his approach, six or seven of the principal nobility of that duchy rendered their fortresses, and submittedⁿ. The duke of Mercœur was so astonished, that he gave all for lost, and resolved to make his peace also on the best terms he could. He was indeed the dupe of his own politics to the very last; for at the beginning, he had flattered himself with the hopes of keeping the duchy of Bretagne in right of his wife, so, at this very juncture, he scarce made any doubt that he should be comprized in the general peace, as an ally of Spain: but finding himself on the point of being attacked by a royal

^k Dupl. tom. v. p. 224. Mez.
^m Jacob. Thuan. P. Daniel.

^l Memoires de Sully.
ⁿ Memoires de Sully.

army, and at the same time in danger of being deserted by most of his dependents, he was obliged to have recourse to an expedient, which, though it operated much better than he could expect, was a resource not very pleasing to himself, and extremely mortifying to his duchess, the heiress of the house of Penthièvre, one of the proudest women in France: what made it still more afflicting to her was, the untoward circumstance of her being obliged to go in person as a suppliant to Angiers, where the king was, and to make the proposition importing that they would give their only daughter to the king's natural son, whom the courtiers, to please his father and flatter his mother, called Cæsar Monsieur. This was accepted, and the king gave his son the duchy of Vendosme, with that of Beaufort after the decease of his mother; on the other hand, the young princess was to have the duchies of Estampes, Penthièvre, and Mercœur. The duke was likewise obliged to resign in favour of his son-in-law, the government of Bretagne. The king, to make all things sure, caused the young couple to be immediately contracted, and soon after married by the cardinal de Joyeuse, with as much pomp as if he had been his lawful and not his legitimated son. Henry went afterwards to Rheims, to hold the states of Bretagne, and from thence to Nantes. In the space of two months, which the king spent in this country, he amassed twelve hundred thousand crowns in ready money, two thirds of which arose from the free gift of the states.

By this time the Hugonots also had altered their manner of thinking, and were very solicitous to have their affairs once for all settled, upon which subject their deputies had followed the king from Blois to Nantes, and there it was that they at length procured the famous edict^p, bearing the name of that place, dated the last of April, which for a while procured him quiet. It is certain there was at least as much of policy and apprehension, as of gratitude or inclination, in what the king did for them on this occasion. On one hand he was much estranged by their behaviour, and by the ingratitude of their chiefs, who sought chiefly to render themselves formidable by a pretended zeal for religion. On the other, the lords of the Catholic league had lately rendered him very important services, and professed themselves zealously attached to his person and government. But the fear he

The king, by the famous edict of Nantes, secures to the reformed all they could reasonably expect.

ⁿ Dupleix, tom. v. thieu.

^o Memoires de Sully.

^p P. Mat-

had, that, if the Hugonots took arms, they might not only draw foreigners again into the kingdom, but also retard the peace with Spain, and afford a pretence for reviving the Catholic league, made him willing to grant them favourable terms; but, above all, his desire of peace, that he might have an opportunity of remedying the disorders and extinguishing the grievances of which his subjects of all ranks complained, induced him to grant this edict, and to maintain it, after it was granted, with that firmness which became a king, conscious that he had acted from no other motive, and that what he had done could have no other tendency than promoting the general tranquillity and public good (C). Henry, when he was secure as to the rectitude of his measures, was equally eloquent and firm in their support.

*By the
peace of
Vervins
the king
obtains
that tran-
quillity ne-
cessary to
restore the
public
welfare.*

The conferences for the peace with Spain were carried on very successfully at Vervins, under the mediation of the cardinal of Florence, the pope's legate, and Francis Gonzagua, bishop of Mantua, who had the title of nuncio; the French plenipotentiaries were messieurs de Bellievre and Sillery, successively chancellors of France; and on the part of the archduke (for the king of Spain would treat no otherwise than through him) were, the president Richardot, the commander de Taxis, and the sieur Verreiken, who had a high office in the administration of the Low Countries^a. As both parties were eager for the peace, it would have been very soon concluded, but for the respect due to their allies. Queen Elizabeth sent over sir Robert Cecil; and the States employed count Justin of Nassau, to persuade the king not to conclude, and even to offer him a new alliance, by which the maritime powers would furnish him with a numerous corps of troops to augment his army, and to maintain them at their own ex-

^a Dupleix, tom. v. P. Matth.

(C) This famous edict bore date at Nantes, April 13th, 1598, and besides re-establishing in a more solid and effectual manner all the favours that ever had been granted to the reformed by other princes, and particularly by his predecessor, there were added some which had not been either imagined

or demanded before; particularly the granting them a free admission to all employments of trust, profit, and honour, the establishing chambers in which the members of the two religions were equal, and the permitting their children to be educated without constraint in any of the universities.

pence^r. The influence of the court of Rome, and the advantages the king promised himself from the peace, induced him to reject these offers, and to endeavour by all the arguments possible to engage them to concur with him in his views, and to accommodate their differences with Spain. But they declared flatly against that measure; not that the queen herself was so much against it, but that she was determined not to separate her interests from those of the republic; and the States having intercepted some of king Philip's letters, were but too well apprised of the sentiments of the court of Madrid to think of making peace^s. On the other hand, the Spaniards had as much to do with the duke of Savoy, who would not hear of the restitution of the marquisate of Saluces, though taken from the crown of France in time of full peace. At length that matter was left to the decision of the pope. The treaty of Vervins was signed on the 2d of May^t; but it was not published till the 12th of June, in order to afford some kind of satisfaction to the queen of England and the States, who, notwithstanding, highly disapproved the king's conduct. All these great affairs were concluded in four months, to the king's unspeakable satisfaction, which, however, suffered some abatement from the reproaches of the queen of England, so much the more cutting as he owed her infinite obligations^u. The archduke sent to Paris the duke of Arcof and the admiral of Arragon, to assist at the ceremony of the king's swearing to the performance of the treaty at Notre Dame. On the other hand, the king, in the month of July, sent monsieur Biron, whom he had lately created duke and peer of France, together with messieurs Bellievre and Sillieri, to Brussels, to be present at the like ceremony on the part of the cardinal archduke^x: a circumstance that would not have been found in this history, if there had not been good grounds to suppose that this journey gave a beginning to those intrigues that cost France so dear, and at length brought the unfortunate marshal duke de Biron to the block.

In the course of this year likewise the king, by the negociation of Arnold d'Ossat, concluded a treaty with the great duke of Tuscany, which was attended with singular complaisance on both sides. The king had discovered

Obtains the restitution of what had been surprised on the coast of Provence by the duke of Florence.

^r Memoires de Sillieri.

^s Mez. P. Dan.

^t D'Avila,

liv. xv.

^u Memoires de Sully.

^x Memoires de Sil-

leri. P. Daniel,

some intrigues of the grand-duke in Provence, but thought fit to dissemble his knowledge of them, in remembrance of the kindnesſes he had received from that prince, when his affairs were in a deſperate ſituation. On the other hand, the grand-duke conſented to evacuate the iſlands that he held on the coaſt of Provence, upon the king's conſeſſing a debt of two hundred thouſand crowns, and giving him twelve ſuch hoſtages as he ſhould name for the payment of it in four years: he now, by a letter to Henry, renounced this laſt conſeſſion, merely becauſe he underſtood it was very diſagreeable to him. This treaty was concluded^y within the ſame period of time, and by the execution of it, together with that of Vervins, the king was put in full poſſeſſion of all the territories belonging to the crown of France. Before the cloſe of the year he made many excellent regulations in his finances, diſbanded a great part of his troops, ſatiſfied the clergy of France on their remonſtrances, and eſcaped from a dangerous fever that brought him to the brink of the grave, about the ſame time that his old antagoniſt, Philip the Second, actually funk into it; an event which ſecured the continuance of that peace which had been lately made; for his ſon was not of a temper to undertake the revival of a war, which had almoſt exhausted his dominions^z.

A.D. 1598.

A ſhort account of the baron de Rhofny's adminiſtration of the finances.

At the opening of the year, the king, by the advice of the baron de Rhofny, remitted the taxes that were due, to the amount of twenty millions^a. The miniſter very wiſely obſerved, that the king might as well have the credit of giving what could never be paid, and at the ſame time make it an argument for his frugality, in the maintenance of his court, and in the gratifications of his favourites. It was the maxim of Rhofny, that, in the management of the treaſury, there was not ſo much need of a great genius and long experience, as of a clear head and an honeſt heart. He practiſed every method poſſible to bring his maſter out of debt, and to maintain the ſtate honourably, without oppreſſing the people^b. It was the great commendation of the king that theſe talents made his miniſter acceptable to him; for he was truly the father of his people. He was very tender in taking from them, and had the higheſt ſatiſfaction at ſeeing them thrive. The baron de Rhofny was not content with being a good oeconomist, and doing his duty with the ut-

^y J. Thuan. Hiſt. P. Matth.
tom. v.

^b P Matth.

^z Mezeray.

^a Dupl.

most fidelity; he would go still farther, and make the king master of his own affairs; and this, notwithstanding the vivacity of his temper, which would not allow him to attend to any thing long^c. Rhosny digested the whole system of the finances into tables, by the help of which the king saw, in a very narrow compass, all the different branches of his revenue and of his expence. It is inconceivable in how short a time this able man drew exact order out of that chaos in which these affairs had been involved by his predecessors. He levied the revenue in the shortest and least expensive manner possible; for he held that every person so employed was a man lost to the public, and yet maintained by the public. He reduced all the expences of the government; but at the same time he paid every body punctually, and took care that the king should have such a reserve, as not to be obliged on any emergency to have recourse either to new impositions upon his people, or to make use of credit^d. This great man, instead of making his ministry useful to himself, by gaining friends, never hesitated at making himself enemies, by standing between his master and those importunate courtiers who were perpetually craving, in a degree out of all proportion to their merit^e.

The marriage of the archduke Albert, to the infanta, induced the king to hasten that of his sister with the duke of Bar, which, however, was attended with some difficulties, on account of the difference of religion, which had induced the pope to write to the duke against it, and prevented the obtaining a dispensation, notwithstanding which impediment, the king caused it to be celebrated by their natural brother Charles de Bourbon, archbishop of Rouen. The princess, however, notwithstanding this marriage, and her promise to be instructed, lived and died a zealous and sincere Protestant, without issue, and without felicity. Before she left France, she pressed the king extremely to procure the verification of the edict of Nantes, in favour of the Protestants^f. It had been delayed till the departure of the pope's legate, and this delay had given time to some warm spirits amongst the clergy to raise a vehement opposition against it, more especially to one of the clauses, which permitted the Protestants to invite what strangers they thought proper to assist at their synods, without demanding any permission from the crown, which

The king marries his sister to the duke of Barr, and inclines to marry the duchess of Beaufort himself.

^c Mezeray. P. Daniel.
tom. v.

^f Memoires de Sully.

^d J. Thuani.

^e Dupleix,

clause

clause had been inserted to gratify the duke de Bouillon, and was penned in such a manner as gave the popish clergy but too much advantage. The king therefore caused it to be modified, with the consent of the Protestants, many of whom disliked it at the time, and, with a few other restrictions, he obliged the parliament to register it, in the same manner he had done the edict in relation to the duke of Mayenne. But though his commands were peremptory, the reasons he gave for them were conclusive, and such as, in the sentiments of impartial persons, rendered it evident he had not the gratification of the Protestants more in view than the peace and welfare of his subjects in general^g. The king was not so successful in respect to his divorce and marriage, which he had for some time meditated^h. He was desirous of obtaining from the pope the dissolution of his marriage with Margaret, sister to the late king, to which that princess was not at all averse. But at present, being informed that the king designed to replace her by marrying the duchess of Beaufort, she positively declared that she would give it all the opposition in her power. The pope likewise expressed an extreme aversion to so strange, and, in some respects, so absurd a project, from which, however, the king never departed, till he was released from the importunities of the lady, by her unfortunate deathⁱ, which he deplored with great violence; but, like all things violent, his grief was but of short duration (D). His courtiers, out of complaisance, approved

^g J. Thuan. Hist. Dupleix, tom. v. Mez.
ⁱ D'Aubigne.

^h P. Matth.

(D) This lady was the daughter of Anthony d'Estrees, seigneur de Cœuvres les Soissons, master of the artillery. Mons. d'Estrees, as a man of honour, was extremely shocked at the ill conduct of his wife, who had an intrigue with the marquis d'Alegre Meillan, governor of Iffoire in Auvergne, and was murdered in a tumult raised against her gallant. As for the fair Gabrielle, the king's amour with her commenced in the year 1591, to which her father opposed his authority as

far as it was in his power; but the young lady's inclinations, and the counsels of her aunt madame de Sourdis, soon put her in the king's power, who is said to have run strange hazards for her sake, and whose passion certainly brought his person sometimes into danger, his authority more frequently, and his reputation always. We find her mentioned by so many names in the French history, that an ordinary reader may be easily confounded: sometimes she is called La belle Gabrielle,

approved what the meanest of his faithful subjects had sense enough to deplore.

brielle, or the fair Gabrielle, in respect to her beauty; sometimes mademoiselle de Cœuvre, from her father's title; more frequently madame de Liencourt, and madame de la Roche Guyon, on account of her marriage with Nicholas d'Amerval seigneur de Liencourt, and de la Roche Guyon, afterwards marchioness de Monceaux, and dukes de Beaufort, titles bestowed upon her by the king. She was extremely ambitious of being queen; and this is supposed to have been one great motive for her pressing the king to become a Catholic, because, without the interposition of the pope's authority it was absolutely impossible. The king himself was much bent upon it. He mentioned it to cardinal de Medici, when legate in France; but he heard it so coolly, that, when the king sent monsieur de Silleri to Rome to press his divorce, he was particularly instructed not to mention it to this cardinal. Her death was as remarkable as her life; she had accompanied the king to Fountainbleau, and passed with him there the greatest part of Lent, being at that time big with child; but the king, considering the scandal that would attend her remaining with him during Passion-week, prevailed upon her to return to Paris. On her arrival at Paris she went to the house of Sebastian Zamet, a native of Lucca, who had been long employed in the finances, and, for his pleasant temper, was in great

favour with the king. She was treated at his house with all possible attention, and every thing provided for her that she had been observed to like. One day, eating a citron after dinner, she felt herself extremely ill; however, becoming something better, she went to vespers, but, at her return, walking in the garden, she had a stroke of an apoplexy. As soon as she came a little to herself, she desired to be carried to the house of her aunt madame de Sourdis, where she died in violent convulsions, in the month of April. Mezeray and other writers intimate that she was poisoned. She is said to have had many amiable qualities, and not to have been so generally hated as modern writers report. As to her marriage with monsieur de Liencourt, a man of great quality and very rich, but withal very deformed, it was an artifice of the king's to get her out of the power of her father; but this marriage was never consummated, and was afterwards dissolved. She was far from being a woman of great capacity, was exceedingly addicted to astrology, though continually tormented with the apprehension of those miseries that were foretold her. The king had by her Cæsar duke de Vendosme, born in June 1594, who died at Paris, October 22d, 1665. Alexander grand prior of France, who died in 1629. Catherine Henrietta, who espoused Charles of Lorraine, duke d'Elbœuf, and died in 1663.

*He obtains
a divorce
from queen
Margaret.*

In the three weeks after the decease of the duchess of Beaufort, which delivered him out of one of the greatest perplexities he had ever known, he ran himself into fresh difficulties, by commencing an intrigue with Henrietta Bassac d'Etragues, the daughter of the famous madame Touchet, who became the mother of the count d'Auvergne, by Charles the Ninth. In order to obtain this lady, he gave her a promise of marriage; and, which is still stranger, he shewed this promise, before he delivered it, to monsieur de Rhosny, who, without much ceremony, tore it. The king asked him if he was mad? "If I am, Sir," said he, "you have shewn in writing that you are madder than me. I have done what it became your faithful servant to do; and you do, Sire, what it does not become a great king to do^k." Notwithstanding this reprehension, the king wrote and gave her another promise; and, from his countenance for some days, Rhosny looked upon himself as disgraced, and was of that opinion when the king surpris'd him, by adding to his former employments that of master of the ordnance^l. In the mean time the business of the divorce went on as well as the king could wish it, at Rome; queen Margaret, on the death of the duchess of Beaufort having done all that the king could desire to forward it, and the pope having directed a commission to his nuncio and two other prelates, they, upon the queen's declaring that she was violently compelled by the king her brother to espouse the then king of Navarre, the marriage was declared void, and the parties were permitted to marry again^m. Arnold d'Ossat, now raised to the purple, and monsieur de Silleri, negociated this affair, and afterwards the marriage of the king to Mary de Medicis, niece to the great duke of Tuscanyⁿ. It was concluded sooner than he expected; but, when he found that it was so, he entered into the measure with a good grace, and declared, that, as it was necessary for the welfare of his subjects, he was content to marry.

*His scheme
of reformation
disgusts
many of the
great nobility.*

The persons at present about the king, and had the principal share in his confidence, were the chancellor Pomponé de Bellievre, to whom the king had given the seals on the death of monsieur de Chiverni, a man of extensive

^k P. Daniel, tom. x. p. 253.

de Sully.

tom. x. p. 242, 243.

Memoires de Sully.

^l P. Matth. / *Memoires*

^m *Lettres du Cardinal d'Ossat*, tom. iii. P. Dan.

ⁿ Jacob Thuan. *Hist. Duplex.*

parts and incorruptible probity; monsieur Silleri, whom he had sent to Rome; the president Jeanin; and the baron de Rhosny: men every way equal to the king's intention of restoring order and justice through all parts of his dominions, repairing all the ravages which were caused by the civil war, and abolishing all those innovations that had been made either to the prejudice of the prerogative of the crown, or the welfare of the people. These schemes, how just, how necessary soever in themselves, were not acceptable to all the world, and were more especially displeasing to those great lords who did not care to be put in mind that there was such a thing as duty, or that they had any superior. Amongst these might be reckoned the constable Montmorency, the marshal duke de Bouillon, the dukes of Tremouille and Montpensier: but the duke of Espernon exceeded them all in his discontent, and was himself exceeded by the marshal duke de Biron, whose head was so turned with vanity, that he could no longer endure the thoughts of being a subject. There is the less reason to wonder that he lost part of the reverence due to his king, when he made no difficulty of preferring his own military skill and valour to those of Alexander and Cæsar.

The agents of the duke of Savoy had acquainted their master with all that passed, and more especially with these appearances of discontent among the grandees, that he might avail himself of their misunderstandings. The duke, who had already treated the pope in such a manner as obliged him to lay aside the character of arbitrator, with which he was invested by the treaty of Vervins, in regard to the marquise of Saluces, took a sudden resolution to make a tour to the court of France, in which he had two great points in view; the first was to try if he could cajole the king and his ministers, so as to obtain from them the country in dispute, with which, at all events, he was determined never to part; and the other to form a party amongst the malecontents in France, in case his first design should fail°. Henry would willingly have avoided this visit; but the duke piqued himself upon his skill in negotiation, and flattered himself so much with the hopes of making partizans in the French court, that nothing could divert him from his project. He was received with all possible marks of respect, treated with the utmost politeness and magnificence; and the duke on his side exceeded,

The duke of Savoy comes to the French court.

° Jacobi Thuan. Hist. Duplex. Guichenon Histoire de Savoye.

in all respects, the notions that had been entertained of him ^p. He made his court to the king with equal address and assiduity, without the least intermixture of meanness or of flattery; he conversed with all the great men about the court with much ease and affability, without departing from his dignity; he made presents to the value of four hundred thousand crowns; and, in short, omitted nothing that was possible for him to do towards carrying his point, and yet without advancing it at all. He was a full month at court before the king mentioned any thing of business; and at length, when they came to treat, he told him plainly, that the restitution of the marquissate of Saluces was what he expected, or an equivalent ^q. He seemed to relish the notion of an equivalent; and he proposed first one and then another. At length a treaty was signed at Paris, about the middle of February, by which the duke stipulated to restore the marquissate of Saluces, or to yield to the king the equivalent therein expressed, and to make his option by the 1st of June ^r. As for the manner of this negotiation, the king and his ministers had very little reason to expect that the duke would carry it into execution: there wanted not some who advised Henry to secure that prince's person, as the most effectual means of procuring the marquissate of Saluces without a war; but Henry declared that he would imitate the conduct of Francis I. and not break his faith for the sake of any advantage. He gave the duke to understand as much; who thereupon laid aside all thoughts of making his escape, and, in the beginning of March, set out for his dominions, the king and the whole court accompanying him as far as the bridge of Charenton, and sending the baron de Lux to wait on him to the frontiers ^s. On his arrival at Bourg, in Bresses, which was then a part of his dominions, he wrote a letter of thanks to his majesty, and then continued his journey to Chamberry, where he remained till the 20th of March, and then went to Turin ^t, where he promised to give the king's ministers their definitive answer.

*Henry
makes war
on the duke
of Savoy.*

While he was at the court of France, he had laboured to persuade the king and his ministers that he was entirely detached from Spain, and even insinuated, that he should

^p Memoires de Sully. P. Matth. ^q D'Aubigne. Mez.
P. Dan. ^r Lettres du Cardinal d'Offat, tom. iv. ^s Mem.
de Sully. D'Aubigne, tom. iii. livre v. chap. 5. Jacobi Thuani
Hist. ^t Guichenon. P. Dan. Memoires de Sully.

not be averſe to ſee Henry revive his pretenſions to the duchy of Milan; but he no ſooner returned home than he ſent his chancellor to Madrid, to demand the protection of Philip III. and his aſſiſtance, in caſe of a rupture. At firſt he was coldly treated, and had ſome broad hints given him of the overtures made by his maſter while at Paris; but, upon his denying them, the Spaniſh miniſtry altered their language, gave him ſtrong aſſurances of ſupport, and ſent the neceſſary orders for that purpoſe to the conde Fuentes, governor of Milan. In conſequence of this ſtep, the duke demanded firſt a delay, when ſummoned to make his option, and at length declared that the treaty of Paris was too hard, and that he could not think of carrying it into executionⁿ. The king, who had taken his meaſures in the mean time, cauſed Breſſe, Savoy, and the county of Nice, to be attacked all at a time. The firſt of theſe countries was entirely reduced by the marſhal duke de Biron, except the citadel of Bourg^w. Chamberry and the beſt part of Savoy was likewiſe carried without much reſiſtance: but the duke of Guiſe failed in his attempt to ſurpriſe the caſtle of Nice. All theſe tranſactions happened within the compaſs of the month of Auguſt. In the beginning of September the king took Miolans. Leſdiguières made himſelf maſter of Conſlans, which opened a paſſage into the Tarentaiſe and of Charbonnerie^x, which gave him an entrance into the valley of Maurienne, both of which he reduced, and was then recalled, to ſatiſfy the jealouſy of the marſhal de Biron; but what aſtoniſhed the duke moſt, was the reduction of Montmelian, which he looked upon to be impregnable: but the baron de Rhofny found means to carry ſix pieces of cannon to the top of what had been thought an impracticable mountain, from whence he battered the place; a circumſtance which ſo amazed the governor, that he promiſed to ſurrender, if he was not relieved in a certain time. The duke marched with a body of fifteen thouſand good troops to relieve the place, and the king advanced to give him battle; but the ſnow falling, prevented it, and the place ſurrendered^y. This loſs was followed by a freſh miſfortune; marſhal Biron, in the depth of winter, took fort St. Catherine, another of the duke's impregnable places, which he had fortified, at an immenſe expence, in order to bridle the

^r P. Matth.
de Leſdiguières, livre vi.
Memoires de Sully.

^w Dupl. tom. v. Mez. tom. vi.

^y Jacobi Thuani. Dupl. tom. v.

^x Hiſt.

city of Geneva, and which, at the request of the inhabitants of that city, the king caused to be demolished^z. The duke was extremely chagrined at these disasters : however, as he had entered rashly into the war, he was constrained to think in earnest of getting out of it, for which he was indebted to the mediation of the pope.

*He marries
the princess
Mary de
Medicis,
niece of the
duke of
Florence.*

After the reduction of fort St. Catharine, the king resolved to go to Lyons, where the princess of Florence had waited for him a week^a. Bellegarde, master of the horse, and a great favourite, had been sent to demand her at Florence; he carried with him the king's powers to the grand-duke to espouse his niece, as the king's proxy, and the ceremony was performed on the 5th of October. After prodigious rejoicings, and a great display of magnificence, the galleys of Florence, of the pope, and the order of Malta, brought the queen to Marfeilles, where she landed on the 3d of November, accompanied by the grand-duchess of Florence her aunt, the duchess of Mantua her sister, Don Antonio de Medicis her brother, and several other persons of high quality; there she was received by the constable, the chancellor, the dukes of Nemours and Ventadour, with the duke of Guise, as governor of the province, four cardinals, and many princesses and ladies of the court, who accompanied her to Aix, from thence to Avignon, and then, by the way of Vienne, to Lyons, where, on the king's arrival, the marriage was celebrated by the cardinal legate Aldobrandi : but, in the midst of all the pleasures and diversions that attended a ceremony of this kind, the great affairs of state went on, and particularly the treaty with the duke of Savoy, which was

A.D. 1600.

chiefly negociated by the cardinal legate. The king was desirous of peace, which was absolutely necessary to the duke, and the pope also had his reasons to have it concluded without delay, which inclinations, notwithstanding, they were all inclined to dissemble^b. The address with which they acted their several parts, caused at length the whole negociation to be suspended; but, by the skill of the baron de Rhosny, it was again revived, and brought to such a conclusion as the king desired^c.

*Causes and
consequences
of the
war in
Savoy.*

In the whole French history there is scarce any instance of a war undertaken with more spirit, prosecuted with greater skill, or ended with more success; and it was, in

^z P. Matth. Mez. P. Dan. ^a Dupl. ^b P. Matth.
Memoires du Cardinal de Bentivoglio. Dupl. Guichenon. Mez.
^c Memoires de Sully. P. Daniel.

a great measure, owing to this, that it was the last foreign war in this reign. From a bare detail of events, it should seem that the duke of Savoy, contrary to his character of being one of the ablest and shrewdest politicians of his time, had entered into it rashly, conducted it weakly, and consequently was easily vanquished, which, in reality, was far from being the case. We have mentioned the reasons which induced him to make a tour to the French court, he mentioned them himself a little too plainly, when he said he came thither not to reap but to sow^d. He did indeed sow, and had the prospect of a fair harvest, though it deceived his hopes. He saw but few troops; and the difficulty made of shewing him arsenals and magazines, induced him to conclude them empty: besides, from the parsimony of Rhosny, he entertained a notion that the treasury must be exhausted: from an enemy in this situation he thought there was little to fear. He was thoroughly informed of the factions in France; and, from the vivacity of their chiefs, he took it for granted, that, if a war broke out abroad, it would produce various insurrections at home. He relied upon the strength of his own places, well fortified, abundantly provided, and filled with numerous garrisons. Besides, he depended much on the impression made by his liberality. It was scarce to be believed, and yet so it proved, that he was deceived in every one of these expectations, by the vigilance and activity chiefly of the baron de Rhosny, who, in his character of a minister, advised the war; and, as master of the ordnance, conducted the sieges^e. Marshal Biron was in his interest, and at first endeavoured to serve him; but, when once in arms, his vanity prompted him to make conquests. The duke's friends were continually about the king, and did for him all they could: but Henry understood the trade of war better than any of them; and Lesdiguières and Rhosny served him with such spirit and fidelity as baffled all their attempts. At the beginning of the war, a woman proposed to a great prince of the blood, whose discontents ran very high, to poison the king; but, instead of encouraging, he disclosed the treason, for which she was burnt alive^f. The Spaniards likewise, though they promised much, performed little; and, after all, the power of the duke was by no means equal to his project, and could not bear him out after so many disap-

^d P. Matth. P. Daniel.^e Jacobi Thuani. Dupleix.^f P. Matth.

pointments. His great losses determined him to make a disadvantageous peace, and his chagrin engaged him to continue his intrigues, in hopes of recovering by them what he had lost by the war. The good fortune of Henry inspired him with fresh courage, so that he applied himself with greater assiduity than ever, to put his affairs in a good posture at home, and to support the honour of the crown he wore, in such a manner as might secure him respect abroad. He knew, that upon this depended not only his grandeur but his safety.

Henry goes to Calais to awe the archduke, who was besieging Ostend.

An insult offered to the count de la Rochepot at Valladolid embroiled him with the court of Spain; but the pope seasonably interposed, and procured such satisfaction as the king desired. The count de Fuentes had some correspondencies at Marseilles, which, being discovered, were rendered of no effect. The archduke Albert, notwithstanding his placid character, had likewise entered into some intrigues for surprising Metz, which met with the like fate ^e. On that prince's besieging Ostend, the king thought fit to make a tour to Calais, in the month of August, that it might appear he was ready to defend his frontiers in case of any new attempt. It happened that queen Elizabeth was then at Dover, from whence she sent sir Thomas Edmonds to compliment him, and by sir Thomas a letter, with which he was extremely pleased ^h. He sent over the baron de Rhosny, not in a public character, but as if he had taken that step out of curiosity; this, however, gave him an opportunity of seeing and discoursing with the queen, whose abilities made a great impression on him, and to whom he said all that could be said to confirm her friendship for his master ⁱ.

Marshal Biron sent over to compliment the queen of England.

The king also sent over marshal Biron, with a train of one hundred and fifty noblemen and gentlemen, to express the sense he had of the queen's attention and respect. At the time of his arrival, the queen was gone to Basing, whither he followed her, and met with a most gracious reception ^k. He had a very long conference with the marshal, to whom she spoke at large of the insolence of the earl of Essex, who had been executed in the month of February preceding; adding, at the same time, that her

^e Sir Ralph Winwood's Memorials, vol. i. p. 342. Lettres du Cardinal d'Ossat, tom. iv. Jacobi Thuani. Dupleix. ^h P. Matth.

ⁱ Memoires de Sully. ^k P. Daniel tom. iv. p. 297.

brother Henry would do well, on a like occasion, to imitate her firmness, and not to risque his safety or his authority by an ill-timed clemency¹. It is justly observed by Camden, that the queen might enter into some particulars regarding the earl of Essex, with an intention to divert the marshal from persisting in those dangerous intrigues, which, in a few months after, brought the like fate upon himself. At his return, the marshal found the king at Fontainebleau, where, on the 27th of September, the queen was delivered of the dauphin^m, to whom the pope, being sponsor, gave the name of Louis. The propensity to astrology was so strong at this time in France, that the king engaged his principal physician La Riviere to calculate his son's nativity, upon which he pronounced a very mysterious and unintelligible judgment. The duke of Savoy had been engaged in the war that was so fatal to him by his credulity in this very point, which was still more fatal to the marshal duke de Biron, and from which even the wife and great duke of Sully was not wholly freeⁿ. The birth of the young prince occasioned great joy in France, where they had not seen a dauphin born for four-score years. It was also of very great importance to the king's affairs; and, by fixing the succession, gave them, in a manner, a new face both at home and abroad, but at the same time it quickened the conspirators in their measures, and their precipitancy exposed them to those discoveries which were very soon after made.

The king caused a royal chamber to be erected for making a strict enquiry into the mismanagement of such officers as had been intrusted with the receipt of his revenue, which raised great expectations, and performed very little. The baron de Rhosny, afterwards duke de Sully, attributes this want of success to their not being at liberty to punish otherwise than by fine: but another historian assures us, that not only the guilty paid largely, but the innocent also, and for this reason he puts it upon the same foot with an inquisition of the like kind in the reign of Henry III. and adds, that it was likewise copied in the succeeding reign^o. The grand signor Mohammed III. sent over a French renegado, whom some historians dignify with the title of an ambassador, who was instructed

The royal chamber of enquiry, and arrival of the Turkish envoy.

¹ Jacobi Thuani. Histoire du Connestable de Lesdiguières, livre viii. chap. iii. p. 423.

Men. orials, vol. i. p. 346.

Dan.

^m P. Matth. Sir Ralph Winwood's

ⁿ Dupleix, tom. v. Mezeray. P.

^o Dupleix, tom. v.

to demand three things; first, That the king would not enter into the league which the pope was endeavouring to form amongst the Christian princes against the Porte: the second, to use his interest with the emperor, in order to dispose him to a truce: and the third, that he would recall his vassal the duke of Mercœur, who commanded the armies of the emperor in Hungary. The king gave general answers to the two first points; and, with respect to the last, declared it was out of his power; for though the duke of Mercœur was his vassal, he was likewise the vassal of the emperor, who from thence derived a right to his service^p. It is highly probable; that the duke of Mercœur was not very well pleased with his situation in France, and was therefore glad of so honourable an occasion of shewing his courage and military skill against the infidels, where he gained a very high reputation. He was accompanied in this expedition by the duke of Nevers, and died the year following at Nuremberg^q, in his way to France, where he was coming to recruit his forces.

*Marshal
Biron sent
to renew
the alliance
with the
Swiss
cantons.*

We have before mentioned the strange disposition of marshal Biron, his discontent, and his intrigues, which were better known to the baron de Rhofny than to any other of the king's ministers. After the war of Savoy the marshal demanded of the king a gratification of thirty thousand crowns, which was very frankly given. When he came to consult with Rhofny the manner of receiving it, for the state of the treasury was such, that it could not be paid at once, the minister paid him half in ready money, and assured him of the remainder in a year. The marshal seemed to be very well satisfied, but turned all his gratitude towards the minister who paid, and not to the prince from whom it came. Rhofny, instead of accepting his compliments, endeavoured to set him right in his judgment, an explanation which, in appearance, the marshal seemed to receive very well; but from this conversation Rhofny entertained such an idea of him, that he thought it his duty to acquaint the king with the necessity there was of his being upon his guard against a man of the marshal's turn, whom no obligations could restrain, and whose talents rendered him very capable of executing whatever his resentments, well or ill founded, might dictate. The king told him, that he thought he knew Biron better than any man; that his great foible was vanity; and that,

^p Cayet sous l'Ann. 1601.

^q P. Matthieu. Mezeray.

though

though very capable of lip-treason, yet, in the midst of his extravagancies, he would be as ready and as zealous in his service as ever : that instead, therefore, of disgracing or estranging this malecontent from business, the only way to keep him out of mischief was to employ him^h. With this view the king had sent him over to England the last year; and it was with the like view that he employed him in another negotiation at the beginning of this; a negotiation of infinite consequence to the French monarchy, and which hitherto had not been very far advanced even by the ablest negotiator. It was renewing the alliance with the Swiss cantons, which, from the difficulty that attended it, the king was very desirous of putting upon a new basis, and to stipulate not only for his own time, but for the reign of the dauphinⁱ. The consequence and the difficulty of the business were equally great, more especially as it was known that the traversing of this alliance was the capital point both of the king of Spain and of the duke of Savoy, the former a very potent, the latter the most politic prince of this age. The statesmen hitherto employed had, with all their reasonings, made no great progress; the sending Biron shewed the king's penetration, and that he really knew him better than any body, perhaps better than he knew himself. His martial disposition, his open, artless manner of talking, his frankness, generosity, and magnificence, wrought upon the Swiss, and gave such weight to his arguments, that they could refuse him nothing. In short, he carried his point; the terms of the treaty were settled, the reducing it into form was to be left to others. This, as the French historians^k truly say, was the last, but not the least important service that Biron rendered the king, and the crown of France; therefore, we need not be surprised that, having thus spent the spring, it seems a little hard and ungrateful that the king should cause the head of this great man to be struck off a little after midsummer: but, to judge rationally, we must consider facts, and, at the same time, take into our view the circumstances attending them.

At a time when, through the good intentions of the king, and the intense application of his minister, it might have been expected that public affairs should have worn a favourable aspect, it was evident, even to vulgar eyes, that they never were either more obscured, or more embarrased.

The strange disorder of public affairs, and the causes of this embarrasment.

^h Memoires de Sully. ⁱ P. Matth. Jacobi Thuani. D'Aubigne. ^k Dupl. Mez. P. Dan, Chalons. Le Gend.

barrassed. Indistinct rumours prevailed through the provinces; the king lost his usual good humour; the court had nothing in it of gaiety; councils met often, and were long assembled, without people's knowing the true causes; a circumstance which gave occasion to a variety of rumours that heightened the general perplexity¹. The king met with fresh sources of uneasiness, which ever way he turned. Several of the great lords retired, some to their governments, some to their estates. The clergy complained that bishopricks and benefices were bestowed at the recommendation of women, and sometimes upon children; the nobility and gentry exclaimed that they were little considered, and that, since the settlement of the kingdom, the men of the long robe had engrossed all employments, and with them the king's favour. The Hugonots were as much discontented as any. They thought that the king was estranged from them, and that whatever respect was shewn them, arose more from fear than inclination. The bulk of the people began to murmur. Amongst other impositions laid by the assembly at Rouen, was one called the pancart, which was held in universal execration^m: it consisted in levying 2 sous in the livre upon all kinds of provisions that entered into cities and great towns; and a pancart, or table, shewing after what rate these sums were to be collected, was hung up at every gate. Insurrections happened in several places; the king went to Blois, and from thence to Poitiers, that he might put an end to these murmurs. His presence, and some acts of severity, had that effect; the new imposition was every where levied, and immediately an edict issued, in which, after acknowledging and applauding the submission of his subjects, the king abolished the taxⁿ. He was rather to be pitied than censured for imposing it. His debts were immense; his revenue did not much exceed a million sterling: demands came from every quarter, and the king was treated as false and ungrateful, for not doing what was not in his power to perform. Besides, he was apprised of the intrigues carried on by Spanish emissaries in several provinces; he saw suspicious armaments by land and sea; and his allies were also dissatisfied. He was convinced that several of his own subjects had conspired against his person and government; and, when he came to look more closely into particulars, he saw reason to doubt whether he had a friend left, the

¹ Memoires de Sully. Cayet.^m Dupl. Mez. Le Gend.ⁿ Memoires de Sully. Jacobi Thuani. P. Daniel.

list of the malecontents was so numerous^o, and the baron de Rhofny's name stood there amongst the rest. In the midst of all these troubles, that which he feared most fell upon him; a domestic quarrel, which once rose so high, that he had thoughts of parting with the queen, or at least of obliging her to discard all her Italians, people equally hateful and hated in France. He was dissuaded from this step by the baron de Rhofny, and, at the time he gave him the advice, Henry told him he would repent it.

It was at Poitiers that things came to such extremities, and from thence, upon some fresh discoveries, the king suddenly returned to Fontainebleau, fully resolved to extricate himself out of these difficulties and dangers by some stroke of vigour: how necessary this was, and with what reluctance he took that determination, appeared evidently from the general concurrence of the best informed writers of those times, and by the dispatches of the English ministers at his court, in which he is treated as a suspicious, timid, mutable prince, much inclined to fear, and whose anger was not much to be feared^p. A strange character of Henry IV! but if we consider that those who gave it must have been governed entirely by appearances, and that they could not possibly have the lights we have now, it will appear somewhat less unaccountable. On the other hand, the king and his ministers were not without their faults; the dissolute life that he led, of necessity rendered him contemptible: but while kings are men, what they do as men will affect their characters as kings. The baron de Rhofny was a great minister and an honest man, but austere in his temper, haughty in his manners, and he had too little complaisance either to his master or to his subjects: besides, the grievances before mentioned were far from being imaginary; and however necessary taxes may be, they are nevertheless burdensome to those who feel them. The duke of Bouillon told the king this truth, upon his expostulating with him, being one of those of whom he had the most suspicion. The king, for this reason, pressed him to remain at court for some time; he, with great dexterity, offered to go and put his private affairs in order, that he might remain continually about his person, and under this pretence he got out of his reach^q. The duke d'Espèrnon acted a wiser and greater part:

At length the king gains an exact account of the conspiracy, and resolves to seize on Biron.

^o Sir Ralph Winwood's Memorials, vol. i.
p 407. 411.

^q P. Matth. Jacobi Thuani.

^p Ibid. vol. i.

when the king made him the same proposition, he closed with it readily; and, without making any compliment, said he would stay with his majesty six months; and that if, in this space, the prospect did not clear, he would leave his two sons as hostages for his behaviour: the king was satisfied, and the duke performed punctually what he promised*. The great point was to get the marshal Biron into his hands, of whose treasons he had abundant evidence; La Fin, who had been the principal instrument in conducting them, having made his peace by an ample discovery, the truth of which he justified by producing original papers in the duke's own hand, which had been committed to his care, that they might remain safe. The duke had another great agent at court, the baron de Lux, who was very faithful to him, and whom the king took care to amuse, as La Fin likewise did, by assuring him that he had imposed upon the ministers by false informations, and that the marshal had nothing to do but to make use of the time he had gained to put his affairs into such a condition, as that, notwithstanding the king's suspicions, he might have nothing to fear*. This was the situation of the king, who, notwithstanding, was very far from determining in his own mind upon the destruction of a man who had entered into measures for destroying him.

*Marshal
Biron
comes to
court, and
is arrested.*

The marshal duke de Biron, at his return from Switzerland, retired into his government of Burgundy, having put into most of the strong places governors upon whom he thought he might depend. The king, who could no longer bear that state of uncertainty in which he lived, sent him an order to come to court, which he declined, under pretence that the Spaniards intending to march a great body of troops through Franche Comté into the Low Countries, his presence was absolutely necessary in Burgundy*. The king, disliking this excuse, sent to him the president Jeannin, and the baron de Lux, who was in his secrets and in his interest, whom the king had taken pains to deceive, by throwing out kind expressions of the marshal in his hearing. At the request of these two persons, the marshal resolved to go to Fontainebleau, through a persuasion that the king held him innocent, or at least had only suspicions. One circumstance that had great weight with him, was the finding his fortresses defence-

* Histoire de Duc d'Espèron. P. Dan.
P. Matth. Dupl. Mez. P. Dan.
Memorials, vol. i. p. 407. 409.

* Jacobi Thuani.
† Sir Ralph Winwood's

less, through the dexterity of Rhosny, who, in quality of master of the ordnance, had concerted with him the recasting all the artillery in those places, and had desired that he would send his agent to Lyons, to see the new pieces embarked the same day the old were sent out of Burgundy; but causing the former to be stopped on the road, the marshal found himself disarmed, and swore revenge against Rhosny^u. When he drew near the court, he was met by a person of confidence from the duke of Espernon, who told him that it was his master's advice, if he knew himself faulty, to have recourse to the king's clemency. He looked upon this hint as a reproach, laid his hand upon his sword, and threatened destruction to his accusers. He arrived on the 13th of June at Fontainebleau. He was received, in appearance, very kindly by the king, who pressed him thrice that day to deal ingenuously with him, and sent the baron de Rhosny and the count de Soissons to him, but to no purpose^w. Henry was extremely unwilling to make a person who had served him so well, and so lately, the victim of these intrigues; but the marshal insisting on his innocence, demanding the names of his accusers, and at length mingling threats with his protestations, the king determined, after he had laid his proofs before his council, to cause him and the count d'Auvergne to be arrested. At their last conference, he said to the marshal, "You know what I have told you; adieu, baron de Biron." As he retired out of the king's cabinet, he was arrested by Vitry, captain of the king's guard, as the count d'Auvergne was in another part of the palace; both were prepared to make their escape that night, in consequence of repeated hints from their friends of the danger they were in^x.

They were immediately conveyed by water to the Bastile, and the king went to Paris the same day. On the 18th of July, he directed a commission to the parliament to make the marshal's process. Biron behaved wildly before the committee that examined him, sometimes denying all, sometimes acknowledging more than could be proved. When the sieur de la Fin was first produced, he acknowledged him for a man of honour, his friend, and his relation; but when he heard his deposition, he charg-

*His process
formed be-
fore the
parliament,
is condemn-
ed, and ex-
ecuted.*

^u Memoires de Sully. Le Gendre. ^w Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espernon, tom. ii. Memoires de Sully. P. Dan ^x Peretix Histoire du Roy Henry IV. Dupleix, tom. v. P. Matth.

ed him, truly enough, with crimes the most infamous ^y. He said, however, that if the secretary of this man had been living, whom the old duke of Savoy had seized, and, as he thought, put to death, he would have justified his innocence and la Fin's guilt. Upon this assertion that very secretary, who had made his escape out of a dungeon, was produced, a circumstance which disconcerted the marshal extremely, who concluded from thence that he was betrayed by the king of Spain and the duke of Savoy. His own secretary Attebert, and a multitude of papers in his own hand-writing were also produced. On the 27th of the same month he appeared before all the chambers of the parliament assembled, of whom there were a hundred and twenty judges present; but, though they had been twice summoned, yet none of the peers would assist. The marshal had now recollected himself, and behaved quite otherwise than he had hitherto done. He made a long and eloquent speech, in which he set forth his services; insisted, that these were realities, whereas what he was charged with were only hasty expressions, ambitious dreams, and political vapours, that had never manifested themselves in facts ^z. His discourse was so moving, that the first president and many of the judges wept. If they had proceeded to the vote that evening, many believe that his life would have been saved; but, being late, it was deferred, and on the 29th, which was the next sitting, because Sunday intervened, they unanimously adjudged him to death ^a. He suffered on the last day of the month, within the Bastile, in great confusion, and without shewing any marks of that intrepidity, for which he had been so highly and so justly famous ^b (E). The baron de Fontenelle

^y Cayet Chronologie Septenaire.
Septenaire. Dupl.
p. 427. P. Matth.

^z Cayet Chronologie
Septenaire. Dupl.
^a Sir R. Winwood's Memorials, vol. i.
^b Preface Histoire du Roi Henry IV.

(E) Charles de Gontaut, baron de Biron, was the eldest son of Armand de Biron, marshal of France, descended from an ancient and noble, though not a very illustrious family. In his person he was by no means agreeable; he was not tall, but very fat; his head little, his eyes sunk deep, and

something very piercing and malignant in his look. He was a great officer in all respects, and as much distinguished by his conduct as for his amazing intrepidity. He had served Henry since his accession to the throne with equal spirit and success, more especially at the siege of Amiens, where he surpassed

tenelle was broke alive upon the wheel as his accomplice : the count d'Auvergne, through the entreaties of his sister, madame d'Entragues, and on account of his being the last male of the house of Valois, was pardoned and restor-

passed all that he had before done, and all that his master expected of him. The king did not reward him only with praise, he made him marshal, duke, and peer of France, gave him estates, pensions, occasional gratifications, and the important government of Burgundy, with large appointments. But it was impossible to content him, because it was impossible to keep him out of necessity. His foible was play, at which he lost five hundred thousand crowns within the compass of one year. His vanity was so extreme, that the whole tenor of his discourse was either the abuse of others or the praise of himself ; so that, except amongst his creatures or his confederates, he was universally hated. The king looked upon his worst qualities rather as foibles than vices, had a sincere affection for, and spoke extremely well of him upon all occasions. On the contrary, Biron treated the king with the utmost disrespect ; and not content with magnifying his own services, he spoke of the king with distaste and contempt. He behaved meanly under his misfortunes, beseeching the chancellor and every body that came near him to intercede with the king, desiring to be immured between four walls, and to pass the remainder of his days in chains, so he might live. At his death he was under forty. In suffering

the severity of the law to pass upon Biron the king did an act of justice against his will, and lost the advantage he proposed, of drawing a full account of the conspiracy from that unfortunate nobleman. But this was repaired by the coming in of the baron de Lux, who was master of the whole detail of the conspiracy, and who was two full hours in relating it to the king. He certainly justified what Biron had advanced, that there were many as guilty as he. But it put all thoughts of punishing out of the king's head ; for the number and the quality of the malcontents were so great, that even Sully durst not commit their names to paper ; and the king, not knowing in whom to confide, did not barely think it prudent, but found it absolutely necessary to dissemble. Our statesmen were unacquainted with this secret, when they taxed Henry with irresolution and timidity, except the baron de Rhosny, and he too was accused ; the king had not, perhaps, a thorough friend in his court and in his council : no wonder if, in such a situation, he was irresolute. It was on this foundation that the king founded his aversion to the house of Austria, and, as we shall see hereafter, he met with many incidents, in the course of his reign, to confirm him in that aversion.

ed to favour. The baron de Lux, who was in all Biron's secrets, surrendered after his death, and made such discoveries as the king took care to conceal, that the number of those who had tampered with the courts of Spain and Savoy might not be rendered desperate^c. The queen of England and the king of Scots sent ambassadors to compliment the king on his escape from so dangerous a conspiracy. The king of Spain and the duke of Savoy performed the same ceremony; but their ambassadors met with a very different reception. The king took all the precautions necessary for his own safety, and sent a body of troops, under the command of marshal Lavardin, into Burgundy, of which province he appointed the Dauphin governor, and made the duke de Bellegarde his lieutenant^d.

*The Swiss
cantons
send a so-
lemn em-
bassy to
Paris.*

In the month of September, a solemn embassy arrived from the Swiss cantons, and the league of the Grisons; it was composed of forty-two deputies, who were received with the utmost respect, and treated with all the kindness and esteem possible: they made three demands; first the augmentation of their annual subsidy of four hundred thousand crowns; next, the renewal of their privileges; and lastly, two declarations that had been promised them, one permitting the five lesser cantons to execute their treaty with Milan and Savoy, and the second importing, that the levies made in the Protestant cantons should never be constrained to act against the Protestants in France. The king excused himself as to the first, on account of the low state of his finances; the two last were granted^e. On the 20th of October, the treaties were solemnly sworn to in the church of Notre Dame, first by the deputies, then by the king. At their departure they were each of them presented with a gold chain, with a large medal of the same metal, out of a mine that had been discovered in la Bresse^f. This year there were many edicts made for the public benefit, and among the rest one against duels, by which all disputes of honour were referred to the judgment of the constable and marshals of France, at the Marble Table; and those who, in contempt of this edict, attempted to do themselves justice, were declared

A.D. 1602.

^c Cayet Chronologie Septenaire. P. Matth. Sir Ralph Winwood's Memorials, vol. i. p. 445.

^d Dupl. tom. v.

^e Du-

pleix, tom. v. P. Matth.

^f Cayet Chronologie Septenaire. Preface Histoire du Roi Henry IV. Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espernon, tom. ii. Suite de la Chronique du Sieur du Tillet.

guilty of high treason. It was more than time, certainly, that such a law should be made, since, in one year, more than four thousand gentlemen had fallen in such quarrels. But after all it had little effect, for which the king was deservedly blamed, as having spoke with some slight of such as had refused challenges after it was made ^g.

The duke of Savoy having made an attempt to surprise the city of Genève, with the assistance of the count de Fuentes, governor of Milan, in which, however, he was disappointed, by the presence of mind and intrepidity of the inhabitants, Henry found himself obliged to take some share in the quarrel, and he acted therein with such spirit and success, that the pope was forced to interpose, to prevent the king of Spain's taking part on the other side, and exciting thereby a new war in Italy; so that a negotiation ensued, which ended in a peace ^h. At the opening of the year the king took the first steps in favour of settling the silk trade in his dominions; and this step was entirely due to his own judgment and penetration, his great minister Rhosny having opposed it with the utmost vehemence ⁱ. The king's love for his people in general rendered him a superior politician. He did not restrain his cares to this or that body of his subjects, but made the happiness of them all his capital study. His argument to the baron de Rhosny was, that the common people in France were idle, and therefore miserable; he thought it his duty to introduce industry, and of that particular kind that was likely to reward them most effectually: for Henry was one of those few princes that desired to see all his subjects live at their ease. His intentions were crowned with success; and he had the satisfaction of seeing the silk manufacture, in his own time, bring more money into his kingdom than almost all that were styled staple commodities put together ^k.

Henry interposes in favour of the Genevese, and introduces the culture of silk into France.

In the spring the king made a tour to Metz, where the duke of Espernon, as governor, had put in two lieutenants, one of the citadel, and the other of the city, who miserably oppressed the people, and were equally wanting in gratitude to the duke and in duty to the king. Henry removed them both, and substituted officers of his own, which seemed to be the principal point he had in view. He was

His journey to Metz, alliance with Great Britain, recalls the Jesuits, promotes commerce and manufactures.

^g P. Daniel. Septenaire.

^h Memoires de Sully. Cayet Chronologie

ⁱ Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espernon. Sir George Carew's Relation of the State of France under King Henry IV. Cayet Chronologie Septenaire.

^k P. Matth. P. Daniel.

there visited by several German princes, whom he treated with great kindness and respect, omitting nothing that was requisite to gain their confidence ^k. It was in this journey that he received the Jesuits into his favour, and promised to effect their return into France, though that measure was not so easily brought about. He went from Metz to Nancy in Lorraine, to visit his sister the duchess of Bar; and would have remained longer in those parts, but for the news of the death of queen Elizabeth, which affected him extremely. In the beginning of the month of May, he was seized with a retention of urine, which reduced him to the last extremity; however, by the strength of nature, and the skill of his physicians, he happily recovered ^l. He sent over his great minister the baron, now marquis de Rhosny, to negotiate with king James, which he did very effectually, since, in the space of a very few weeks, he settled a treaty, which was signed at Hampton Court on the 30th of July, for the succour of the States, as well as for the reciprocal assistance of the two kings, in case either of their dominions should be attacked ^m. At his return Rhosny found his conduct arraigned by the count de Soissons, but the king defended him, and was extremely pleased with the issue of his negotiations. In order to shew his attachment to the church, and even to the court of Rome, he prevailed upon the Protestant synod at Gap to strike out the article in their confession of faith, declaring the pope antichrist: and he effected the return of the Jesuits, warmly solicited by the pope, which the king himself had promised to the order, but which some of his ministers, and even the parliament of Paris, strongly opposed; but the king, who had a mind, not so much, perhaps, out of affection as apprehension, to be well with that powerful society, at length, but not without exerting his royal authority, brought it to bear. This year he granted letters patent for the establishment of Canada, in which he again differed with Rhosny, who declared roundly that all settlements above the fortieth degree of latitude could be of no utility, and that all the pretended advantages insisted upon in their favour were but so many commercial chimeras. Here again the monarch was right and the minister wrong, as we know by

^k Cayet Chronologie Septenaire. Suite de la Chronique du Sieur du Tillet. Dupleix, tom. v. ^l Memoires de Sully. Cayet Chronologie Septenaire. P. Matth. ^m Preface Histoire du Roi Henry IV. Dupleix, tom. v. Memoires de Sully. P. Daniel. tom. x.

experience. The canal of Briare was likewise begun this year for uniting the Loire with the Seine. It is really amazing how, in the midst of so many great and perplexing affairs, Henry could turn his thoughts to things of this nature, discern their utility, and resolve to break in upon his great scheme of saving, not for his own pleasure or conveniency, but for the common benefit of his subjects ⁿ. Upon this principle likewise the necessary assistance was given for setting on foot a manufacture of crystal glass, and for encouraging strangers, who were to be employed in this and other works of the same kind ^o.

Catherine duchess of Bar, the king's sister, died at the beginning of this year, after having passed her days very uncomfortably with her husband. The pope had just granted a dispensation to the duke her husband to live with her, though of a different religion; but it did not arrive till after her decease ^p. This was the last service performed at Rome by cardinal d'Osât, whom most of the French historians commend as a person of wonderful talents and incorruptible integrity; the former raised him to, and the latter above his dignity. Some, however, have insinuated, that this cardinal was so thorough an ecclesiastic, that he laboured to the utmost to revive in the council of Henry the Fourth the sentiments of the league; that is, he sought to appease the king with respect to the Spaniards; to render him submissive to the court of Rome; and to lead him, by slow and imperceptible degrees, back to the old system of the house of Valois, the fundamental maxim of which was the extinction of heresy, or, in plain terms, the extirpation of the Hugonots ^q. In case these softer methods did not succeed, those of another nature were not absolutely laid aside, as appeared by the discovery made by the king's ambassador at the court of Madrid, who found that the Spanish ministers were sooner acquainted than he with the most secret resolutions of the court of France; neither was he long in the dark as to the manner in which this was brought about. One Rasis, of the faction of the sixteen, who had taken shelter at Madrid, offered, if he might have a pardon and a reward, to let him into the secret of the whole business. This being granted, he assured him, that one Nicholas

A secretary of Villeroy's betrays all the secrets of the court to the Spaniards.

ⁿ Sir George Carew's Relation of the State of France, &c. Duplex, tom. v.
^o Preface. Cayet. Sir George Carew's Relation, &c.
^p Jac. Thuan. Dupl. tom. v. Mezeray.
^q P. Daniel. Le Gend.

Hote, who had the confidence of M. Villeroy, secretary of state, transmitted all papers of any consequence to the Spanish court, in consequence of a pension paid him of twelve hundred crowns a year. Rasis was sent home with the secretary of the embassy; but the Spanish court, having some suspicions, letters were immediately sent to the Spanish minister at the court of France to put Hote upon his guard, and they came in so good time, that he had escaped from M. de Villeroy at the time the king's orders came to arrest him: however, being pursued, and hoping to ford the river Marne in the night, he was drowned*. Some say† this fate happened through accident, some‡ attribute it to despair, whereas some§ believe that his guides carried him to a proper place for depositing all his secrets. However it was, common fame accused Villeroy, and, if we believe his antagonist Rhosny, this imputation was no calumny. Villeroy himself wrote an apology, which was afterwards published; but he could never extinguish the suspicion, though the state of the king's affairs, and possibly his inclinations, for he had gained a great ascendancy over Henry, brought him back to the council, and reinstated him in as high confidence as ever.

New perplexities in the government, and disturbances in his family.

It had been found expedient, in the preceding year, for the king to procure, by some extraordinary step, such as gratifying those who had the reversion of it, the province of Poitou for the marquis de Rhosny, not so much for his own sake as the king's; and this year he was sent to take possession of that government, in order to keep the Protestants quiet, and to balance the power of the duke de la Tremouille, and some other persons of great rank, who, in conjunction with the duke of Bouillon, were desirous of rendering themselves formidable, by an appearance of great zeal in the cause of religion. In this commission, M. de Rhosny succeeded, by making the more understanding ministers sensible, that a factious disposition served only to estrange the king, and to do the work of the Papists, who were continually insinuating that the principles of the reformed religion led them to cabal, whereas, in truth, they could not be good Protestants without being good subjects. Spain, in the mean time, had concluded a treaty with Great Britain; but king James took care that

* P. Matth. Jacobi Thuani. Memoires de Sully.

Daniel. † Du Tillet. Mezeray.

‡ Memoires de Sully. Chalons.

§ P. Dupl. Le Gend.

this should be without prejudice to the defensive league with France. However, the Spaniards, deviating from their ordinary maxims, and perceiving that they were losers by the French trade, took a very bold step, and imposed a duty of thirty per cent. on all French commodities at once. Henry was so much piqued at this, that, notwithstanding his affairs were not yet in the best posture, the public debts having been estimated at three hundred and thirty millions, he made no scruple of expressing his resentment by prohibiting all commerce with Spain, which was a measure which that court did not expect; as a war was by no means their aim, they had recourse to their usual method of procuring the pope's interposition, and, in consequence of that, a negociation, which ended in removing the new duty, and recalling the prohibition which that had occasioned *. In the mean time, the king's domestic affairs gave him at least as much trouble as those of his government: in that the jealousies of the Papists created continual perplexities; in this he was equally disturbed by the resentments of the queen and the humours of his mistress, so that he might be truly said never to enjoy a quiet moment. As to the queen, she not only made him unhappy by fits of jealousy, starts of passion, and whole days of ill humour, but the Italians she had about her were perpetually putting new demands in her head, turning every thing to profit, and, amongst the rest, selling whatever secrets they could hear to the emissaries of Spain †. As for madame d'Entragues, now become marchioness de Verneuil, she was grown infinitely more insupportable; she treated Henry with insolence, and the queen with contempt. She mimicked her awkward air, her broken pronunciation, and every little foible to the king's face. Sometimes she gave broad hints that her own children were as well born as the queen's; sometimes she told the king he was grown old and suspicious; and sometimes her conscience was so troublesome that she could not think of living any longer with him in this manner. At length Henry, quite tired out, took this arrogant woman at her word, resolved to part with her, and, to gratify the queen, purchased that promise of marriage, which had been the source of much discord, by the payment of twenty thousand crowns in ready money, and the promise of the staff

* Prefixe. Dupleix, tom. v, P. Matth.
de Guilly. P. Dan. tom. x.

† Memoires

of marshal of France to M. d'Entragues her father, who had never been in the field.

*A new
conspiracy
discovered.*

While things were in this situation, a new scene of treason was discovered, in which the mistress and her whole family were engaged. The first opening was by some intercepted letter to the count d'Auvergne, who, when pardoned for the share he had in Biron's conspiracy, voluntarily undertook to act as a spy on the court of Spain, and, under colour of carrying on a correspondence for this purpose, betrayed the secrets of the court of France. His own suspicions induced him to fly into Auvergne, where he endeavoured to avoid being seized; but his precautions failed, and, being apprehended at a review, he was sent prisoner to the Bastile, and placed in the same room where marshal Biron had been confined². It quickly appeared that his sister had a share in his correspondencies; that, under pretence of breaking with the king, she meant to retire into England with her children, having held a correspondence there with the Spanish ambassador; upon this detection her father and mother were sent to prison, and she was confined to her own house³. The king seemed to be extremely irritated, and fully determined to leave the criminals to the severity of the law, and, with this view, ordered the parliament to form their process. He continued in the mean time, in the midst of these perplexities, to pursue steadily, and with unwearied application, the schemes that had been formed for discharging the debts of the crown, restoring order and justice in the provinces, and increasing that mass of wealth which he kept in reserve, in the prosecution of which purposes he had recourse to some methods that were not universally approved. The necessities of state were great; but in raising money, a spirit of accumulating grew too much on the king and his minister.

D.A. 1664.

*The criminals are
condemned
by the parliament,
but are
gently
treated.*

The parliament very quickly dispatched the process of the great criminals. The count d'Auvergne threw all the blame upon his sister; and she, in return, threw it back upon him. Old Entragues acted with greater firmness and dignity, taking every thing upon himself, that the load might fall lighter elsewhere. On the 1st of February this great cause was decided, the count M. d'Entragues, and one Mr. Morgan, an Englishman, who had been embark-

² P. Matth. Dupleix, tom. v. Mézeray. ³ Sir Ralph Winwood's Memorials, vol. i. p. 42. Mémoires de Sully. P. Daniel.

ed in these affairs, were condemned to lose their heads; as for the marchioness, her sentence was, to pass the remainder of her days in a monastery ^b. After all this stir, none of these judgments were executed; the king commuted the punishment of the count d'Auvergne into imprisonment for life, for various reasons, but, amongst the rest, one was the delivering up the original association between himself, marshal Biron, and the marshal duke de Bouillon, which shewed the insincerity of his former discoveries: as to this last treason, he peremptorily denied his having entered into any treaty with Spain, which was, nevertheless, true; and thought himself very hardly used, that he was not set at liberty to plot again ^c. Old Entragues, was ordered to retire to his own estate, the marchioness confined to her house at Varneuil, and Morgan banished the kingdom. These disturbances were succeeded by others: the king was now convinced, and had it in his power to convince the world, that the duke de Bouillon had formed designs against his government; but he was unwilling to proceed till he was secure with respect to the Protestants, who had a very high esteem for, and very close connections with that duke; for this reason the king sent the marquis de Rhofny to their general assembly at Chattelleraud, where things were to be considered of the last importance. If we may believe that great man, a scheme had been formed for establishing a kind of commonwealth, or at least a body apart from the rest of the kingdom, by an association amongst the Protestants, which he attributes to the duke de Bouillon, Lesdiguières, du Plessis, D'Aubigne, and some others. The body of the Protestants did not see the thing in this light; when they did, they disapproved it. Those who were most sanguine protested, that, if Henry had been immortal, nothing of this kind would have entered their minds; but that their apprehensions for the future, and a just care for their posterity, had induced them to countenance this scheme: however, upon their strong places being left them for three years more, and strong assurances given them of the king's good intentions, every thing was conducted to his satisfaction ^d.

While Henry and his council were in some doubt as to the advices they received of some intrigues in Perigord, Querci, and Guienne, queen Margaret of Valois furnish-

A new conspiracy in the provinces discovered by queen Margaret of Valois.

^b Le Gendre. fixe.

^c Cayet Chronologie Septenaire. Perefixe. Le Gendre.

^d Memoires de Sully.

ed all the lights they could desire, which gave great satisfaction to the court and to the king, who bestowed upon her the greatest part of the count d'Auvergne's forfeiture, and gave her leave to reside at Paris, which she had much at heart ^c. These commotions, in which the Spaniards had also a share, and for promoting which they had advanced some money, cost some gentlemen their lives, and would have been more fatal, if they had not had recourse, of their own accord, to the king's clemency, to whom they applied, told him the truth, and obtained his pardon. Henry, however, thought it necessary to advance with a corps of troops and some judges into the provinces beyond the Loire, in order to reduce the places belonging to the duke of Bouillon, and to make examples of such as had entered into engagements with Spain; and he did both without trouble; for the duke having withdrawn his principal confidants out of his country of Turenne, directed the governors of all his places to surrender upon the king's summons, and, at the same time, wrote the king letters so full of duty and submission, that he scarce knew what to think of his conduct ^f. In his progress he passed near the town of Rochelle, who sent deputies to compliment him. They were introduced by the marquis de Rhosny. Presenting the keys of the place, they told his majesty, that, though at the head of a Catholic army, his presence would be no less welcome to the inhabitants than when they had the honour to be in arms for his service; and that, if their gates were too narrow, they were ready to beat down their walls to give him entrance. The king, struck with this unexpected compliment, went thither, was extremely pleased with his reception, and left the people of Rochelle perfectly well satisfied with the testimonies he gave them of his affection ^g.

New treasons in the provinces, heart-burnings in Paris, and other accidents.

The care of doing justice was left, in a great measure, to the marquis de Rhosny. Two brothers, of the name of Luquille, gentlemen of good families in Provence, lost their heads for having sold Narbonne to the Spaniards, and ten or twelve more had the same fate for offences of the like kind ^h. A galley-slave at Marseilles informed the duke of Guise, that one M. Mariargues, a person of rank, who, next year, was to be viguer, or *prime magistrate*,

^c P. Matth. Dupleix, tom. v. Memoires de Sully. P. Daniel, tom. x.

^f P. Matthieu. Memoires de Sully. Mezeray.

^g Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Epemnon, tom. ii. Dupleix, tom. v. Preface.

^h R. Matth. Memoires de Sully.

had communicated to him a design of betraying the city to the Spaniards. The rank of the accuser, and the condition of the accused, rendered the charge very improbable. The states of Provence meeting soon after, Mariargues was deputed to carry their resolutions to the court, and being there carefully watched, it was very soon found that he had in reality a close correspondence with Zuniga the Spanish ambassador. He was arrested in his own lodgings, in close conference with Bruneau the ambassador's secretary, in whose stocking a memorial was found, containing the services expected from Mariargues, who was beheaded on the 19th of December, and his body quartered for this offence ^l. The same day, as the king was passing over Pont Neuf, a man slipped between the guards, caught hold of his arm, and pulled him backward on his horse, having a dagger drawn in the other hand, with which he would have dispatched him, but he was presently seized by the king's servants, and appeared to be one John de Lisle. When he came to be examined, he said he was king of the whole world, and Henry kept a part of his territories from him. Upon enquiry, he was found to have been many years mad, upon which the king ordered him to be maintained and confined ^k. Henry took the seals from the chancellor, under pretence of his great age, and gave them to M. de Sillery, not much to the satisfaction of the old man, who could not help saying, that a chancellor without the seals was like a body without a soul ^l. The desire the king expressed to see his debts paid, induced Rhosny to make some enquiry into the rents of the town-house at Paris; but M. Miron, the provost of the merchants, opposing it with great vigour, the king thought fit to let the matter fall ^m. There were three

A.D. 1605.

The king determined to restore the peace of the kingdom, and to put an end to that spirit of independency and

Henry
marches to
Sedan, and
reduces
marshal
Bouillon.

^l Sir Ralph Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 132. Jacob. Thuan. ^k P. Matth. ^l Memoires de Sully. Dupl. tom. v. Mezeray. ^m Memoires de Sully, ⁿ Dupl. P. Daniel.

intrigue which was the source of his own and the nation's troubles, resolved, if his health permitted, for he was now much troubled with the gout, to march directly to Sedan, in order to convince the duke of Bouillon that he was but a subject. He judged it, however, necessary, to raise the marquis de Rhosny, who he intended should command the army, in case he found it inexpedient to go in person, to a superior rank, and accordingly created him duke and peer of France, by the title of duke of Sully, the name of one of his estates, in which quality he was received by the parliament at the end of February °. The king immediately after declared his intention to employ his arms against Sedan, and ordered Sully to prepare a competent train of artillery for that enterprize. It was four years since that prince had been at court, and during this time he had contracted close engagements with several of the princes of Germany, whose intercession, he hoped, would have had some weight with the king; but Henry having rejected something of the like nature from the Swiss cantons, the duke did not find it easy to get other potentates to interpose. He wanted not, however, mediators at court; the queen and Villeroy interceded for him; and when the king, with his army of twenty-five thousand men, had advanced within a league of Sedan, the duke demanded a treaty, which was concluded on the last of April p. By this the duke consented that the king should put a garrison into Sedan for four years; and on the other hand, the king granted him an oblivion of whatever he might have said or done, which was to be verified in parliament q. The treaty was no sooner concluded than the duke came to pay his respects to the king, who afterwards made his public entry into Sedan, remained there a few days, and then returned in triumph to Paris. The duke of Bouillon, soon after, followed him thither, and, to the surprize of all the world, was not only very kindly received, but entered so far into the king's good graces, that, in a month's time, the king withdrew his garrison out of Sedan, and left the duke in the very same situation in which he found him r.

*He runs an
imminent
hazard of
his life, and
falls into
new a-
mours.*

Queen Margaret instituted a suit before the parliament of Paris against the count d'Auvergne, who was still a prisoner, for that county which he enjoyed in virtue of

° *Memoires de Sully.* p P. Matth. Dupl. tom. v. Sir R. Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 182. q Jacob. Thuan. P. Daniel, tom. x. r *Memoires de Sully.* Mez. Le Gendre.

the will of queen Catherine de Medicis ; but Margaret insisted, that, by the queen's contract of marriage with Henry the Second, the lands settled upon her, upon default of issue male, were to pass to females. She had already had a suit before the parliament of Thoulouse for the county of Lauragois, and had recovered it, and the parliament of Paris did her like justice[†]. After she was put in possession, she conveyed it, by a deed of gift, after her own demise, to the dauphin, and, some time after, accepted a pension instead of the revenues[†]. In the midst of these favourable incidents, when the king seemed more at ease than at any time during his reign, an unlucky accident was very near putting an end to his life. In returning from St. Germain, where he had been to see his children, having with him in the coach the queen, the duke of Vendosme, the duke de Montpensier, and the princess of Conti ; the horses, in going into the ferry-boat, fell into the water, and pulled in the coach, by which they were all in peril of their lives. The king delivered himself by swimming ; the sieur de Chasteneraye, with great difficulty, drew out the queen by the hair, for which service, besides a present in jewels and an annual pension, he had soon after a company of the guards[‡]. A new chamber was erected to enquire into the forgeries of the financiers, for that crime was excepted in the abolition granted after the former enquiry. These chambers disgraced the reign and the minister : the richest and the most guilty saved themselves by paying six hundred thousand crowns each, and were permitted to tax their under officers, upon whom they raised twice as much[‡]. The marchioness was now in as high favour as ever, and yet the king had a new mistress, to whom he gave the title of countess de Moret. His foibles in this respect were highly prejudicial to his character, and hindered him from having that absolute authority which, otherwise, his great qualities would certainly have gained ; for he who cannot command himself, will never be well obeyed.

Pope Paul the Fifth having quarrelled with the state of Venice, and proceeded to excommunication, the king sent the cardinal de Joyeuse to Rome, to accommodate matters, or, at least, to put them in a way of accommodation, in which negotiation he succeeded. The birth of

Birth of the duke of Orleans, an inquiry into the conduct of the financiers, and other occurrences.

[†] Dupleix, tom. v. Matthieu. Mez. P. Daniel.

[†] P. Daniel, tom. x.

[‡] P. Daniel.

[‡] Dupleix, tom. v.

the duke of Orleans, on the 16th of April*, gave the king great satisfaction, as it fortified the succession, and contributed, as he conceived, to his ease and safety, from a persuasion that the Spaniards would be less inclined to enter into intrigues, when they saw his family daily increase. It relieved him also from some other inquietudes, and made it less necessary for him to dissemble with the princes of the blood, who were none of them much in his favour; the prince of Conti, the eldest, was far from being a man of great parts, and besides almost deaf. The prince of Condé his nephew, who, till the birth of the dauphin, had been looked upon as the presumptive successor, was young and wild. The count de Soissons, brother to the prince of Conti, did not want understanding, but he had a kind of Spanish gravity, and was so extremely sensible of his own high quality, that the king, who was of quite a different temper, had never any affection for him, though, upon some occasions, that prince had rendered him service†. The disputes in his councils ran sometimes very high; the keeper of the seals, Sillery, and the secretary Villeroy, were always on one side, and the duke of Sully on the other. The latter considered the former as creatures of the court of Rome, and no great enemies to the Spaniards. On the other hand, they sometimes made the king acquainted with the murmurs of his people against the taxes, and were not always favourable to Sully's projects for squeezing the financiers, an expedient to which he had recourse almost every year; yet, many of them, after having passed many of these purgations, died immensely rich, a circumstance which shews to how great a degree the poor people must have suffered, since the king was also in possession of a greater treasure than any of his predecessors‡. The Protestants held this year a synod at Rochelle, where the duke de Sully rendered the king great service; for, though many of the Protestants thought him too little attached to their party, yet they seldom heard his apologies without being convinced; knowing, at the same time, that he was thoroughly hated by all the zealots of the popish party, and by the remains of the Spanish faction§, who were now in too great credit at court.

* *Memoires de Sully. Mez. Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France, tom. ii. p. 237.*

† *Dupleix, tom. v. Sir George Carew's Relation of the Court of France, &c.*

‡ *P. Matthieu. Mezeray. P. Daniel.*

§ *Memoires de Sully.*

In the month of July the king, by an edict, united his patrimonial estates, the principality of Bearn excepted, to the crown of France^b. He had once designed to give them to his sister, a step which had been opposed, as incompatible with his dignity: the death of that princess put an end to that dispute. The affairs of the Low Countries created him great embarrassment, for the States, notwithstanding the continual supplies they had received, declared themselves in such distress, that they were no longer in a condition to carry on the war. On the other hand their making peace was not at all consistent with the views of Henry at this juncture; some propositions that the States should put themselves under the protection of this crown, were received in such a manner, as induced the Dutch politicians to believe this was the thing aimed at. Their best patriots remembered that, in their greatest distresses, queen Elizabeth had supplied them with men and money, and refused the offers of the sovereignty of their provinces; and remembering the succours they had given Henry in the time of the league, they thought there was something very self-interested in these new proposals^c. They thought, therefore, in earnest of treating with the arch-dukes, but of treating with them as a free state; and we shall see hereafter what share the king took in this negociation. At present he was busy in establishing two manufactures, one of tapestry, for which he drew his workmen from the Spanish Netherlands, and the other of linen, the principal artists of which came from the territories of the United Provinces. He gave high wages and good settlements to all^d. Sully acknowledges very frankly, that he was no great judge of these things; that he thought them in some measure unnecessary, and very expensive, and said so to the king, who had directed him to examine the first fruits of his manufactures. But Henry, according to his custom, differed from him in his judgment, and, when he had considered them attentively, sent him word in his turn they were wonderfully fine, and excessively cheap. The king's conduct in these matters was highly applauded by foreigners^e, in his own time, as well as justified by success.

Henry unites his patrimony to the crown, assists the Dutch, and encourages trade at home.

A.D. 1607.

^b Suite de la Chronique du Sieur du Tillet.

tom. v. Memoires de Sully. Sir R. Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii.

^d P. Matth. Prefixe. P. Daniel, tom. x.

George Carew's Relation of the Court of France, &c.

^c Dupleix,

^e Sir

*A league
offensive
and defen-
sive con-
cluded with
Holland.*

The great affair now upon the carpet was the negotiation in Holland, not only with regard to the powers immediately concerned, but in respect to France, England, and more remotely to all Europe. The king and his ministers were at first averse to a peace; but finding that Barneveldt, and the patriots in Holland were bent upon it, they held it advantageous for them that it should be treated under their mediation, in conjunction with the king of Great Britain. The ministers charged with the management of this important affair on the part of France, were the president Jeanin, and monsieur Buzenval, the former one of the best negociators in France, and the latter a man of great abilities. But the States, believing it highly necessary to convince the Spaniards that they had not either tired out or disoblged their friends, were very desirous of concluding a new defensive alliance with France and England, that it might appear they had something to trust to in case the negociation should fail, or should be ill observed on the part of Spain, in case it took effect. This affair was drawn into a great length; but, in the beginning of the year, his Britannic majesty not being yet ready, such an alliance was concluded between the crown of France and the States-general, being indeed very suitable to both their interests; for, though the Spanish power was much declined, and Philip the Third had not either the spirit or the application of his father, yet, so long as any of the generals or statesmen of the old court remained, the Spanish power was still formidable to its neighbours^f. Henry, therefore, very wisely chose to have the dominions of the States for his barrier, and, by this act of complaisance, to attach them the more strongly to his alliance, which was so much the more necessary, as their naval power was becoming every day the more considerable, in which point France was still very deficient. The schemes of the king, and the discharge of the crown debts, would not admit of such an expence.

On the 25th of April, the queen was delivered of a third son, styled for the present, duke of Anjou^g, who became afterwards, by the death of his brother, duke of Orleans^h. His Catholic majesty, under colour of sending an ambassador to the princes of Germany, directed Don

^f Dupleix, tom. v. Mez. tom. vi. P. Dan. tom. x. *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Hollande*, par Louis Aubery Maurier.

^g *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France*, tom. ii. p. 250.

^h *Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espernon*, tom. ii. p. 133. Dupleix.

Pedro de Toledo to pass through France, and to make some proposals to the king. These imported a double match between the dauphin and the infanta, and a daughter of France with the prince of Spain; he likewise added a hint of a Catholic league, by which the king might be enabled to compel his Protestant subjects to change either their religion or their habitations. There was a party in the French council not at all averse to these projects, and it was believed the double marriage was a scheme no way displeasing to the queen; but Henry, and those who had his confidence, rejected both¹. The truth is, the king was never easy while he remained at Paris, having a strange apprehension, not without reason, of the Spanish contrivances. This was not a little fortified by the popular rumour of plots and conspiracies against his person, which went so far, that some were executed for attempting his life by magic. The king's domestic disquiets rather increased than diminished; the marchioness de Verneuil was sometimes in as high favour as ever, which the queen bore very ill, though her being out of favour produced still stronger proofs of the king's affection to that concubine. Though he could forgive the prejudice done to his crown, and the insults offered to his person, by the house of Lorraine, yet he lost all patience when they interfered with his amours, and shewed such resentment as was equally irreconcilable to his natural temper and to his dignity². His behaviour was not like to produce any good effect on his court, or on his subjects; so that their manners grew more and more corrupt. Gaming ran higher than ever; people of all ranks were dissolute beyond expression; duels were as frequent as ever, and superstition and atheism clouded the aspect of religion³.

Henry, as he grew old, grew suspicious, and was more apprehensive, now his affairs were in so good order, than when he was surrounded by enemies abroad, and in the midst of factions at home. He entertained doubts even of the duke of Sully, not so much for his own times, as for those that might come after. In order to attach that lord to him the faster, he offered him one of his natural daughters for his son, the marquis of Rhosny, with an immense fortune, two of the best governments, and the constable's sword for himself, on the death of old Montmorency, on

He rejects the submissive application of the Morelles, on their being expelled Spain.

¹ Memoires de Sully. Mezeray. P. Daniel. Prefixe. Chaulons. ² Memoires de Sully. ³ P. Matthieu. Mezeray.

condition, however, that he and his son should become Catholics. This offer Sully, with great humility, refused, and, as occasion offered, prevented the king from listening to the calumnies that were continually whispered to him of the Protestants. He sometimes hindered him from marching with forces to stifle insurrections that never happened, and sometimes enabled him, by very small courtesies, to keep the Protestants in good humour^m. It was with this view that he assisted at the assembly they held this year at Gergeau, where every thing passed quietly, and to the king's satisfaction, though there wanted not some very warm hot-headed men, who were disposed to set up demands that might have created a great deal of troubleⁿ. The truth is, this jealousy of the Protestants, however ill founded, hindered Henry, otherwise a prince of great penetration, from giving a mortal wound to Spain, and rendering France more flourishing than any other kingdom in Europe. About three years before the Morefcoes, who were miserably oppressed, and who sighed under the apprehension of greater evils than they had yet suffered, applied to him for support, and offered to raise twenty thousand men, if he would countenance their taking arms. Upon this proposition one captain Pannissant, a Gascon and a Hugonot, was sent into that country to gain an exact knowlege of their force and condition. This man found them ready to accept of any terms the king would prescribe; and though, from their aversion to the priests, they were at that time very bad Christians, yet he found there would have been no difficulty in making them good Protestants, their dislike to Christianity, being, in truth, no more than an abhorrence of the idolatry and superstition of the Papists. His report was not at all pleasing to Henry, or at least to his ministers; captain Claverie, a Gascon Catholic, was sent on the same errand, and Pannissant recalled; and, from the account given by him, the king thanked the Morefcoes for their offer, but absolutely declined either supporting them in Spain, or giving them any settlements in his own territories when expelled^o. This was distinguished in France by the name of the hard winter, and the effects of it were very severely felt; insomuch that the people in many provinces were absolutely disabled from paying their taxes, and, upon their applications for relief, the king himself

^m Memoires de Sully.
Daniel.

ⁿ Dupleix, tom. v. Peref. P.
^o Dupleix, tom. v. Mezeray. Le Gend.

wrote to the duke of Sully, requiring that all possible regard might be had to their distresses, not only, as he expressed it, from the tenderness he owed to his subjects, but as an act of humanity, that could not but be acceptable in the eyes of his and their Creator P.

The opening of this year was distinguished by two marriages, which the king had very much at heart; the first was that of his natural son Cæsar, duke of Vendosme, with the daughter of the deceased duke of Mercœur, which, though in appearance long ago settled, yet the duchess-dowager laboured all in her power to prevent, and had carried things sometimes so high and so far, that the king was extremely perplexed; but at length, by the interposition of father Cotton, his confessor, and a Jesuit, all things were adjusted; the marriage was celebrated with great pomp, and the young couple sent soon after into the duke's government of Bretagne. The other was that of the prince of Condé with the daughter of the constable Montmorency. This princess had been promised to Bassompierre; and the prince of Condé was on the point of marrying the daughter of the duke of Mayenne; the king broke both these matches, and was the author of this, which was attended with so many circumstances of extraordinary favour for the young princess, as afforded much matter of speculation. Suspensions were infused in the queen; and Henry's passion was already obvious to the eyes of the marchioness de Verneuil; so that he was exposed to the most violent reproaches on one side, and to the most severe railleries on the other.

A.D. 1603.

He brings on himself fresh uneasiness by giving way to his passions.

But to return to the negotiations in Holland: we have before observed, that Henry had at first opposed this peace, and afterwards promoted it. He had his reasons for both. If the States had continued the war with vigour, and had conducted it according to his views, it would have corresponded perfectly with his interests; but, when he found that Barneveldt, who was the oracle of the States, and that potent party of which he was at the head, otherwise inclined, he changed his measures; and, since he could not direct a war, sent his ministers to manage a peace, in which they acted with great dignity and discretion, till, finding it absolutely impracticable, they made another turn, and negotiated a truce for twelve

A truce between the Dutch and the arch-dukes.

P Memoires de Sully. 9 Memoires de Sully. Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France.

years, which they brought to bear almost against the sentiments of both parties'. Maurice prince of Orange, who had very quick parts, temporized as long as he thought the negotiation impracticable; but, as soon as he saw it was likely to be brought to a conclusion, he opposed it vehemently, yet without being able to carry his point. After all, the truce was concluded upon terms which the archdukes were glad to accept, though highly advantageous to the States, their sovereignty being clearly acknowledged, very honourable for the French ministers, more especially the president Jeanin, and very acceptable to the court of Great Britain, as they afforded hopes of obtaining part at least of that immense debt which was due from the States.

*A Spanish
faction in
the king's
council
gives him
great dis-
quiet.*

An earnest desire the king had to enjoy domestic tranquillity, had drawn him, upon particular occasions, to do and suffer such things, as were by no means compatible with his understanding as a man, or with his dignity as a monarch, at the same time that they proved mere temporary expedients, and, after a calm of a few days, produced storms of a much longer continuance'. There was a Catholic faction in his council, composed of able and active men, who could not bear to see the Protestants enjoy the public profession of their religion, and, in the person of Sully, the peculiar confidence of the king. These people had insinuated to the queen, who was a bigot to her religion, that she could expect no safety to herself or to her children, but by putting herself at the head of the Catholics, engaging the king to change his system, and unite in a close alliance with Rome and Spain'. The queen was the more ready to fall in with these sentiments, from the knowledge of the intrigues between the marchioness and the court of Madrid, and a desire of detaching the Catholic king from the support of that lady and her family, as well as to unite the views of that court to her own. Whatever the motives were, the fact is certain, that the queen had her agents at the court of Spain, and that the ambassadors of the great-duke seemed better informed of what passed in his most Christian majesty's cabinet, than the minister who represented his person at that court; a circumstance which, when it came to Henry's

^r Dupleix, tom. v. Mezeray. Aubery Mauriere. Sir Ralph Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii.

^s Memoires de Sully. Me-

moires pour servir à l'Histoire de France, tom. ii. P. Daniel.

^t Dupleix. P. Matthieu. Mezeray.

knowledge, affected him exceedingly, more especially when he saw what an influence it had upon his own subjects, and that a Jesuit, who preached before him, had the assurance, under colour of refuting the position held by many Protestants that the pope is anti-christ, to cry out, in his pulpit, "If the pope be truly anti-christ, what becomes of your abjuration and absolution? What validity in the dissolution of your marriage? What of the legality of your second espousals? Or what will be thought of the legitimacy of the dauphin?" The double marriage was the common topic of discourse at both courts, and yet it was the farthest of any thing from the king's inclinations, who feared the friendship of Spain more than the resentment of any other power. These circumstances did not only disturb and distract him in the management of his own affairs; but likewise affected him with regard to his allies, by raising great jealousies in England and Holland, and by exciting a suspicion of a duplicity in his conduct, which very much lessened that confidence he had been hitherto treated with by both nations*.

At the peace of Vervins Henry made the strongest professions to queen Elizabeth, and to the States, of inviolable friendship, and of the deep sense he had of the assistance he had received from both. These were understood at that time as words of course; and the more pains Henry took to impress them, the less meaning in reality there was supposed to be in them. It was to remove this coldness, and, as far as possible, to give a true idea of his system, that certain communications were made to queen Elizabeth the year before her death, and in a clearer and much stronger manner to king James, who seemed to be very well satisfied with, and to have a much better opinion of the then marquis de Rhofny's scheme than any of his ministers*. The States also, from the hints they had received, made no scruple of giving him to understand, that the truce which had been concluded under his mediation should last no longer than was consistent with his convenience. Henry was persuaded that the house of Austria meant nothing less than universal monarchy; and if he had entertained any doubts of it before, the projects

*Henry's
schemes for
reducing
the power
of Austria.*

* Memoires de Sully. - Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France. Mezeray. w Dupleix. P. Matthieu. Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France. x Memoires de Sully. Sir R. Winwood's Memorials. Memoires Historiq. & Politiques, de Amelot de la Houffaye.

they concerted with marshal Biron, the count d'Auvergne, and marshal Bouillon, appeared to him in the light of certain evidence: he resolved therefore to return by all means the usage he had received, to sap the very foundation of this house's greatness, to emancipate the German princes, to restore the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary to their entire right of election, to circumscribe the imperial authority, while it remained in the princes of this family, to restore the electors to their freedom, and to prescribe to Spain the bounds which nature seemed to have intended^y. But he knew very well that this was not to be done while France remained in that broken, weak, and embarrassed condition, exhausted in strength, her coffers empty, and her people more than ever prone to discord and disaffection. He laboured, therefore, to remove all these difficulties, and he laboured with great success; he actually discharged a great part of the crown debt; he pacified intestine disorders; he gave the strongest assurances to his Protestant subjects; he omitted nothing that might attach the honestest of the leaguers to his service; and, with equal application and spirit, he cherished agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, that his subjects might be in a condition to exert their strength, whenever a proper occasion should offer: he had accumulated treasure, and he had renewed his alliance with the Swifs^z. His amours, and the consequences of them, had, in the mean time, exceedingly lessened his character; and the eagerness he shewed in amassing money, together with the harsh and severe disposition of Sully, were the principal obstacles to that political influence which he laboured to attain.

*Marshal
Ornano's
honest re-
monstrance
to the king
on the op-
pressive
taxes.*

The ministers of the popish faction made all the use they could of these, and that was not a little^a. Marshal Ornano, who was much addicted to them, but withal a man of honour, and sincerely attached to the king, took the liberty of addressing himself to him about this time, and of telling him plainly his sentiments. He assured him that in Guienne the people were infinitely more discontented than under the last reign: the king, upon this remonstrance, talked high, but the marshal talked higher; he said that the people had reason; that then they were pillaged of thousands for a few minions, who spent what was given them as

^y P. Matthieu. P. Dan. Mez.

^z *Memoires de Sully.*

^a Sir George Carew's Account of the Court of France, addressed to King James. Dupleix.

Memoires de Sully.

soon as they got it; but that now they were plundered of millions, without knowing which way it went. He said, that the love of his subjects constituted the strength of a prince, and not his treasures or his armies; that he remembered the barricades of Paris, and trembled to think what had once happened might happen again. The courtiers were astonished at the marshal's boldness; the king said that he had spoke like an honest man; that his rough zeal was preferable to servile complaisance; and that it was time his people should know to what end money raised upon them was to be employed^b. A very favourable opportunity offered itself for carrying his design into action, and he resolved not to let it slip unimproved, though scarce seconded therein by any of his ministers, except the duke of Sully, who had been the confident of all his councils, and had incurred much hatred by his endeavours to promote them^c.

This great event was the death of John William, duke of Cleves and Juliers, without issue, an event in consequence of which his sisters and their representatives all pretended to the succession: besides these there were two pretenders of another kind, the elector of Saxony, who claimed the whole as devolved to him by a family compact in case the house of Cleves should be without heirs male; and the emperor, who insisted that they were fiefs, and consequently either belonged to him, or at least ought to be sequestered into his hands, till it should be evident to whom else they belonged^d. Amongst the other claimants, ten or twelve in number, there were two princes who seemed to have clearer titles than any of the rest: these were the elector of Brandenburg, and the duke of Newburgh; the one in quality of son-in-law to the eldest sister of the last duke, and the other as husband to the second sister. These two princes thought it better to enter into an amicable agreement than to run the hazard of a dispute; and, having once settled this point between themselves, they next agreed to demand the protection of Henry, more especially against the violence of the emperor, who had sent the archduke Leopold to surprise Juliers, an exploit of no great difficulty, the governor of the city having been long a creature of Spain^e. The king

The business of Cleves and Juliers gives the king an opportunity of entering upon the execution of his design.

^b Vide aut. supra citat. à l'Histoire de France. Dupl.

^c P. Matth. Memoires pour servir

Sieur Du Till. P. Matth. Dupleix.

^d Suite de la Chronique du

Grand, par M. le Grain. Dupl.

^e Decade de Henry le

readily accepted the proposition; promised the princes all they could desire; and began instantly to put in motion all the instruments that he had been preparing in the space of so many years, for the humiliation of the house of Austria. All the powers to whom he applied were so well disposed, the offers he made were so acceptable, and the plan of execution was so admirably contrived, that history can scarce afford us an instance of a confederacy so quickly formed, and into which all the parties ran with so much alacrity and spirit^f. That it was not simply the securing the succession of Cleves which induced the king to depart so suddenly from that pacific disposition in which he had so long remained, is very little, if at all disputed; and that he aimed at atchieving this great project is, by the ablest historians, held probable; but that there was still a greater, though infinitely a less practicable design, is affirmed by Sully, who, if it really existed, had the best title to be thought its author^g (F).

But,

^f Memoires de Sully. Prefixé. P. Matthien.
la Chronique du Sieur du Till. Memoires de Sully.

^g Suite de

(F) The king conceived that the powers of Europe might be reduced into a kind of Christian commonwealth, by rendering them as near as possible of equal strength; and that this republic might be maintained in perpetual peace, by bringing all their differences to be decided before a senate of wise, able, and disinterested judges; and then he conceived it would be no difficult thing to overturn the Othman empire. The number of these powers was to be fifteen; viz. the Papacy, the empire of Germany, France, Spain, Hungary, Great Britain, Bohemia, Lombardy, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, the republic of Venice, the States-general, the Swiss cantons, and the Italian commonwealth, which was to comprehend the states of Florence, Genoa, Lucca, Mo-

dena, Parma, Mantua, and Monaco. In order to render the states equal, the empire was to be given to the duke of Bavaria, the kingdom of Naples to the pope, that of Sicily to the Venetians, Milan to the duke of Savoy, who, by this acquisition, was to become king of Lombardy; the Austrian Low Countries were to be added to the Dutch republic, Franche Compté, Alsace, and the country of Trent were to be given to the Swiss. By this distribution Henry reserved nothing to himself but the glory resulting from so great an action, and the satisfaction of seeing Europe, or rather Christendom, freed, for the future, from discord and from war. Statesmen of a cooler turn have conceived this in the light of an agreeable vision, contrived by the king to recommend

But, in the midst of these negotiations and preparations, another incident fell out, which, it is likely, might quicken the king's motions. The king's passion for the princess of Condé, which he pursued with all the vehemence and indiscretion of a young man, had very much changed the face of affairs at court; for the queen and the marchioness de Vernueil, who, in the spring of the year, were more embroiled than ever, being equally provoked, either began to hate one another less, or at least seemed to do so, and bent their endeavours to defeat the progress of the king's new amour¹. The prince of Condé, whose jealousy distracted him, that he might have a pretence for withdrawing the princess from court, went into Picardy in the autumn, and left her at Breteuil, where the king going to make her a visit in disguise, his folly, by acci-

An additional motive arises from the prince of Condé's retiring into the Low Countries.

¹ Journal de Henry IV, par P. Etoile. Le Grain. Dupleix.

commend this serious and single scheme of pulling down the house of Austria, by uniting in it princes of every rank and every part of Europe, and of all the religions which held the fundamentals of Christianity. Henry certainly despaired of either peace or safety so long as the house of Austria possessed the power of hurting him. It was this consideration that gave him an absolute disrelish of the double marriage, which appeared so desirable a thing to the queen and some of his council, whereas he intended to marry the dauphin to the heiress of Lorraine, and to have given a daughter of his to the prince of Piedmont. We cannot conclude this note better than by explaining what were called the ten wishes of Henry the Fourth, which he so often mentioned, that the phrase became proverbial. He said he had earnestly desired of

God, 1. His grace and spiritual assistance. 2. The preservation of his sense and strength to the hour of his death. 3. To see the Protestant religion, though he had quitted it, placed on a secure basis. 4. To be separated from his first wife, and be joined in marriage with some other, with whom he might live in peace and educate his children himself. 5. To restore France to its ancient splendor. 6. To recover from Spain either Navarre or Flanders and Artois. 7. To gain a battle in person against the king of Spain, and another against the grand signior. 8. To reduce his Protestant subjects to his obedience without recurring to force. 9. To see the dukes of Esperron, Bouillon, and Tremouille reduced to implore his clemency. 10. To be enabled to execute his great design, the only wish he concealed (1).

dent becoming publicly known, grew the common topic of discourse at Paris. The prince returning soon after, was given to understand, that, in order to put an end to these injurious reports, it was expected he should bring back the princess to court^k. He seemed to listen to the arguments offered on this head. Having taken all the precautions necessary, he, under pretence of going to fetch her, took her from the place where she was, and, on the last day of November, carried her to Landrecy, in the territories of the archduke. At this step the king was so much alarmed and provoked, that he instantly dispatched monsieur Praslin, captain of his guard, with so rough a message to the archduke Albert, that he began to doubt whether he should give them protection, and would have probably declined it, but that the marquis Spinola, who had the confidence of the Spanish court, determined him to change his conduct, and to send for them to Brussels^l. Upon this the king sent the marquis de Cœuvres, who was a great favourite with the prince, to try if he could persuade him to return, and, if he failed in that, to carry away the princess. The pretence for executing this scheme was the command of her father the constable, that she might be put into the hands of madame d'Angoulême, with whom she had been brought up. The plan was so well laid, that the king thought it impossible to fail; and, in the joy of his heart, most unaccountably told it to the queen, who seemed to be very well pleased with the news, and certainly was so with the discovery. This she immediately communicated to the nuncio Ubaldini, and pressed him to send a courier immediately, with advice of it, to the marquis Spinola. The courier arrived at Brussels a little before noon, on the very day in the evening of which the princess was to be carried away, and the only expedient that could be found to prevent it was for the archduchess to take her immediately under her own care, and lodge her in the palace^m. The king bore this disappointment with great impatience; and as his military preparations were carried on with extraordinary vigour in the midst of these transactions, it is no great wonder that, at the time, the world in general, and the populace more especially, should attribute to this amour a war, the reasons of which they did not understand, or that this

^k D'Aubigne, *Histoire Universelle*. Mercure François. Sir R. Winwood's Memorials. ^l Mémoires de Sully. ^m Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France. P. Daniel.

opinion should be countenanced, after the king's death, by such as were wise enough to penetrate the real motives^a.

The new year discovered the grandeur of the king's project, and the means taken to carry it into execution; he had an army of forty thousand men, composed, for the most part, of old troops, and commanded by officers of great experience, exclusive of six thousand Swiss who were to join them on the frontiers, and four thousand of the noblesse, who were to attend the king to the army, which was to assemble at Chalons, about the middle of May^o. The negociations requisite for the general league were conducted with so much silence, that the first circumstance that transpired to the public of them was their conclusion. Monsieur de Lefdiguieres was chosen to treat with his old antagonist the duke of Savoy, and upon his proposing the conquest of the duchy of Milan, upon condition that France should enjoy Savoy, the duke made no difficulty of entering into the king's views^p. The princes of Germany held an assembly in spite of the emperor, in which they approved the king's proposal for restoring the liberty of the empire^q. In England his minister met with no less success; and the Italian princes shewed a strong inclination to accept the offers that were made them, to concur in his design. According to some computations, the forces of the allies were to have amounted to two hundred thousand foot, and fifty thousand horse, together with a fleet of one hundred and twenty sail. It is much more certain that Sully assured him he had more than forty millions ready for this service, and that, all the expences of his government defrayed, seven millions annually entered into his treasure of reserve. The train of artillery that was to attend the army consisted of fifty pieces of brass cannon, which, though not very extraordinary now, was what had not been seen till that time. As the king was to command in person, the queen was appointed regent, and a council assigned her, besides which, there was a particular council fixed for the management of every one of the great governments in France, that, during the execution of these mighty schemes

Alliances made with all the neighbouring princes of Germany and Italy.

^a Prefixe, Histoire du Roi Henry IV. Decade de Henry le Grand, par le Grain. D'Aubigne Histoire Universelle. P. Dan. Mezeray. Chalons. Pr. Henault.

^o P. Matth. Dupleix. Mez. ^p Memoires de Sully. Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France. Mez. tom. vi. Le Gend. ^q Dupleix, tom. v. Sir R. Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii.

abroad,

abroad, provision might be made for preventing any untoward accidents at home'. All these dispositions being made, the king, by a short letter, expressed in very strong terms, demanded of the archduke Albert a passage for his forces through his territories, in order to march into the duchy of Juliers, to expel the archduke Leopold; which was granted, because it could not well be refused. In the mean time the prince of Condé, doubting of his own safety in the Low Countries, retired first into Germany, and from thence to Milan, where the conde Fuentès, the king's old determined enemy, under colour of doing him honour, and providing for his safety, placed a numerous guard of horse and foot about his person'; to colour which, he spread a report that two hundred thousand crowns were set upon his head: and, at the same time, it was whispered, by the emissaries of Spain, that for many reasons, none of which were new, the king's marriage to Mary de Medicis was absolutely null, and therefore the prince of Condé ought to be considered as the presumptive heir of the crown. A very poor device! and yet upon this the Spaniards seemed to rely; and, to the amazement of all the world, while such vast preparations were making against them, the house of Austria scarce seemed to take any precautions for its own defence.

The king's apprehensions from the ceremony of the queen's coronation.

As the season of action drew nearer, the king spent great part of his time in conferences with the duke of Sully at the arsenal, where every thing was digested that regarded this great expedition, or the settlement of the administration in the king's absence': but with these there was intermixed another affair that gave the king infinite concern, and disturbed him more than all the mighty projects that were now upon the carpet. This was the earnest desire the queen had to be solemnly crowned. Whence this desire arose cannot, with any certainty, be determined; but that she used many plausible pretences to support it cannot be denied. She was a princess not easily dissuaded from any thing she had once resolved upon, and the king was not of a disposition to refuse her request, though it was ever so much against his own sense of things. There were besides many other persons to whom a ceremony of this kind was very displeasing, particularly queen Margaret, who could not refuse to assist thereat, without

^r P. Matth. Perefixe. P. Daniel.
Marechal de Bassompierre, tom. 1. Memoires du Cardinal Bentivoglio.

^t Memoires de Sully.

^s Memoires de

injuring the queen's character, or be present without debasing her own^u. The count de Soissons had his discontents, which affected him to such a degree, that he retired from court. However, nothing equalled the king's disquiet, more especially after he had given his orders in consequence of the queen's importunity, when the day was fixed. If we may credit the duke of Sully, Henry was more distressed and disordered with the thoughts of this coronation, than with any thing that had happened to him through his whole life. He went so far as to presage he should not survive it, that he should never live to get out of Paris, where he thought himself less safe than at the head of his army; and yet he could not bring himself to countermand the orders he had given, or to resolve not to take a share in that idle pomp, of which he had such a dread. It was supposed that this arose from the rumours that were spread of conspiracies formed against his person^w; they had at this time advices from more than twenty places, that such a design was then in agitation. As to these rumours, and a variety of prognostics, many of which, very possibly, were invented after the tragedy of the king's death; we shall say nothing^x. But, with respect to the king's apprehensions and the public rumours, they are facts that cannot be denied, and therefore it was necessary to mention them, though they are matters for which we can give no rational account. The duke of Sully tells us, the king expressly declared to him, he had been forewarned that he should be killed in some public ceremony in a coach, and that it was this circumstance that made him so much abhor the thoughts of this cursed coronation; this was the reason of his starting and being so much alarmed even at the slightest jolting in a coach, though he had the greatest steadiness and presence of mind in the midst of the most imminent dangers^y.

On the 12th of May, through the extreme importunity of the queen, solemn proclamation was made that next day, which was Thursday, the queen would be publicly crowned at St. Denis: the ceremony was accordingly performed by cardinal Joyeuse, with all possible order and magnificence; the queen appearing extremely gay and

This solemnity is celebrated with prodigious magnificence.

^u Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France, tom. ii. Du-
pleix. P. Dan. ^w P. Matth. ^x P. Matthieu, His-
toire de la Mort déplorable de Henry IV. ^y Memoires de
Sully.

well pleased ^a. The Sunday following was fixed for her public entry into Paris, for which vast preparations were made, many triumphal arches erected, with all those circumstances of parade which Henry always despised, and in which the queen delighted ^a. Next morning, which was Friday the 14th, the king was observed to pray longer than usual. When he came out of his closet, he sent to the duke of Sully, to desire he would come and speak with him in the garden of the Thuilleries; but being informed that the duke was ill, and that the person he sent had found him in the bath, he sent him another message to come to him next morning, but in his night-gown and cap, that he might not catch cold ^b. He conferred in the morning with Villeroy, Nerestan, and d'Escoures, who had been sent to reconnoitre the passages into the duchy of Juliers, and who assured him they were much better than they had been represented, which intelligence the king seemed to receive with great satisfaction. He went next to hear mass at the Feuillans, followed by Ravilliac, who confessed his intention to have stabbed him there, but said he was hindered by the duke of Vendosme. After dinner, the king conversed some time with the president Jeanin, and monsieur Arnaud, intendant of the finances, about the reformations he intended to make after the war was over, the reduction of the officers employed in the revenue, and the suppressing such taxes as were most burthen some to the people. After they left him he grew extremely uneasy, went to a window, and leaning his head upon his arm, was heard to say softly, "My God, what is this within me, that will not suffer me to be quiet?" About four o'clock he ordered his coach, in which having seated himself, he placed the duke of Espernon next him on the right hand, at the boot on that side sat messieurs de Ravardin and Roquelaur, opposite to them sat the duke de Montbazon and the marquis de la Force, monsieur de Liancourt, and the marquis de Mirebeau sat forwards. The coachman asking where he was to go, the king answered, "Drive me from hence." Ravilliac followed the coach, intending to have struck him between the two gates, but was hindered by finding the duke of Espernon where the king used to sit.

^a Dupleix, tom. v. *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France*, tom. ii. p. 304. ^a *Memoires de Sully*. Pierre d'Estoille, tom. ii. p. 302. ^b P. Matthieu. Dupl. tom. v. ^c Mez. P. Dan.

When the coach was without the court of the king's palace, Henry cried, "Drive to the cross of Tiroy." When it arrived at that place, he said, "To St. Innocent's church-yard:" turning into the Rue de la Ferroniere, which was then a very narrow street, by reason of the shops built against the wall of St. Innocent's church-yard, there was a stop occasioned by two carts, one loaded with wine the other with hay^d. The king had before sent away his guards, and ordered the coach to be opened, that he might see the preparations for the queen's entry, intending afterwards to have driven to the arsenal, to discourse with the duke de Sully on the intelligence he had received from d'Escoures. The pages who followed the coach went round by the church-yard, except two, one who went before to clear the way, and the other stopped behind to garter up his stocking: Ravilliac took this opportunity, mounted on the wheel, and, with a long knife, which cut with both sides, struck the king over the duke of Espernon's shoulder, while that monarch listened to a letter the duke was reading^e. The king, as most writers affirm, said, "I am wounded;" upon which the assassin struck him again with greater force, so that the knife, penetrating into his chest, divided the vena cava, and immediately deprived him of life. Some^f say, that he made a third stroke, and that one of the lords caught it upon his arm; but this circumstance is liable to great doubt. They were, on the contrary, so little acquainted how the thing was done, that they did not so much as see the murderer; so that, if he had thrown the knife under the coach, he might have passed on; but he stood on the wheel like a statue, with the knife bloody in his hand; till a gentleman who followed the coach came up, seized him, and was going to put him to death; when the duke of Espernon prevented him, crying out, "Save him on your life." He then directed that the coach windows should be drawn up, and ordered the coachman to drive back to the Louvre, giving out that the king was wounded, but not dangerously (G).

As

^d Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France, tom. ii. p. 305, & seq. P. Dan. ^e Histoire de la Vie du Duc de Espernon. Mezeray. ^f Perefixe.

(G) Henry was of a middle stature, rather tall than short, his eyes lively, his nose aquiline, his complexion ruddy, his hair brown in his youth, but began to turn grey at thirty-three. He had an excellent constitution, and, notwithstanding.

What follows upon this occasion.

As soon as the coach came to the palace, the king was carried into his cabinet, and laid upon a bed, where, if we

withstanding his free manner of living, enjoyed a good state of health, except that he was attacked sometimes by the gout. He was very gallant, and an exceeding good officer. He was naturally familiar, but when it was necessary, could put on a very majestic air. Upon great occasions he shewed that he understood magnificence, though he did not love it. In general his speech was frank, and his habit plain. He was naturally eloquent, wrote well, and with great ease. He rallied very agreeably, and he bore not only that, but even reproofs without impatience, provided he thought they were well meant. His fortitude enabled him to overcome, and by his dexterity he often avoided danger. He loved his subjects, and did many things for their advantage: amongst others he encouraged manufactures and commerce, countenanced by his authority the sending ships to the West, and granted letters patent for establishing an East India company. With these great qualities he had also great failings, amongst which his passion for women was certainly the greatest. However, he did not suffer them to govern him, to recommend or discard his ministers. He was likewise too favourable in regard to duels, against which though he made laws, yet he treated with contempt such as paid respect to them. He had a great passion for play, which had terrible

consequences, as it rendered this destructive vice fashionable, which is alone sufficient to throw a kingdom into confusion. He also loved money, but then he knew how to use it; and having observed how much his predecessors suffered from the want of it, he was desirous of avoiding their misfortunes by a contrary conduct. He had, besides these failings, a mixture of levity and vanity in his temper; but it appears from his letters, that he knew his own foibles as well as any body, and that, how ill soever he succeeded, he studied to mend them. He affected popularity, and he acquired it; he dissembled without malice; on the contrary, he pardoned so readily and so sincerely, that his bitterest enemies, at the time of his death, were become his firmest friends. By his first queen, Margaret of Valois, he had never any issue; by his second, Mary de Medicis, he left three sons; the dauphin, the duke of Orleans, who died the year after him, and John Baptist Gaston, who bore the same title. He had also three daughters; Elizabeth, who became the consort of Philip the Fourth, king of Spain; Christina, who espoused Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy; and Henrietta Maria, who became queen of England by her marriage with Charles the First. We have mentioned his natural children by the duchess of Beaufort, and the marchioness of Verneuil; he had also by Jaqueline

we may believe Mezeray, he was quickly left by the great; so that those who had a mind to see him, met with no interruption, only monsieur le Grand Bassompierre and the duke of Guise, instead of going to pay their court, went to weep over their dead master^g, the duke of Guise embracing him passionately. When his body was opened, it appeared that he had two wounds, one slight and the other mortal; but there is some doubt which was the first or the second. All the surgeons and physicians gave it as their opinion, from the soundness of the vital parts, that the king might have lived many years^h. His entrails were immediately sent to St. Denis, and interred without ceremony; his heart was delivered to the Jesuits, and deposited, according to his desire, in their college at La Flecheⁱ, which he had founded; the body was embalmed, in order to be interred with the accustomed ceremonies. This melancholy scene put the dukes of Espernon and Bellegarde in mind that their old master Henry III. was yet uninterred; upon which they went to the church of St. Cornelia, at Compeigne, and having brought away the coffin from thence, caused his remains to be buried, with great honour, at St. Denis, eight days before those of his successor, by which a prediction was verified, made, in all probability, after the fact. On the 29th of June the king's body was interred at the same place^k, with demonstrations of the deepest sorrow amongst the people, and with the universal concern of those in foreign nations, who wished well to the liberties of Europe, and the Protestant interest.

Thus ended the life of Henry, the Fourth of that name, and the first of the house of Bourbon, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, the thirty-eighth of his reign over Navarre, and the twenty-first since his accession to the crown of France, to whom strangers, as well as his own subjects, gave the surname of Great, which was certainly due to him as a monarch though not as a man.

^g Dupl. tom. v. *Memoires de Marechal Bassompierre.* ^h *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France, tom. ii. P. Dan.* ⁱ *Matthieu.* ^k *Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espernon. Mezeray.*

Jaqueline de Beuil, countess of Moret; a son, Anthony de Bourbon, count of Moret, supposed to be killed in the battle of Castelnaudari, in 1632, though others say that he lived as a hermit in Anjou to the

year 1693; and by Charlotte des Essarts, countess of Romarantin, he had two daughters, one of which was abbess of Fontevault, and the other of Chelles.

S E C T. XII.

The Reign of Lewis XIII. surnamed the Just, from his Accession to the Throne to the Death of the Marshal d'Ancre, and the Banishment of the Queen-mother to Blois.

The queen-mother entrusted with the regency and tutelage of Lewis XIII. by the parliament.

THE first news of the king's death threw the queen into tears; but the chancellor Sillery made use of some very singular arguments to soften the violence of her grief: he told her, that the kings of France never died, that there were enough to weep for her and themselves too, and therefore it became her to think for herself and them¹: he added, that counsels and not tears were requisite at that juncture. His advice was taken; the parliament was assembled that very evening at the convent of the Augustins, and the queen declared regent by the management and menaces of the duke of Espernon^m. The duke de Sully, going from the arsenal to the Louvre, received such intimations as engaged him to retire into the Bastile, to carry into it what bread he could collect, as if he intended to keep it all events. He was, however, afterwards prevailed upon to go to court, where, in all appearance, he was so well received, that he desisted from the measures he had taken. The very next day the king went to the parliament, to hold his bed of justice, and there the tutelage and the regency were confirmed to the queen, who promised that the young king should have special regard to the advice of that illustrious body. The prince of Condé, and the count de Soissons being absent, rendered these measures less difficult than they would have been. The latter arrived the very next day, and began to talk in a very high strain, but it was too late; and, though he wanted not either friends or parts, yet the affability and the promises of the queen put it out of his power to make any great disturbance, and he was afterwards prevailed upon to unite himself to the court, though upon his own termsⁿ. On the 22d of May the edict of Nantes was con-

¹ Mercure François. Dupleix. Histoire de Louis XIII. P. Matth. ^m Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espèrnon, tom. ii. p. 164. Dupleix. Decade contenant l'Histoire de Louis XIII. depuis l'Ann. 1610, jusqu'à 1617, par Baptiste le Grain, Maître de Requêtes de l'Hôtel de Marie de Medicis, fol. Paris, 1619. ⁿ Histoire de la Mere & du Fils.

firmed, and a proclamation published to quiet the Protestants. These provisions being made for the benefit of the living, they were more at leisure to consider what was due to the dead; so that on the 27th that assassin, by whose desperate hand Henry the Great had been dispatched, was put to a death as severe as such cruelty deserved (A). He declared

(A) This infamous assassin, Francis Ravilliac, was a native of Angoulesme, and, at the time of his execution, about one or two-and-thirty years of age. He was the son of parents who lived upon alms. His father was that sort of inferior retainer to the law, to which the vulgar give the name of a pettifogger, and his son had been bred up in the same way. Ravilliac had set up a claim to an estate, but the cause went against him: this disappointment affected his mind deeply: he afterwards taught a school, and, as himself said, received charitable gifts, though but of a very small value, from the parents of those whom he taught; and yet his distress was so great, that he had much ado to live. When he was seized for the king's murder, he was very loosely guarded; all were permitted to speak with him who pleased; and it was thought very remarkable that a Jesuit should say to him, "Friend, take care, whatever you do, that you don't charge honest people." He was removed next day from the house of Espernon to the Conciergerie, which is the proper prison of the parliament of Paris. When he was first interrogated, he answered with great boldness, "That he had done it, and would do it, if it were to do again." When he was told

that the king, though dangerously wounded, was living, and might recover, he said that he had struck him home, and that he was sure he was dead. In his subsequent examinations he owned that he had long had an intention to kill the king, because he suffered two religions in his kingdom; and that he endeavoured to obtain an audience of him, that he might admonish him. He also said that he understood the king's great armament to be against the pope, and that, in his opinion, to make war against the pope, was to make war against God. We have no distinct account of the three last examinations; but he is said to have persisted, in the most solemn asseverations, that he had no accomplices, and that nobody had persuaded him to the fact. He appeared surprised at nothing so much as at the universal abhorrence of the people, which, it seems, he did not expect. They were forced to guard him strictly from his fellow-prisoners, who would otherwise have murdered him. The butchers of Paris desired to have him put into their hands, affirming that they would slay him alive, and that he should still live twelve days. When he was put to the torture, he broke out into horrid execrations, and always insisted that he did the fact from his own motive, and that he

declared to the last, that he had no accomplices; that nobody had persuaded it, and that he had never acquainted any one with his intention to kill the king; which assertion, however, from a variety of circumstances, has been doubted, though the truth of that execrable act was never yet known ^p (B).

At

^p *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France*, tom. ii. p. 321. & seq. *Malingre Histoire de Louis XIII.* *Dupleix, Histoire de Louis XIII.* *Sir Ralph Winwood's Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 170—174.

could accuse nobody. On the day of his execution, after he had made the amende honorable before the church of Notre Dame, he was carried to the Greve; and, being brought upon a scaffold, was tied to a wooden engine in the shape of a St. Andrew's cross. The knife with which he did the murder being fastened in his right hand, it was first burnt in a slow fire; then the fleshy parts of his body were torn with red-hot pincers, and melted lead, oil, pitch, and rosin, poured into the wounds, and through a clay funnel, into his bowels, by the navel. The people refused to pray for him; and when, according to the sentence pronounced upon him, he came to be dragged to pieces by four horses, one of those that was brought appearing to be but weak, one of the spectators offered his own, with which the criminal was much moved: he is said to have then made a confession, which was so written by the greffier Voisin, that not so much as one word of it could ever be read. He was very earnest for absolution, which his confessor refused, unless he would reveal his accomplices; "Give it me

conditionally (said he); upon condition that I have told the truth," which they did. His body was so robust, that it resisted the force of the horses; and the executioner was at length obliged to cut him into quarters, which the people dragged through the streets. The house in which he was born was demolished, and a column of infamy erected; his father and mother were banished from Angouleme, and ordered to quit the kingdom, upon pain of being hanged if they returned, without any form of process; his brothers, sisters, uncles, and other relations, were commanded to lay aside the name of Ravillac, and to assume some other. Such was the fate of this execrable monster, who, according to his own account, suffered himself to be impelled to such a fact by the seditious sermons and books of the Jesuits, whom Henry, rather out of fear than love, had recalled and caressed, and to whom he had bequeathed his heart.

(B) It is certain, that, in those days the world did not credit the dying words of Ravillac, or so much of his process as was published. Regalt the historian

As soon as the news arrived at Milan of the death of the king, the conde Fuentes left no method untried to induce the prince of Condé to think of turning it to his own advantage; but he resisted all temptations with great firmness, and resolved to return into France. He arrived at Paris on the 1st of July, and had a long conference with the duke of Sully before he went to court, and was far from being pleased with the measures that had been taken: but, for a person of his rank, his circumstances were narrow; a consideration which induced him the more readily to accept the offers that were made him of a convenient palace, a large sum of money, a pension, and the first go-

Compliments of congratulation, coronation of the young king, and methods used to preserve the peace.

historian says, that there were two different opinions concerning this assassination; one that it was conducted by some grandees, who sacrificed that monarch to their old resentments; the other, that it was done by the emissaries of the Spaniards. Letters from Brussels, Antwerp, Mechlin, and other places, were received before the 15th of May, with a report of the king's death. Though nothing occurs in the examinations of Ravilliac that were first published, in reference to his journeys to Naples, and other places; yet as these are set down as certain truths, by good authors, so there are probable grounds to believe that they were not fictitious. It appears from sir Ralph Winwood's Memorials, that Ravilliac had been not long before at Brussels (1). Amongst other circumstances that created a very great doubt, whether the assassin spoke truth, were the things found in his pocket at the time he was seized, amongst which was a chaplet, the figure of a heart made in cotton, in

the centre of which he said there was a bit of the true cross, but when cut there was none, which he affirmed was given him by a canon at Angoulesme, a piece of paper with the arms of France painted upon it, another full of characters, and a third containing verses for the meditation of a criminal going to execution (2). The provost of Pluviers, or Petiviers, in Beauce, about six miles from Paris, had said openly on the day that Henry IV. was murdered, "This day the king is either slain or dangerously wounded:" after the king's death was known, he was seized and sent prisoner to Paris; but, before he was examined, he was found hanged in the strings of his drawers. His body was, notwithstanding, hung up by the heels on the common gibbet, on the 19th of June (3). What increased the suspicions grounded on this man's end, was his having two sons Jesuits, and his being a dependent on the family of monsieur d'Entragues.

(1) Sir Ralph Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 158. (2) Duplex, Hist. de Louis XIII. P. Matthieu Histoire de Louis XIII. (3) Mercure François, Ann. 1610. fol. 193. Journ. du Regne de Henry IV. p. 193.

vernment worth his acceptance¹. A council of regency was established, which was very numerous, and composed of all who could pretend any reasonable title to enter it; but there was a cabinet-council composed of a very small number, in whom the queen, or Conchini, to whom she trusted every thing, could confide. A body of twelve thousand men, under the command of marshal de la Chatre, was sent to the assistance of the German princes, to whom the city of Juliers surrendered on the 2d of September. As for the duke of Savoy, he was left to make his peace with Spain as well as he could, and he was forced to send his son prince Philibert to demand pardon of his catholic majesty, a circumstance less dishonourable to him than to the court of France². On the 17th of October, the young king was solemnly crowned at Rheims by the cardinal Joyeuse. The face of the court was, by this time, entirely changed; the faithful servants of the late king were coldly received, and the partizans of Spain had the ear of the queen-regent. The direction of public affairs, honours, governments, survivances, pensions, and immense sums of money, were distributed amongst those who were most likely to create trouble³. As to the duke of Espernon, who was above every thing of this kind, he had an apartment given him in the Louvre, that the queen might have it always in her power to ask his advice, and the secretaries of state reported to him the contents of the dispatches they received. Amongst the solemn embassies that were sent to condole with the queen, and to congratulate the young king, the public was best pleased with the arrival of the lord Wootton from England⁴, and testified the greatest dislike of the duke de Feria, who came with a like commission from Spain, because he was the son of that duke de Feria who had commanded the Spanish garri- son in Paris, during the time of the league.

A.D. 1610.

The duke of Sully's disgrace, with whom the Protestants side.

The disputes between the princes and the great lords of the court gave the queen great disquiet, and no less disturbance to the state; but, in the midst of these misunderstandings amongst themselves, they could agree well enough in pushing a very bad measure, when they apprehended it to be for their common benefit. The duke de

¹ Memoires de la Regence de Marie de Medicis. Malingre. Dupleix Histoire de Louis XIII. ² Histoire de la Mere & du Fils. P. Matth. Histoire de Louis XIII. Le Grain. ³ Sir Ralph Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 227. Dupleix Histoire de Louis XIII. Malingre. ⁴ Negotiations of Sir Thomas Edmondson, by Dr. Birch, p. 325. Dupleix Histoire de Louis XIII. Le Grain.

Sully had tried every method possible to give the queen a right idea of the state of her affairs, and to prevail upon her to govern with moderation and steadiness. His advices were sometimes extremely well received, and at others but coldly. His differences with the princes, with many great lords, and the principal favourites, openly in council, his opposing warmly the dissipation of the money with which he had been entrusted, and the counsels he gave the queen not to put herself into the hands of any party, raised a very strong one against himself^u. The chancellor, the secretary Villeroy, and the president Jeanin, who had never been his friends, now placed themselves at the head of his enemies, and his known aversion to that dissipation, which was become the ruling maxim, left him no resources: he made the best terms he could; and, having surrendered his important employments of sur-intendant of the finances, and captain of the Bastile, he, in the month of February, retired to his own house of Sully^w. The treasury was put into commission, though, in effect, this department fell into the hands of the president Jeanin, with the title of comptroller-general. The duke de Bouillon, not satisfied with the disgrace, aimed at the destruction of Sully; and, with this view, persuaded the queen to permit the Protestants to hold an assembly at Chastellerault, where he undertook to engage them to abandon the duke of Sully^x. Afterwards, pretending that this place was within the government of that duke, he got the assembly transferred to Saumur, where, notwithstanding all his intrigues, he failed in the very first instance; for, instead of being chosen, as he expected, president of that assembly, this honour was conferred on monsieur du Plessis Mornay; nor was he more fortunate in the rest of his proceedings, since the assembly first exhorted the duke de Sully not to resign either his government of Poitou, or his post of master of the ordnance, and next, by a solemn act, recommended him to the queen's favour, as an able minister, and faithful servant to the crown: the only remarkable event it produced, was continuing to them their places of surety for five years: for, though the queen-mother and her favourites hated, yet they feared them exceedingly.

^u *Mercurius Francicus. Journal de l'Estoile. Dupleix Histoire de Louis XIII.* ^w *Memoires de Sully. Memoires de la Regence. P. Matth.* ^x *Memoires de Henry Duc de Rohan, P. Matth. Histoire de Louis XIII. Le Grain.*

*Attempts to
discover
the authors
of the late
king's murder.*

While the court was entirely taken up with private intrigues, and the greatest man in France was an Italian, Conchini, now styled marquis d'Ancre, from an estate of that name which he had bought soon after the king's death, some affairs of an unpleasant nature disturbed that air of gaiety which was very improperly affected by the great at this time. These were the proceedings in parliament upon discoveries said to be made of the true authors of the late king's murder, which, however, turned upon the discoverer; and those who had been charged being either free from fault, or too great to be declared guilty, were dismissed without punishment^y (C). On the 3d of October

^y *Memoires de Sully. Journal de l'Estoile. Mercure François.*

(C) The discoverer mentioned in the text was Jaqueline le Voyer, the wife of Isaac de Varennes, sieur d'Escoman, a woman of a loose and infamous life, who had been often in prison, and who was then in the deepest distress. She framed a memoir in writing, in which she pretended to give a distinct account of the whole conspiracy, which ended in the death of Henry the Fourth; and the persons upon whom she charged it were the duke d'Espernon and the marchioness de Verneuil. This memoir she presented to the king and queen, and to several other great personages, who treated her as a person out of her wits, and would not condescend so much as to hear her story. At length she addressed herself to queen Margaret, who, though she knew the profligate life this woman had led, yet thought the relation she gave was a thing of too great importance to be stifled; she sent, therefore, for some persons of quality, to hear this woman's story, who

repeated it again punctually, and with great firmness. She was taken into custody, and, upon her examination before the parliament, several persons were taken up and confronted with her. The queen-mother, while this prosecution was going on, is said to have spoken of her as a very vile woman, who accused all the world, and who, for any thing she knew, might, in the end, accuse herself. Amongst the persons she named, and who were confronted with her, were la Villiers Hotman, the wife of the president St. Andre, and Charlotte du Tillet her sister. On Sunday the 30th of January, the marchioness de Verneuil was examined four hours, but not taken into custody. On the 5th of March judgment in this cause was adjourned, but at the same time, such persons as had been committed were set at liberty, and, on the 30th of July, the parliament, by an arret, declared the marchioness de Verneuil, madame du Tillet, Gaudin, valet de chambre

October the duke de Mayenne, who had made so great a figure at the head of the league, died, and his death was looked upon as a great misfortune to France; for he had

to monsieur d'Entragues, the father of the marchioness, and Savage, innocent; and condemned Jaqueline d'Escoman to be immured between four walls, and the proceedings to be suppressed. It happens unfortunately for those, who would represent the whole of this discovery as a calumny, that the duke de Sully treats it in another light, from circumstances consistent with his own knowledge; he says that, some time before the death of Henry the Fourth, monsieur Schomberg being at his house, a page delivered him secretly a billet, which he shewed him, from Mrs. de Gournai, desiring to see him immediately, upon an affair of importance. He went to her; returned in half an hour, and reported, that a woman, who was this very Mrs. d'Escoman, had discovered a conspiracy against the king's life, the authors of which she charged to be the marchioness of Verneuil, and monsieur — for whose name a blank is left, probably monsieur d'Espernon, with some others. The king was actually informed of this circumstance, by monsieur Schomberg. The duke de Sully adds, that Escoman continued firm in the assertion of all she had advanced as long as she lived, and even at the point of death. Besides this, there is an account given by one captain de la Garde, who saw Ra-

villiac at Naples, who told him that he brought a letter from the duke d'Espernon to the viceroy, of which the captain gave immediate notice to the French minister at Venice, so that it arrived time enough in France to be communicated to the king, who saw the captain after his return, thanked him for this service, told him he had taken measures for his own security, and sent him with a commission into Germany, on his return from which he met with the news of the king's death, and upon his entry into France was attacked himself, and left for dead. Afterwards he was put in prison, he knew not for what; and when the judges were on the point of setting him at liberty for want of prosecution, an exempt of the guards came and took him out of confinement, made him a present of an order, by which he received an annuity of six hundred livres, and of a commission which fixed him in a good office in the excise; besides, though the last examinations of Ravilliac are suppressed, yet the minutes of them remain in the French king's library, and we are from thence told, that it appears he endeavoured to amuse his judges, and that on the other hand his judges were afraid to ask him how he came to be known to the duke of Espernon (1).

(1) *Mercure François*, l'Ann. 1611, p. 14. *Memoires de Sully*,

not only shewn himself extremely faithful to Henry the Fourth, but under the present reign had behaved with equal honour and integrity; declaring openly in council, that it little became princes and great men to act entirely from motives of interest, and upon his death-bed he charged his son to remain firm in his principles of religion and loyalty, and on that condition, and not otherwise, gave him his blessing^z. Soon after the duke of Orleans, the king's brother, died, in the fifth year of his age. His decease had a great effect on the situation of things at court, his younger brother Gaston, who had hitherto borne the title of Anjou, succeeded to that of Orleans, and being regarded as the presumptive heir of the crown; the queen had shewn a remarkable coldness for the deceased prince, and as remarkable a fondness for him who succeeded to his title^a. The Jesuits, who were in great credit at court, were far from being in the same situation with respect either to the parliament or the people; Mariana's book had been burnt in the most infamous manner, for teaching those principles upon which Ravilliac had acted; another piece of cardinal Bellarmin was seized and suppressed, as being injurious to the power of the civil magistrate: on the other hand Dr. Richer, a member of the Sorbonne, wrote a celebrated treatise on the subject of ecclesiastical and political power, in which he treated, with great freedom, the exorbitant claims of the pope to a superiority over kings, at which the clergy were extremely nettled, and the court of Rome could not rest, till, many years after, they found means to force that learned person to make a submission^b. At the close of the year, the Jesuits presented a petition for leave to open their college for the instruction of youth, which the parliament refused, upon the application of the university of Paris. The Jesuits, finding it was impossible to prevail any other way, subscribed and promised obedience to those statutes; but the parliament, however, could not be brought to grant their request; so that the opening their college was suspended for some years^c.

At length the great change that had happened in the councils of France since the death of the king became

^z Memoire de la Regence. Dupl. Histoire de Louis XIII. P. Matth. Histoire de Louis XIII.

^a Journal de l'Estoile. P. Matthieu Histoire de Louis XIII. Le Grain.

^b Mercure François. Maling. Journal de l'Estoile.

^c Dupleix, Histoire de Louis XIII. P. Matthieu Histoire de Louis XIII. Le Grain.

public, by the declaring the double marriage with the court of Spain, which had been chiefly negociated by the pope and the duke of Florence, and, for this reason, was less acceptable to many; but the queen flattered herself that it would give a permanent support to her power, and a stable security to her family. In order to give this measure all the lustre possible, the duke of Mayenne was sent ambassador extraordinary to Madrid, where he signed the contract of marriage with the infanta; and, on the other hand, the duke of Pastrana came with the like pomp to Paris, to sign the contract between Philip prince of Asturias and the princess Elizabeth^d. It was thought necessary to send over the duke of Bouillon to England, to pacify king James, and to propose a marriage for the princess Christina with the prince of Wales; he was also charged with other affairs of great importance, in all which, though he succeeded but indifferently, yet he did his own business very effectually, for what he had chiefly in view was proposing a marriage between his nephew the elector Palatine and the princess Elizabeth, the king's eldest daughter, which was well received, and afterwards took effect^e. At home as well as abroad the double match was very far from being universally applauded; on the contrary, in the autumn, the prince of Condé and the count of Soissons left the court^f, and published their reasons, which were very strong: they said, that the queen communicated her counsels to them for forin sake only, and not to receive or follow their opinions; that the double marriage was concluded without their advice; that her majesty listened to foreigners, who were ignorant of, and disaffected to the true interests of France; that the treasure collected by the late king had been sacrificed to base purposes; and that governments were given to persons without merit, and almost unknown; while the ancient and faithful servants of the crown were left without recompence. All this was true; but they seemed to forget that they themselves were, in a great measure, authors of these mischiefs, and therefore had the less right to complain^g. In reality, the complaint itself, though founded in truth, was a mere amusement, not at all calculated for amendment, but rather to increase the evil, by obtaining

The duke of Bouillon sent over to England, the prince of Condé and count de Soissons retire from court.

^d Memoires de la Regence. Mercure François. Malingre.
^e Dupleix Histoire de Louis XIII. Journal de l'Etoile. Negotiations of Sir Thomas Edmondes.
^f Memoires de la Regence. Malingre. Memoires du Rohan.
^g Dupleix, Histoire de Louis XIII. Le Grain.

fresh favours and gratifications for themselves, as appeared from their speedy reconciliation afterwards; for the marquis d'Ancre, having hitherto governed by trimming between the ministers and the princes, being privately united to the latter, began now to steer another course, and to flatter the princes, who, upon the hopes he gave them, returned, though not thoroughly satisfied; but the count of Soissons dying at his house of Blandi, his death made things easier to the favourite, who began then to incline to the prince of Condé. These were not all the troubles of that year, for the feuds amongst the Protestants were productive of new disturbances^h.

Disturbances amongst the Reformed.

Even amongst the Reformed, political were rather stronger than religious motives, and the public frequently gave way to private interest. They had at their head at this juncture some of the greatest men in France, such as the duke of Bouillon, the duke of Tremouille, marshal de Lesdiguières, the duke of Sully, the duke of Rohan, and monsieur du Plessis Mornayⁱ. But they were extremely divided in their sentiments, a circumstance which rendered them very troublesome to the court, and much more so to themselves. The duke of Rohan, who was a man of great fire, upon some plausible pretences, seized the town of St. John de Angeli, which some have regarded as the first act of hostility in this reign, though probably that was what the duke did not intend, and the matter was afterwards compromised. But the marshal duke de Bouillon, who now sided with the court, and gave them hopes of a marriage with England, till prince Henry died, and even then revived the proposition, with respect to his successor Charles, gave the queen and her ministers great lights into the affairs of the Reformed, and made his court at their expence, representing their assemblies at Privas and Rochelle as seditious meetings^k. As for the general situation of things, and the state of the common people, though immediately after the king's death some heavy taxes were taken off, yet, by the example of the court, luxury and idleness were every where so generally diffused, that universal poverty ensued, which produced a singular edict, forbidding all persons, under severe penalties, to give alms in the streets, or to relieve common beggars;

A.D. 1612.

Extraordinary edict.

^h Vie de du Plessis Mornay. Memoires de la Regence. ⁱ Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Vie de du Plessis Mornay. Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii. ^k Memoires de la Regence. Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Mercure François.

as if the shutting up men's bowels for the miseries of their fellow-creatures, could in any degree lessen their distresses¹.

It was very difficult, even for the wisest and most expert person embarked in the intrigues of the court, to pursue his journey long through these labyrinths of dissimulation and deceit with any tolerable safety. The baron de Lux, esteemed in that respect one of the ablest men in France, having quitted the party of the Guises, then attached to the ministers, in order to join the princes, the chevalier de Guise attacked the baron in the streets, though an old man, and, before he was well in a posture of defence, killed him on the spot^m. The queen ordered the prosecution of the chevalier before the parliament, and dispersed by her authority the meetings that were held at the house of the duke of Guise; but the chancellor was so dilatory and timid, and the prosecution was drawn into such a length, that the queen's anger began to cool. However, a fresh accident, one would have thought, must have kindled it again: the young baron de Lux, perceiving that the high quality of his father's murderer would secure him against the stroke of justice, notwithstanding the ample promises made him by the queen when he went to throw himself at her feet, resolved to follow the mode of the times, and to seek justice in his own person. Accordingly he challenged the chevalier de Guise, and met with the same fate that had befallen his fatherⁿ. Instead of regarding with horror a man who had killed a father and son, both highly in her favour, in the compass of a month, the queen concurred in the judgment of her court, that it was a high act of generosity for a person of the chevalier de Guise's quality to fight a gentleman, and not only granted him his pardon, but made him the king's lieutenant-general in Provence; after this step, to make the inconsistency complete, she issued a severe edict against duels^o. The chevalier de Guise did not triumph long; for, about two months after, as he was firing a cannon, it burst, and he was killed by a splinter.

The marquis d'Ancre continued still very closely united with the princes, and gave them all the assistance that was

The chevalier de Guise kills the two barons de Lux, father and son, in the space of a month.

¹ Malingre. Memoires de la Regence. Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii.

^m Dupleix, Histoire de Louis XIII. Le Grain.

ⁿ Memoires de la Regence. Mercure François. Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii.

^o Malingre. Dupleix, Histoire de Louis XIII.

*Marquis
d'Ancre
enters into
the in-
trigues of
the court,
and asso-
ciates with
the princes.*

in his power to ruin the ministers; but in this aim he failed, for they found means to have an audience of the queen, in which they made her sensible that her favourite preferred his own interest to her's; that by abandoning them, and resigning himself into the hands of the princes, she must necessarily have ministers of their appointing; and, in a very short time, lose all her power, and preserve only the empty title of regent^p. The queen, fully convinced of this truth, withdrew her favour from the marquis, to whom it had been extended, not for his sake, but for his wife Galigai's, who had such an amazing influence over this princess, that the vulgar, and in compliance to them, the parliament, ascribed it to witchcraft^q. In this situation the marquis found himself extremely embarrassed, and at length advised the princes to have recourse to the old expedient of quitting the court, promising to watch every opportunity to render them service in their absence. They took his advice, the prince of Condé, the duke of Mayenne, the duke of Bouillon, and the duke of Nevers, quitting the court at the instigation of a man, with whom, ten years before, they would scarce have conversed^r. This measure not producing the effect they expected, the marquis had recourse to another: he treated with monsieur de Villeroy, for the union of their interests, by the marriage of his daughter into Villeroy's family, in consequence of which he proposed to reconcile the ministers to the princes, of which new conjunction the duke d'Espernon and the house of Guise were to be the victims^s. By this short turn he recovered his credit with the queen, and, towards the close of the year, upon the death of marshal de Fervaques, his bâton, being first offered to monsieur de Souvre, the king's governor, for form sake, was at length bestowed, to the amazement of all France, on d'Ancre, who now thought himself too great to marry his daughter into the family of Villeroy, and therefore, without much ceremony, broke that negociation^t.

On the last turn of affairs, the duke d'Espernon, who understood the intrigues of a court as well as any man of his time, retired to Metz, full of discontent. But the

^p Histoire du Mere & du Fils. Memoires de la Regence. Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii.

^q Dupleix, Histoire de Louis XIII. Malingre.
de Roban. Malingre.
moires de Bassompierre.

^r Mercure François. Memoires du Duc
^s Histoire de Mere & du Fils. Me-
^t Memoires de la Regence. Ma-

breach between the marshal d'Ancre and monsieur de Villeroy having again changed the face of things, the princes, without consulting the marshal d'Ancre, resolved to retire from court, to assemble in a body, and to threaten a civil war, if the queen did not comply with their terms. The pretence for their taking this measure was respect to the public good, and a desire of restoring the laws to their ancient vigour. The genuine motive was the near approach of the king's majority, when actions of this kind might become less safe^u. The prince of Condé retired first, after him the duke of Mayenne, then the duke of Nevers and the duke of Luxembourg, and, lastly, the duke of Bouillon, who had kept a correspondence all the while with the court, and, at his departure, promised to use his good offices, in order to prevent the princes from departing from their duty. As for the duke de Vendosme he would have gone too, but that the queen caused him to be arrested^w. It was not long before the princess assembled at Mezieres, from whence the prince of Condé sent the queen a manifesto, in form of a letter, in which the old griefs were dressed and represented in a new form. The queen, by the advice of the ministers, published an ample answer to this manifesto, in which she declared her intention to call an assembly of the states, when the king her son should be of age. She denied most of the facts charged in the letter, and turned the artifice of profusion upon themselves, on whom the greatest part of those profusions had fallen^x. But things did not long run in this train, the queen's council being divided. The duke de Espernon, who had been recalled from Metz, the duke of Guise, and monsieur de Villeroy, were for supporting the queen's manifesto by arms, the rather because none of the parliaments in the kingdom, to all of whom the princes manifesto had been sent, had returned them any answer; and many of the nobility had brought their packets, sealed as they were, to the queen. But the chancellor and the marshal d'Ancre were for a negociation; the former through the natural timidity of his temper, and the latter that he might gratify the princes^y. This last counsel, though certainly not the best, prevailed; and the duke de

The princes retire from the court, in order to procure new gratifications.

^u Histoire de Mere & du Fils. Memoires de la Regence.

^w Mercure François. P. Matth. Histoire de Louis XIII. Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii.

^x Histoire de Mere & du Fils.

Dup. Histoire de Louis XIII. Le Grain.

^y Memoires de

la Regence.

Ventadour was dispatched to enter into a treaty, which was first begun at Soissons, and afterwards concluded at St. Menchoud. By this it was stipulated, that an assembly of the states should be called, and other grievances redressed; but the principal articles were of a private nature. The prince of Condé was to have the town of Amboise, as a place of surety, and four hundred and fifty thousand livres in ready money; the duke of Mayenne a gratification of three hundred thousand livres, and the survivance of the government of Paris; the duke de Longueville a pension of one hundred thousand livres; and besides, an approbation of their conduct from the government.

*The treaty
of St. Menchoud
confirmed.*

This treaty was but ill relished at court. The princes had but a small force. The queen had, by this time, assembled a considerable body of troops, and, by giving the duke of Rohan an equivalent in money, had obtained the resignation of his post of colonel-general of the Swiss, which was bestowed upon M. Bassompierre². The dukes of Guise, Espernon, and Bellegarde, cardinal Joyeuse, and secretary Villeroy, were for rejecting the treaty, as derogatory to the royal authority, for the support of which they professed themselves extremely zealous. The chancellor, marshal d'Ancre, and president Jeanin, who had been one of the queen's commissioners, were for peace, to which, at first, the queen herself was not inclined; though on the first breaking out of these disturbances, she was so much alarmed at the scandals that were propagated by the malecontents, that she had thoughts of going to the parliament and resigning the regency. Barbin, steward of her household, after all her ministers failed, prevailed upon her to lay aside this scheme, by remonstrating that she was about to sacrifice her ease, her reputation, and her son's safety, to gratify her enemies². But now, having superior forces, and hearing every day the sentiments of Espernon, who in these matters was looked on as an oracle, she expressed a firmness suitable to her dignity. Her inclinations were, however, quickly altered; the chancellor, who saw it was the postponing the double marriage that she regretted most, suggested that this affair might be qualified to her satisfaction: marshal d'Ancre let her into the secret, that, though they spoke ex-

² Memoires de Bassompierre. Memoires de Duc de Rohan.

² Histoire de Mere & du Fils. Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espernon. Memoires de la Regence. Le Grain.

actly the same language, the dukes of Espernon and Guise hated each other mortally; and that all their loyalty proceeded from their desire of having the constable's sword, Montmorency being just dead; but the president Jeanin had the greatest weight with her^b. He observed that the princes had many secret friends; that the duke of Rohan would infallibly engage the Protestants to favour them; that the princes of Germany, the duke of Lorraine, and even his Catholic majesty, had offered them assistance; so that it was better to pacify things, till the king was of age, more especially as that period was so near^c. After all, it is doubtful what turn things might have taken, if Villeroy had not altered his sentiments: he had broke of late with the chancellor, and endeavoured to get him removed; but finding this scheme was not relished, he struck in again with the other party, and, in consequence of the arguments he used, the queen, after the modification of the article as to the marriage, consented to the treaty, which was signed, concluded, and published, about the middle of May.

The troubles of France were not yet at an end: the duke of Vendosme, who had been confined to the Louvre about the middle of February, made his escape from thence, about the end of the month, and went directly into Bretagne, where he found the whole country in arms against him, the duke of Montbazou vested with the king's authority, and the parliament inclined to support it. He wanted not friends, however, or, to speak with greater propriety, he found so many well affected to the house of Mercœur, that he made himself master of Blavet, and began to fortify it, and, by degrees, his power increased so much, that he took no manner of notice of the treaty of St. Menchoud, though expressly included in it by the princes^d. It also appeared in the space of a few weeks, that the prince of Condé, though in possession of Amboise, was labouring to seize Poitiers. The queen then, for the first time, listened to wiser counsels; and, having assembled a small army of good troops, conducted her son first to Poitiers, and then into Bretagne; the consequence of which step convinced her that the presence of the king at the head of his troops was the shortest and the safest way of appeasing commotions. The prince of Condé,

*Troubles in
Bretagne,
by the en-
deavours
of the duke
of Ven-
dosme.*

^b P. Matthieu, Hist. Louis XIII.

^c Mercure François.

^d Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espéron. Memoires de la Regence.
Histoire de Mere & du Fils.

A.D. 1614.

who but a little before had complained of the bishop and mayor of Poitiers for their insolence in keeping that town for the king, now submitted, and demanded letters of abolition ^e. The duke of Vendosme thought it convenient to take the like course, and desired to be comprised in that treaty which he had so lately treated with contempt. The queen, having caused the fortress of Blavet to be demolished, returned to Paris about the middle of September. The king, being entered into his fourteenth year, went to the parliament, and, as the first act of his majority, expedited a declaration, confirming the edict of Nantes, the laws against blasphemers, and against duels ^f. Next day he returned with great solemnity to the parliament, and, by a short speech, declared that he took upon himself the government of his dominions, and decided that the cardinals should take place of the ecclesiastical peers, upon which the latter retired. According to the late treaty the states were assembled at Sens, and from thence transferred to Paris; where they sat long and did little. The queen-mother was now much more at her ease than she had hitherto been, for though the king did nothing but by her advice, yet all was done in his name, and by his authority ^g.

An assembly of the states, in which nothing of importance is done.

The true design of the princes, in their insisting so much on the assembly of the states, was their firm persuasion that they would enter into the capital points couched in the prince of Condé's letter. But the ministers understood them better; they left them entirely free to act at their pleasure, convinced that the three corps would embarrass one another, as they actually did, and separated about the 23d of February, without performing any thing worth mentioning. One thing was thought very extraordinary, though they had complained loudly of the multiplicity of officers, yet the marshal d'Ancre created three treasurers of pensions, while they were sitting, and, for that favour, exacted from them a very large sum of money ^h. The princes then turned their eyes towards the parliament, who, having been grossly affronted by the duke of Espernon, listened the more readily to their insinuations, and gave some trouble to the ministers by their remonstrances. The prince, as a mark of his cordiality, delivered up Am-

^e Duplex Histoire de Louis XIII. Malingre. Le Grain.

^f Mercure François.

^g Memoires de la Regence. Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espernon. P. Matth. Histoire Louis XIII.

^h Histoire de Mere & du Fils. Memoires de la Regence. Malingre.

boise, which had been accorded him only to the sitting of the states. Marshal d'Ancre, who had nothing so much in view as the preservation of his own power, prevailed upon the queen to bestow this government upon a young man, who seemed to be rising in the king's favour. This was M. de Luynes, whom he endeavoured to attach to his interests by this employment, not without hopes of obliging the king at the same time (D). The parliament went on with their deliberations, notwithstanding they knew with what eye they were looked upon at court, and that the king had forbid the prince of Condé to assist at their debates, and, in the end published an arret, which was suppressed by another of the council of state ⁱ.

All the time these disputes subsisted, the prince of Condé remained in a kind of retreat, but soon after he began to give fresh marks of discontent. He was at that time in Picardy, where marshal d'Ancre had lately taken possession of his government of Amiens, caused the mayor of the town, upon some slight dislike, to be assassinated, and ordered the provost marshal to be hanged, without any form of process; but the officers of the garrison protesting that they would quit the place, if he persisted in his design, he ordered the man to be dismissed, though the rope was about his neck ^k. The prince of Condé, upon this behaviour, published a manifesto, assigning the causes of his fresh discontent, at the head of which were the insolences

The prince of Condé revolts afresh, and lays open the ill conduct of the regent.

ⁱ Malingre. Mercure François. Dupleix, Histoire de Louis XIII.

^k Memoires de la Regence.

(D) This favourite's grandfather was one William Segur, a canon of the church of Marseilles; he had a housekeeper or chambermaid, whose name was Albert, by whom he had a son, to whom he gave the name of Luynes, from a little house he had between Aix and Marseilles. M. de Luynes meddled at first only with his master's pleasures; and the first marks of distinction that were shewn him arose from his presenting the king with a couple of magpies, that he had trained to strike little birds in the same manner as hawks. It

was by services of this nature that he gained the good graces of Lewis, and it was by the shew he made of studying nothing beyond boyish plays, that he wrought himself into the confidence of those who otherwise would have taken immediate umbrage at his favour; but believing that he was capable of nothing beyond what he made a shew to affect, and, not dreaming that this young falconer had a spirit to fly at higher game, they were the dupes of their own refinements, and of his dexterous artifice.

of this marshal, the dissipation of the royal treasure, the little care taken to discover the authors of the late king's murder, the introduction of Jews, forcerers, and magicians, the disregard of the natural allies of France, and the violation of the edicts in favour of the Hugonots, were likewise specified; and, in the conclusion, he desired that the king would postpone his marriage till the domestic affairs of his government should be settled ¹. The king, or rather the queen his mother, persisting in her design of accomplishing the double marriage, and of marching with an army to the frontiers for that purpose, engaged the young monarch to go in person to the Bastile, in order to take out two millions and a half, and at the same time he made a visit to the count de Auvergne, to whom he promised his liberty, though he did not obtain it till some years after. The princes who followed Condé were the dukes of Longueville, Mayenne, and Bouillon, and many of the nobility; on the other hand, the king had about him the dukes of Guise, Elbœuf, Espernon, and Uzes. Having provided for the security of Paris, he began his journey, or rather his march, towards the frontiers, about the middle of August, escorted by twelve hundred horse and four thousand foot.

*Civil war
carried on
without
much effu-
sion of
blood on
either side.*

The army of the crown that was to oppose the princes, while the king marched to the frontiers, was commanded by the marshal Bois Dauphin, and consisted of about twenty thousand men; notwithstanding which the discontents of the people were so strong, and the pretences of the malecontents so plausible, that their forces increased every day. Several advantages were gained over the king's army; the dukes of Nevers and Vendosme having at length ventured to own their cause, and the duke of Bouillon having procured a reinforcement of German horse, the prince of Condé resolved to pass the Loire, in order to join the Protestant army, commanded by the duke of Rohan ^m. In the heat of the civil war, the exchange of the two princesses was made in the Island of Pheasants; and the king, with his bride, having made their solemn entry into the city of Bourdeaux, received the nuptial benediction in that city, on the 27th of November. The remainder of the year was spent on one side in the conclusion of a treaty between the princes and the Protestants,

¹ P. Matth. Histoire de Louis XIII.
de Rohan. Histoire de Mere & du Fils.
Louis XIII.

^m Memoires du Duc
Dupleix, Histoire de

notwithstanding

notwithstanding the king had declared the former rebels, and specified the acts which he styled high treason ⁿ. On the other hand, the king prosecuted his march from Bourdeaux, escorted by a small force, commanded by the duke of Guise, which was so much the smaller, as all the Protestant Swiss had quitted the king's service, and retired home; which conduct of their's is highly exclaimed against by some historians, though it was clearly consistent with their capitulation, since they did not retire till after the Protestants in France had taken a part in the war; and consequently, if they had acted at all, they must have acted against their brethren of the same religion. At the beginning of these troubles died queen Margaret of Valois, who, during this reign, had lived upon very good terms with the court (E), and never took any share in the factions or intrigues of state.

It

ⁿ Mercure François.

(E) Margaret of Valois was a princess of great accomplishments, and great foibles. Her brother Henry the Third, made her gallantries so public, that it was impossible for her husband to continue so much as the exterior marks of conjugal correspondence. She was sent to the castle of Usson, in Auvergne, under the care of the marquis de Cannillac, who quickly became her prisoner. She resided there many years, and passed her time in a manner that history does not oblige us to relate. She gave her consent to the declaring her marriage with the king null in terms that did her honour; "It is fit," said she, "that my will should submit to his who has even subdued fortune by his valour." After the birth of the dauphin she came to Paris, and lived at first in the Hotel de Sens, till one of her favourites was stabbed at her coach-door, and she would never enter the house after-

wards. She removed to the suburb of St. Germain, where she built a new house, and kept her little court in more magnificence than order. She was the last of the royal house of Valois, and possessed generosity even to a fault, in a supreme degree. Her palace was the sanctuary of the learned; and, by conversing constantly with men of parts and letters, she attained a facility and correctness in speaking, to which few women have attained. Her poems are incontestible proofs of her genius; her memoirs, in point of elegance and delicacy, have not been excelled. Her condition was singular, and she sustained that singularity of station in a manner altogether extraordinary. The duchess of Valois drew all the duty and respect that could have been paid to a queen of France. Instead of shunning the king, the queen, or the court, she secured their esteem, and even conciliated their

Some on the court side, and the Protestants on the other, are averse to peace.

It has seldom happened that a prince so young, having his kingdom so embroiled, should be able to put an end to such domestic troubles without injury to the royal authority, and therefore we ought to be the less surprised at the issue of this war, which was, indeed, no other than what might well be expected. There were some about their majesties who pressed them to prosecute the war with vigour, and, once for all, establish the royal authority on the ruin of whatever opposed it. But others represented that the ruin of the whole or of any part of France could never be advantageous to the king; that the issue of war was always uncertain; that the Protestants would have recourse to foreign assistance; that a conquest would elevate the power of certain persons to a dangerous height; and that, after all, a pacification, even upon indifferent terms, was better than a long and ruinous war. On the other hand, the prince of Condé, the duke of Bouillon, and some others, were desirous of peace, for the sake of private advantages; but the dukes of Rohan, Sully, and Tremouille, with all the Protestants were averse to any accommodation. The truth of the matter is, the latter acted with wisdom and spirit; they told the prince of Condé, that, having gone so far, he could never trust the court any more; that, having drawn his sword against his master, there was no sheathing it, but by procuring such terms as left him nothing to fear, and living for the future in his government, where, being surrounded by the

• Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espèron. Dupl. Histoire de Louis XIII. Histoire de Mere & du Fils.

their affection. By making the dauphin her heir, he became, in some measure, her son: she visited him and the rest of the king's children constantly, regularly, and with a decent degree of tenderness. In return, Henry sometimes visited her, the queen saw her more frequently, and, after the king's death, they lived like sisters. She was unequal in her temper to the last, mingling pleasures with devotion, the love of let-

ters with that of vanity, a high spirit of charity, with not a little injustice; for though she visited churches frequently, bestowed more or less upon almost every religious house in Paris, and directed her remains to be interred in the chapel of a monastery of her own foundation, yet she left her debts unpaid. She expired the 27th of March, 1615, when she was upwards of threescore (1).

(1) Dupleix. P. Daniel. Le Gendre.

Protestants,

Protestants, it would be no easy matter to force him ^p. But perceiving that he was inclined to a negociation, they insisted upon prescribing such terms as might conduce to a solid peace.

In the beginning of the year the king joined his army, as if he meant to signalize his first campaign by a battle, and yet, soon after, consented that some overtures of accommodation should be made by the interposition of Sir Thomas Edmondes, the British minister. Upon this occasion a meeting of the princes was necessary, and a very deep scheme was laid for surprising them when together, the execution of which was committed to the duke of Guise; and, because it failed, it is supposed that he gave them notice. At length Loudon was fixed for the place of treaty, and a suspension of arms agreed upon ^q. The duke of Vendosme, who had affected a kind of neutrality, and obtained some supplies of money from the court, upon professions of service, took no notice of the suspension, upon which the king sent a body of forces to attack him, which forced him to throw off the mask, and to declare on the side of the princes, that he might enjoy their protection. It is unnecessary to enter into a long detail of these negociations: it is sufficient to say, that the princes prevailed in almost all their demands; the redress of public grievances was promised; the most ample security given to the reformed; the government of Amiens taken from the marshal d'Ancre; and all the edicts and declarations, by which those in arms had been stigmatized as rebels, were recalled ^r. What pleased the prince of Condé best, was his being placed at the head of the council. This treaty was concluded in the beginning of May; and, what was very extraordinary, exclusive of fifty-seven articles, contained in the edict which was sent to the parliament of Paris, in order to confirm it, there was a schedule of secret articles, which contained the private gratifications that were sent to them sealed up. The parliament were very unwilling to grant their verification to they knew not what, but upon assurances given them that they contained nothing beyond the secret articles of the edict of Nantes, and were calculated for the sake of restoring peace to the kingdom, they at length consented to let them

^p Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Malingre. Le Grain. ^q Mercure François. Memoires de la Regence. Histoire de Mere & du Fils. Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii. Negociations of Sir Thomas Edmondes. ^r Dupleix. Histoire de Louis XIII. Le Grain.

pass^s. The prince of Condé was in reality the dupe of this negotiation, and that through his own fault, since he parted with his government of Guienne for that of Berri and Touraine, and a gratification of a million and a half of livres.

Marshal d'Ancre receives a severe check from the parliament of Paris.

On the conclusion of the treaty the prince did not come immediately to court, where some considerable changes were made. The chancellor had formerly done the secretary Villeroy some prejudice, and the secretary, in conjunction with the president Jeanin, had taken so much pains to expose his timidity and want of general knowledge, that the queen resolved to be rid of him^t. The chancellor no sooner perceived this design, than he addressed himself to Villeroy and Jeanin; he told them they were mistaken in respect to themselves, to him, and the person they intended for his successor, and that his disgrace would only prove a prelude to their own. They laboured upon this remonstrance to preserve him, but to no purpose; the queen took the seals from him, and gave them to William du Vair, president of the parliament of Aix, a man of great abilities in his profession, who would have been thought superior to the dignity, if he had never enjoyed it. Marshal d'Ancre met with a great mortification from the parliament; during the absence of the court he had resided at Paris, and attempting to go out of town one day, with a great retinue, he was stopped at one of the gates by the city guard, commanded by a shoemaker, who told him that he could not go out without a proper passport, pursuant to the king's orders: the marshal had recourse to offers of money, and threats, but all in vain, upon which he returned. Now seeing the peace made, he ordered two of his footmen to take an opportunity of chastising the shoemaker, and they did it so severely that they left him for dead; the people assembling upon his cries, seized them, and carried them to prison; but the upper-servant, who delivered them the orders, made his escape. By due course of law the footmen were brought to the gallows by sentence from the parliament; and though the marshal and his wife spared no pains to save them, it was to no purpose, and served only to increase the violence of that hatred which they had incurred^u. The dukes of

^s Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Memoires de Bassompierre.
^t Memoires de la Regence. Histoire de Mere & du Fils. Memoires de Bassompierre.
^u Mercure François. Dupleix, Histoire de Louis XIII.

Mayenne and Bouillon, by their intrigues, hindered the prince of Condé from coming to court, that they might have the greater power, a circumstance which piqued the marshal d'Ancre, who had a fond reliance on the prince of Condé, without any just grounds. At length the prince arrived, and, chiefly by the influence of the marshal, had almost the sole direction of affairs, to which they both proved themselves very unequal; for the marshal, proud of the prince's protection, first slighted his new friends, the dukes of Mayenne and Bouillon, and then, with a view of making court to the prince of Condé, broke with his old friends the dukes of Guise and Espernon ^w. The duke of Bouillon, who absolutely governed the prince, obliged him to send marshal d'Ancre a message, that he was no longer his friend, which so frightened that favourite, that he retired immediately into Normandy, and his wife fell sick.

The prince, who had it in his power to do every thing, did nothing; he affected to shew that he had separated from the Protestants, and yet remained as much as ever in the hands of Bouillon, who, in some of their consultations, hinted the possibility of the prince's being placed upon the throne, provided he would have recourse to Biron's old scheme, and canton out the kingdom into independent governments. This scheme coming to the ears of the court, the queen-mother caused the prince of Condé to be arrested in the Louvre, by M. Themmis, who, for this service, was made marshal of France ^x. Lord Hay, afterwards earl of Carlisle, ambassador extraordinary from king James, demanded an audience upon this occasion, to know the reasons of treating in this manner the first prince of the blood, and being dissatisfied with his answer, obtained leave from his own court to return home ^y. The prince of Condé's imprisonment alarmed several great men to such a degree, that the dukes of Vendosme, Guise, Mayenne, Nevers, Rohan, Sully, La Tremouille, Candale, the eldest son of the duke of Espernon, the marshal de Bouillon, the marquis de Cœuvres, and Nicholas le Jay, president of the parliament of Paris, retired from court. After some weeks confinement, the prince was transferred to the Bastile, and some farther changes were made in the ministry; du Vair was

Condé arrested, and the ministry changed.

^w Malingre. *Memoires de la Regence. Histoire de Mere & du Fils.* ^x *Memoires du Duc de Rohan.* ^y *Mer-cure François.* *Negociations of Sir Thomas Edmondes.*

removed from being keeper of the seals for speaking his mind too freely, and was replaced by Mangot, who had been made secretary of state in the room of Villeroy. This last was now succeeded by the bishop of Lucon, afterwards the famous cardinal de Richlieu; and Barbin, who had been steward of the queen's household, was made comptroller of the finances^z. These were all brought in by marshal d'Ancre, whose house, with that of his secretary, was pulled down to the ground by the mob of Paris, on the first news of the prince's confinement, of which there is no doubt that he was extremely glad. Forgetting how lately he was deceived when he fancied himself absolutely secure, and under the protection of the prince of Conde, he fell into the same error again. The princes being retired from court, and the seals, and the treasure being in the hands of those to whom he had confided them, he thought his fortune was secure, seeing the queen-regent, in whom he had so great an interest, was, for the present, triumphant, and the detaching the duke and family of Guise from the confederate princes, confirmed him so strongly in this sentiment, that he no longer preserved any measures, but spoke and acted as if all was at his command^a.

A.D. 1616.

The queen-mother prepares to reduce the princes by force.

The queen-mother, though she really loved Galigai, and for her sake suffered the impertinencies of the marshal, took, in all affairs of importance, the advice of abler heads, and more especially Barbin and the bishop of Lucon: by their counsel she caused a declaration to be published in the king's name, in which, after setting forth all the compliances that had been used to quiet the princes, there was a specific account of what had been paid them in ready money, that the people of France might apprehend clearly the motives and merits of these patriots. This step was taken for restoring domestic quiet. In regard to foreign affairs the baron de Tour was sent to London to satisfy king James, who had a great regard for the prince and for the duke of Bouillon^b. M. de la Noue was sent into Holland, to prevent the republic from interesting themselves in these disputes; the count de Schomberg was sent to the elector Palatine, and other princes of Germany, not barely to acquaint them with the motives of the king's conduct, but also to raise a small corps

^z Memoires de Bassompierre.
XIII. P. Matth. Hist. de Louis XIII. Le Grain.
citations of Sir Thomas Edmondes.

^a Dupl. Histoire de Louis XIII. Le Grain.

^b Negociations of Sir Thomas Edmondes.

of horse and a great body of foot. Lastly, three potent armies were formed, and received orders to act against the princes, in the king's name, and with the utmost vigour; the first, which marched into Champagne, was composed of twelve thousand foot and two thousand horse, commanded by the duke of Guise, and the marshals Themmis and Praslin; they took the field about the middle of February, and reduced several places belonging to the duke of Nevers, particularly Chateau, Porcien, and Rethel, which occupied them till towards the end of March. The second, which acted in the Nivernois, was composed of about nine thousand men, commanded by the marshal de Montigne, who proceeded with the like success, having made the second son of the duke de Nevers prisoner, and reduced the duchess to capitulate^c. The third army was commanded by the count d'Auvergne, whom the queen had taken out of the Bastile, after his long confinement, and placed at the head of an army of about fourteen thousand men; with which, having first cleared the Isle of France, he at length blocked up the duke of Mayenne in Soissons. With a train of artillery from the Bastile he battered the place, and having made a sufficient breach, was on the point of giving a general assault, when the face of affairs changed in so extraordinary a manner, that those who had hitherto been considered as rebels, were all of a sudden owned for the king's friends, and his best subjects; but some of the wisest heads in France saw not the necessity of making this short turn^d.

We have already mentioned the strange conduct of the marshal d'Ancre, who was every day soliciting and hastening his own ruin, by the very methods he took to divert and prevent it. He had raised Barbin and the bishop of Lucon to the great employments they held; he became suspicious of them, traduced and did them so many private injuries, that, for the sake of peace, they were desirous of laying down their employments^e. He could not but know how much he was hated by the common people, and yet he was remarkably busy in pushing whatever might exasperate them; he procured the baron de Huertevan to be beheaded for high treason, for corresponding with the princes who were in arms, and

Marshal d'Ancre, believing himself secure, gives a loose to his own temper.

^c Mercure François. Memoires de la Regence. P. Matth. Hist. de Louis XIII. ^d Memoires du Duc de Rohan. ^e Memoires de Bassompierre.

exerted himself more warmly to procure the like fate to one Stuart, a perfect youth, esteemed one of the handsomest men of his time, who had been extremely well received at court^f. At the same time he was upon very ill terms with Luynes, who had entirely engrossed the king's favour, and who had offered to match his brother with the marshal's niece, an alliance which was hindered by his wife, who was jealous of his having any interest in the king's court, for fear he would be then less dependent on her. Luynes, who apprehended that the marshal rejected his alliance because he intended to remove him, whispered all his suspicions to the king, who, though but fifteen years of age, began to discover that jealousy which was the predominant quality in his constitution^g.

*The seur
Luynes
contrives
the mar-
shal's de-
struction.*

He told him that this Italian, whom his father hated, but could never remove, now governed his kingdom; that the ministers were all of his choice or recommendation; that the princes were persecuted only because they would not tamely submit to this arrogant stranger; that, not contented with being at the head of the government, and disposing of great employments at his pleasure, he was on the point of removing his majesty's own servants, and surrounding him with his own creatures. When he saw what impression these insinuations made on the young monarch, he went farther, and threw out hints of the queen's exorbitant love of power, of the little share that she allowed him to take even in the placing of his own servants, and her extraordinary fondness for the duke of Orleans. What, though in itself a trivial and accidental thing, seemed to give a colour of truth to these reports, was the queen's stopping a troop of horse, that bore her name, in their march to the camp before Soissons, to remain about her own and the king's person, as they had then no cavalry to cover the little excursions of pleasure which the king now and then made into the country, and to this step Luynes gave the malicious turn of her making use of them to secure his royal person^h. The first expedient devised by this young prince for delivering himself out of what was now styled a captivity, was to put himself at the head of this troop of horse, to go in person to the siege of Soissons, and finding means to get into that place,

^f Dupl. Hist. de Louis XIII.
Louis XIII. Le Grain.

^g Ibid. P. Matth. Hist. de

^h Mercure François. Hist. de Mere

& du Fils.

to declare the duke of Mayenne his lieutenant-general against marshal d'Ancre and his adherents. This scheme, upon examination, was found to be impracticable. In the mean time some overtures were made to the queen-mother by her faithful servants, to part with the marshal and his wife, as persons grown absolutely insupportable, to which she shewed herself very inclinableⁱ. Some of the friends of Galigai insinuated to her the prudence of a retreat, to which she willingly consented, and immediately began to order her most valuable effects to be sent to Italy. But when this matter came to be mentioned to the marshal, he was so far from hearing it with any tolerable patience, that he is said to have made this strange answer; "I have hitherto been the minion of fortune, who has never deserted me, nor will I desert her, but, following wherever she conducts, will let the world see to what a height a man may be raised, who has the courage to pursue her^k." It is not impossible but he might have been brought in time to alter his sentiments; but Luynes, who had the same ambition, was continually pushing his master to rid himself of all restraints, and at length pointed out the means by which this aim was effected.

He proposed that the king should give orders to have the marshal either dispatched, or delivered to the parliament, that they might have no more trouble with him; the king chose the latter part of the alternative, and his favourite immediately proposed that Vitri, who was captain of the guards, should arrest him, to which expedient the king assented^l. Luynes spoke to Vitri, and asked him if he had the courage to execute whatever the king commanded? Vitri made no scruple of promising, even upon oath; upon which Luynes told him that there might be danger in their holding a long conversation, but that, at such an hour of the night, in such a place, he should meet with certain men, and directed him to receive and follow their orders, as if they were given by the mouth of the king. Vitri was punctual to the appointment, and saw with amazement Tronson, a man of a very indifferent character, Marillac, who had betrayed the prince of Condé, Deagen, who was clerk to the comptroller-general Barbin, and a gardener of the Thuilleries. However, he was

*Marshal
d'Ancre is
arrested
and slain.*

ⁱ Memoires de la Regence.

^k Histoire de Mere & du Fils.

Memoires de la Regence. Historia della Republica Veneta di B. Nani.

^l Mercure François.

embarked,

embarked, and of them he learned what was expected from him. The thing was three weeks in agitation, during which it was communicated to a great many persons, without ever being divulged. At length the 24th of April was fixed, and Vitri caused several gentlemen of determined courage to be introduced, under various pretences, into the Louvre^m. Amongst these was his brother Hellier, his brother-in-law Persan, Bournonville, Persan's brother-in-law, Guichaumont, and Rigaud, exempts of the guard, and some others. About ten in the morning the marshal came to the Louvre, preceded by about forty gentlemen, to whom he gave pensions, and followed at a distance by as many more, but the gates being shut as soon as he was in, excluded the latter. He stopped upon the bridge of the Louvre, and leaning his arm upon the rail, was reading a letter, when Vitri, followed by his friends, for whom the marshal's gentlemen, supposing the king behind, had made a lane, laying his hand upon his shoulder, said, "I arrest you, sir, in the king's name." "What! me?" returned the marshal, in a quick tone; "Yes, you, Sir," replied Vitri, with a loud voice and an oath. The marshal, retiring back, laid his hand on his sword; then Vitri, turning his head, cried, "Kill him," upon which Hellier discharged a pistol through his heart, Persan shot him through the head, and Guichaumont into his bellyⁿ.

All his employments, together with his estates, are bestowed upon the fleur de Luynes.

Vitri's associates began immediately to cry "Vive le Roy!" till the king appeared at a window, made a signal with his hat that he accepted their services, and then they were silent. The marquis de Pene, son to the marshal, was immediately arrested; and his wife Galigai was conducted to the room where the prince of Condé had been confined^o. The queen's guards were removed, and those of the king placed in their stead, by which token she understood herself to be a prisoner. The king wrote the same day three letters to the parliament, the first with an account of the death of the marshal, the second to avow that what had been done was by his order, the third to create the office of counsellor of the short robe in favour of the baron de Vitri, that he might be secured a seat in that assembly, before he took his oath as marshal of France,

^m Memoires de Bassompierre.

ⁿ Memoires de la Regence. Mallongre. Hist. di Batt. Nani. Hist. de Mere & du Fils. ^o Du-pleix, Hist. de Louis XIII. P. Matth. Hist. de Louis XIII. Mallongre.

in taking up the bâton that d'Ancre had let fall^p. A total change followed; Mangot was removed, Barbin was confined, the seals were restored to du Vair, Villeroy returned to his office as secretary of state, Jeanin came again into favour, the king wrote to the duke of Longueville, who was nearest, to come to court; he wrote also to the rest of the princes; the duke of Mayenne sent his majesty the keys of Soissons, after setting the gates open to the king's troops, and returned in a few days with the count d'Auvergne. The process was made for the unfortunate Galigai, who fell with a fortitude that buried all her follies in oblivion, and the queen-mother was exiled to Blois^q. Mons. Luynes had the confiscation of the marshal's estate, to an immense value; he likewise succeeded him as first gentleman of the chamber, as the king's lieutenant in Normandy, and in his governments. Vitri had his staff, Hellier had the company of guards which the new marshal had commanded, and Persan was entrusted with the Bastile. M. de Luynes would have preserved Richlieu, but it was not in his power, the old secretaries were to be restored; but he kept his seat in the council, and was ordered to attend the queen-mother^r.

All the princes who had engaged in the league were received into favour, without the ceremony of a treaty. The king was prevailed upon by his new favourite to send a declaration to the parliament, in which he affirmed himself satisfied with their services, and annulled whatever had been done against them: this was registered, as the former letters had been, without any dispute; for there seemed now to be a great disposition of doing honour to the king's entrance upon his government, of which spirit we may judge by the attributing to him the surname of Just, from the fate of the marshal d'Ancre, and that of his widow, though at the same time there happened some other strokes of justice, which, in order to set this period of history in its true light, it is necessary we should mention^s. Amongst those who had been entrusted with the secret of the marshal's ruin, there was one Travail, who had abjured the Protestant religion, turned Capuchin, and done no credit to that order. This man had great parts, without the least tincture of probity. He had been pro-

Some singular events which followed the death of d'Ancre.

^p Memoires de la Regence. Hist. de Mere & du Fils. Memoires de Amelot de la Houffaye. ^q Hist. di Batt. Nani. ^r Hist. de Mere & du Fils. Dupleix, Hist. de Louis XIII. Malingre. ^s Hist. di Batt. Nani.

misf, or at least he had promised himself the archbishoprick of Bourges; but when the prelate who possessed this see was constrained to resign it, and Travail saw it bestowed upon another person, he was inflamed with such resentment, that he went to the sieur Bressieux, one of the queen-mother's principal officers, and confided to him an infamous design he had formed. He was arrested and condemned upon positive testimony, that he had laboured to persuade Bressieux to poison the queen; others say, with more probability, that he acquainted him with his resolution to dispatch Luynes, out of pure compassion, as he pretended, for the queen-mother; however that might be, he was broke alive^s. One Gignier amused Luynes with a pretended conspiracy of the princes against him, and against the king; and even went so far as to charge the duke of Vendosme with an intention to poison them both at his daughter's christening, to which they were invited. The king being informed of this circumstance, pretended to have the colic, to avoid going thither; but the duke observing some symptoms of distrust, went to Luynes, insisted upon making himself prisoner, and examining the matter, whatever it was, to the bottom. This step brought the whole business to light, which cost Gignier his head, who, at his death, fairly confessed that, seeing plots in fashion, he had made one for his own benefit, which taking a wrong turn, had brought him to the block^t.

*Marshal
Lefdiguieres saves
the duke of
Savoy from
being over-
whelmed
by the power
of Spain.*

While the affairs of France were thus strangely embarrassed, the Spaniards had attacked the duke of Savoy, not without some plausible pretences; but the real motive was to establish their sovereignty into Italy, and to bar the entrance of the French into that country for ever. The marshal duke de Lefdiguieres, the duke's old antagonist, levied an army for his assistance. The Spanish ambassador complained of this conduct at court, before the queen was divested of the regency; and orders were sent to Lefdiguieres to disband his forces. The marshal, who had been long accustomed to think for himself, and who was also persuaded that he understood the interests of his country much better than those who sent him such orders, put them in his pocket, and marched directly to Piedmont^u. His appearance saved the duke; but, after he had render-

^s Mercure François. Memoires de la Regence.
lingre. Dupl. Hist. de Louis XIII. Mercure François.
Grain. Hist. di Batt. Nani.

^t Ma-
^u Le

ed him great service, he was obliged to return into Dauphiné, upon the revolt of the princes: that being suddenly over in the manner which we have before related; Lesdiguières received fresh orders from court to return into Savoy, and while he was preparing for it, was joined by some of the noblest and bravest persons in the kingdom, who piqued themselves on learning the trade of war under such a celebrated commander. The marshal found the duke of Savoy on the very point of being undone, Don Pedro de Toledo being in the heart of his country with a superior army. Lesdiguières saw, from the manner in which these troops were posted, that they might be attacked almost without hazard. The duke left him at liberty to act as he pleased; and, in the space of a week, the old man dispersed them all, and made between four and five thousand prisoners. After this exploit, he assembled twenty thousand men, and was on the very point of entering the duchy of Milan, when a courier from court brought him the news of a peace, which, as things then stood, the duke of Savoy thought it his interest to sign ^w.

Mr. Luynes had either good parts or was capable of listening to right counsels, since he found the means of uniting all these, by engaging the king to call an assembly of the notables to be held at Rouen, in the month of December ^x. There he obtained every thing he could desire with respect to the approbation of that revolution which he had brought about; many good things were likewise proposed for the benefit of the nation, which the king received in the most gracious manner, and promised to advise with his council of state how they might best be carried into execution. The royal presence restored tranquility to the province, and gave monsieur de Luynes the opportunity he wanted of securing his several governments. In this journey of the court died the famous monsieur Villeroy, who, with some interruptions, had executed the office of secretary of state upwards of fifty years; a man of great parts, unassisted with learning; an able negociator, and a consummate minister; cautious in making promises, but punctual in the performance of them; born to a good fortune, to which, in his long ser-

An assembly of the States held at Rouen, which gives de Luynes an opportunity of taking possession of his government of Normandy.

^w Memoires de Lesdiguières.
Louis XIII. Le Grain. P. Daniel.
Louis XIII.

^x Dupleix Histoire de
Journal Historique de

vice, he did not add above two hundred pounds a year ¹. This year was also fatal to the president de Thou, whose reputation as an historian will last for ever.

*He marries
the daughter
of the
duke of
Montba-
zon.*

To support his greatness, monsieur de Luynes saw nothing wanting but a proper marriage. He had thoughts of espousing madame de Vendosme, and becoming thereby, in some sort, the brother-in-law of the king; but perceiving that this match would be attended with great envy, he very prudently yielded that prince to the duke d'Elboeuf, and contented himself with the daughter of the duke de Montbazon ². Though he conducted himself with much address, and considering the power he had over his master, confirmed by the management of his confessor, a Jesuit, who is said to have sworn him to do nothing without the consent of monsieur de Luynes, he could not secure the applause of the public, or entirely silence the voice of envy. On the contrary, whispers were every where circulated to his prejudice. The populace took the liberty of saying, "That the same tavern was still open, and that they had only burnt the old bush;" while others, with equal acrimony and less reverence, lamented that the tyranny was unextinguished, and that the nation had only changed one tyrant for another. His two brothers sharing his favour and his power, a ticket was fixed on their apartment in the palace, with these words; "Here dwell the three kings." But he might easily have pardoned these strokes of satire, which, in reality, would have done him service, if they had taught him caution ³.

A.D. 1617.

¹ *Mercurius François. Malingre. Histoire de Mere & du Fils.*
² *Memoires de la Regence. Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Memoires de Bassompierre.*
³ *P. Matthieu Histoire de Louis XIII. Batt. Nani. Malingre.*

S E C T. XIII.

The Remainder of the Reign of Lewis XIII. surnamed the Just, from his assuming the Government to his Death.

THE queen-mother, who had been a kind of prisoner in the palace of her son, found herself not at all in a better situation at Blois, though at her departure, the king had given her the strongest assurances of behaving towards her with all the respect and duty possible. The favourite Luynes endeavoured also to recover her good graces, and for this purpose, made use of his father-in-law the duke de Montbazon, and the duke of Rohan, to whom he was allied by marriage^a. But as in reality he apprehended that, if once a reconciliation was brought about, the queen would quickly recover her authority, he had recourse to measures of another kind, which he thought would answer his purposes better. In the first place, he held it necessary to remove Richelieu, bishop of Lucon, from about the queen, not only because he knew that he had lived in a strict intimacy with marshal d'Ancre, but because he was thoroughly persuaded of his attachment to the queen, and of his superior capacity, so that nothing was to be expected from his practices, while a person of so much penetration was near her, and therefore he had orders to retire to an abbey of his in Anjou^b. There, that he might find some employment for his active genius, he composed a book of devotion: his application to his studies being known at court, they had so little idea of things of that nature, that they took it for granted he must be composing memoirs for the service, and apologies for the conduct, of the queen regent, and therefore banished him and his brother to Avignon^c. When he was at this distance, Luynes thought he might begin his operations with safety. He bribed most of the ladies and women about her; he suffered Barbin, who was all this time a prisoner in the Bastile, to correspond

Artifices used by Luynes to keep the queen-mother from court and in confinement.

^a Histoire de Mere & du Fils. Dupleix Histoire de Louis XIII. Memoires du Duc de Rohan.

^b Memoires de Bassompierre: Bernard Histoire de Louis XIII. Le Grain. Decade contenant l'Histoire de Louis XIII.

^c Mercure François. P. Matth. Histoire de Louis XIII. Le Gend.

with her by letters. These passing through the hands of a bishop, he betrayed them to Luynes, who, when he had made all the use of them he thought proper, directed a criminal prosecution against Barbin; but, not being able to reach his life, he caused him to be condemned to banishment, and, under pretence of alleviating, engaged the king to aggravate, the sentence, by changing it into perpetual imprisonment^d. He then posted troops at some distance about Blois, and restrained the queen mother more strictly than ever, at length he sent father Arnoux, a Jesuit, the king's confessor, to reconcile her to this usage, and to persuade her that he was taking all the pains possible to restore her to the king's favour, for which purpose, it was necessary to draw up an act of submission upon oath, in which she promised to submit to enter into no intrigues, to discover any that came to her knowledge, to hold no foreign correspondencies, and not to attempt to leave Blois without the king's leave^e. With this instrument Arnoux returned to court; and the queen's confessor, who was a Jesuit also, perceiving his brother's artifice, assured her the oath was void, and that, as Luynes would probably depend much upon this instrument, she might from thence find means to facilitate her escape^f, as her emissaries would be less exposed to danger.

*Duke of
Espèrnon
quarrels
with du
Vair, and
retires to
Metz.*

While Luynes was taking so many precautions to secure the king entirely to himself, and amused alike those who wished the deliverance of the prince of Condé, and those who desired the deliverance of the queen, with fair but false promises, he opened the way to both by the measures he took to prevent them. The duke d'Espèrnon had fallen out with the keeper of the seals about precedence, and had brought several dukes and peers to concur with him, a dispute which at length rose so high, that some warm words passed in the king's presence, who upon that occasion, though alone, spoke to the duke in very severe terms, and did more than his ministers could have done; for it struck him with such fear, that he resolved to quit the court, and, having procured leave, retired to Metz, where he lived and acted therein as a sovereign^g. The true reason of his quarrelling with mons.

^d Histoire de la Mère & du Fils. Mémoires du Duc de Rohan. P. Dan. Journal Historique de Louis XIII. ^e Dup. Hist. de Louis XIII.

^f Mémoires de Bassompierre. ^g Hist. de la Vie du Duc d'Espèrnon, tom. ii. livr. vii. Histoire de Mère & du Fils. Dupl. Histoire de Louis XIII.

du Vair was to conceal the real motive of his differing with the court, which was that Luynes had procured for monf. de Gondi, so well known afterwards by the title of the cardinal de Retz, a hat, which had been promised to the duke's son, the archbishop of Toulouse ^h.

Amongst the agents of the queen-mother was the abbé Ruccellay, an Italian, whose father, having been employed in the finances, had procured him benefices to the amount of thirty thousand livres a year, and left him, at his decease, as much more. He was of a restless busy temper, capable of assuming any character, and, except the qualities before mentioned, had none of his own. He had been a favourite with the marshal d'Ancre, and had followed the queen to Blois; but, not liking so melancholy a situation, returned to court, where he lived under the protection of Bassompierre ⁱ. He had persuaded himself that the duke de Bouillon, who had been always esteemed the ablest head, in point of intrigue, in France, was the only person that could restore the queen; he caused such informations to be giving against himself to Luynes as induced the favourite to order him to retire to his abbey, which being but a small distance from Sedan, gave him the opportunity he wanted of entering into a correspondence with that duke. Bouillon, though he had, by no means, any good opinion of him, yet received him civilly, and, in a little time, he acquired a certain degree of confidence; insomuch that he told him, his age, his infirmities, and his great distance, rendered it impossible for him to act; but that he would indicate a proper person to procure the queen's freedom, and this was the duke of Espernon ^k. This proposal was far from being acceptable to Ruccellay, because he had differed with the son of the duke, who had threatened to chastise him, and besides the dukes of Bouillon and Espernon were not friends; so that no assistance could be received from this quarter. He returned however to his abbey, and, charging the secretary of marshal d'Ancre, who was just released from prison, with the queen's commission, sent him to Metz, where, by the assistance of the marquis de la Valette, and the archbishop of Toulouse, he succeeded with their father beyond all expectation ^l. When things were pretty far ad-

The abbé de Ruccellay engages him to attempt the queen's deliverance from Blois.

^h Memoires de Bassompierre. Memoires du Duc de Rohan.

ⁱ Le Grain. Bernard.

Houffaye.

^k Memoires de Amelot de la Vie

^l Dup. Hist. de Louis XIII. Hist. de la Vie du Duc d'Espernon, tom. ii. Le Gend.

vanced, Ruccellay went himself to a village not far from Metz, and sent a message to the duke, who flew into a violent passion, and declared to his sons he would have nothing to do with that Italian, who, he knew, owed him a grudge, and would not therefore put it in his power to take his revenge. Ruccellay being made acquainted with this circumstance, informed the duke that the secretary was but his agent, that he was possessed of his cyphers, had seen his letters, and therefore, if he sought revenge, had him entirely in his power^m. Upon this representation, the duke sent for him to Metz, concealed him a whole month in his palace, and having settled with him the scheme of operations, sent him away as secretly as he came; so that, notwithstanding Luynes had spies at Metz, and about the person of the duke, they were not able to give him any intelligence, though, for other reasons, he held the abbé Ruccellay in the greatest suspicion.

*The Pau-
lette sup-
pressed,
and the
Jesuits
open their
college of
Clermont.*

In respect to affairs of a more public nature, Luynes, at the beginning of the year, had caused the tax called the paulette to be suppressed, and promised to put an end to the venality of officers, which promise, however, he did not performⁿ. In May the resignation of his government of Guienne was demanded from the prince of Condé, in prison at Vincennes, and immediately bestowed upon the duke of Mayenne. The king's lieutenantcy in those parts was given to marshal Ornano, who presently exchanged it for the lieutenantcy of Normandy; and the sieur de Luynes, who had that, obtained the government of the isle of France, which the duke of Mayenne had quitted^o. The king proposed restoring the church lands to the popish clergy in Bearn, a proposal which met with great opposition; it was, in truth, one of the projects of Luynes, to form a party for his own support, and was the specimen of that design which characterized his administration, the destruction of the Protestants. He knew well enough that this measure would recommend him to the clergy; and to the violent Catholics; and, by sowing dissensions amongst the Protestants, and a dexterous application of bribes and promises, he thought the thing might be gradually performed, without exciting a new civil war, in

^m Histoire de Mere & du Fils. Memoires de Bassompierre.
Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espèrnon.
ⁿ Mercure Fran-
çois. Malingre Hist. de Louis XIII.
de Rohan.

• Memoires du Duc

which opinion, though he was somewhat mistaken, yet his schemes, as we shall see hereafter, fatally prevailed. Prince Maurice of Nassau becoming, by the death of his brother, prince of Orange, offered his homage to the queen, but, under pretence of finding some new title, the king refused to accept it in the old manner, and the prince, not being disposed to comply with the method prescribed, this homage was not received at all. A

A.D. 1618.

chiaux arrived from Constantinople, to renew the ancient treaties, and to make some excuses for the ill usage the French minister had received at the Porte; and, towards the close of the year, to reward the good services of father Arnoux, the Jesuits, by the sole interposition of the royal authority, had leave to open their college for the instruction of youth.

The duke of Espernon, after having endeavoured in vain to procure the king's leave to quit Metz, to go to his government of Xaintonge, took the resolution of proceeding in his design, notwithstanding the king's express orders not to leave Metz. He caused his equipage to parade every day for a fortnight together, going out every day at a different gate; in the mean time, as if he had laid aside all thoughts of departing, he sent away his son the archbishop of Toulouse. At length, confiding the care of the city to the marquis de la Valette, with strict injunctions not to suffer the gates to be opened for three days, and to keep a constant patrol round the place, he put himself at the head of one hundred horse, and began his march. In his passage by Dijon he conferred with the duke of Bellegarde's lieutenant, and bid him write his master word that hunger had driven him out of Metz, pretending that he was not able to subsist there for want of money. The lieutenant dispatched a courier immediately to his master, and this was the first news the court had of his leaving Metz. As it was to no purpose to pursue him, Luynes dispatched one of his gentlemen with a very kind letter to the duke, including the king's approbation. Espernon executed his design happily, but was surprised to hear nothing from the queen. This uncertainty was occasioned by a very extraordinary accident: one de Lorine, a servant, whom the abbé Ruccellay had

The queen-mother escapes from Blois, and is conducted to Angoulême by the duke of Espernon.

» P. Matth. Histoire de Louis XIII.

» Dupleix. Hist.

de Louis XIII.

» Mercure François. Bernard. Le Gend.

» Hist. de la Vie du Duc d'Espéron, tom. ii. Memoires de Bassompierre.

» Memoires du Duc de Rohan, Malingre.

often trusted before, being dispatched with letters containing the scheme of the duke's design, and promised great things if he delivered them safe to the queen, thought he might bring them still to a better market if he carried them to the sieur Luynes. Accordingly, instead of going to Blois, he took the route to Paris, and was, for three days together, at the house of Luynes, soliciting an audience. A counsellor of the parliament of Paris, who was deeply in the queen's interest, hearing of this man by chance, and suspecting the truth, sent a gentleman to speak to him, who, by the help of a considerable sum of money, obtained the letters, and the man was disposed of soon after in such a manner as prevented his telling tales^v. This was the reason that the queen-mother had no intelligence of the duke's arrival, till brought by one of his domestics; however, she was no sooner informed of it than she took a resolution of escaping from Blois. This aim she effected on the 22d of February, by getting out of a window so high, that it was necessary to tie two ladders together to reach it. Being met upon the road by the archbishop of Toulouse, son of the duke, she was conducted to Loches, where he received her in person, at the head of three hundred gentlemen on horseback, and conducted her in safety to Angoulême^w, at the very time they were concerting measures at court to remove her to Amboise, and to make her a close prisoner in the castle there; so that her escape was as well-timed as it was happily executed^x.

*The court
alarmed at
the queen's
escape.*

In the midst of the rejoicings at court for the marriage of the prince of Piedmont with the princess Christina, the king's sister, there came advice of the queen-mother's escape, which struck the court with the utmost astonishment: at first that monarch and his ministers gave a loose to passion, talked of marching one hundred thousand men to recover the queen, and punish the duke of Espernon; orders were given on one side to the duke of Mayenne and the count de Schomberg to begin the war, and on the other to the duke of Nevers to form an army to besiege Metz^y. The king, however, thought it requisite to consult the duke of Bouillon, who represented to him, in

^v Dupleix, Histoire de Louis XIII. Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espernon, tom. ii.

^w Memoires de Bassompierre.

^x P. Matth. Histoire de Louis XIII.

^y Memoires du

Duc de Rohan. Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espernon, tom. ii. livr. viii.

the most respectful manner; that any who should give him such counsels, as making war upon his mother, and declaring persons of the highest quality rebels, barely for giving a widow, and the mother of their king, protection, were enemies to the state: he suggested that there was no suitable method but that of an accommodation, and concluded with the strongest assurances of his own fidelity^z. A negotiation was accordingly set on foot, and carried on, notwithstanding the declarations published by the queen, conceived in the most bitter terms, accusing Luynes and his brethren of abusing the king's tender years, subverting justice in the death of the marchioness d'Ancre, and several other persons, procuring their confiscations, robbing the king's treasury of millions, banishing the widow of Henry the Fourth, proposing to thrust her into a monastery or a prison for life, and keeping the prince and princess of Condé in prison, of whose innocence she was long ago convinced. The treaty going on very slowly, Luynes proposed the recalling the bishop of Lucon, and the king wrote to him with his own hand^a. This prelate was but ill received at Angoulême by every body but the queen. Ruccellay hated him as a rival, Espernon had no confidence in him. At first they refused him a seat in the council; then they excluded him, after having consented to his admission. But things soon changed their face; Ruccellay advised the queen to seize Angoulême, and to make her peace by abandoning the duke of Espernon; Mary de Medicis rejected the advice, despised the author, and acquainted the duke with his danger^b.

On the other hand, Espernon, perceiving that none of the great lords joined the queen, began to have a better opinion of the bishop of Lucon's counsels, who advised arming silently, and disapproved of invectives. In the mean time the king's forces took several places, and a plot was contrived for blowing up the castle of Angoulême, and the queen in it^c. The peace was at length made, to the great satisfaction of the court, and with great advantages to the queen and those of her party, for

By the dexterity of the bishop of Lucon, a peace is concluded.

^z Histoire de Mere & du Fils, tom. ii. p. 335. ^a Histoire du Regne de Louis XIII. Roy de France, & des principaux Evenemens arrivez pendant ce Regne dans tout le Pais du Monde, tom. iii. p. 137.

^b Hist. de la Vie du Duc d'Espéron, tom. ii. livr. viii. Histoire de Mere & du Fils, tom. ii. p. 358—360.

^c Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Duplex, Histoire de Louis XIII. Le Grain. Malingre.

they were, without exception, to be restored to their offices, their appointments, and the king's favour. The queen was to be at liberty to live where she pleased, to have the entire direction of her own court and domain, and, upon her resignation of the government of Normandy, was to have that of Anjou, with the castle of Angers, Pont de Ce, and Chinon, for her security^d. It does not appear that the bishop of Lucon derived to himself any thing in consequence of making the peace, but from the queen-mother, who gave the government of Angers to his brother; who being killed out of mere envy by the marquis de Themmis, captain of her guards, she gave it to the uncle of Richlieu, and disposed of the other places at his recommendation^e.

That prelate procures many advantages for the queen-mother.

Though the peace was concluded in April, and the queen-mother, in consequence of it, was expected at court, she discovered no great willingness to go thither, and was in other respects backward enough in doing what was required, which reluctance the court attributed to the bishop of Lucon, and with reason, for the peace being once made, he judged that it was to be equally executed on both sides. This delay produced fresh negotiations, in all which the queen met with success. The plot for blowing up the castle of Angoulesme, though concerted before, was not discovered till after, the peace; but the queen would not punish the offenders; and the king, for his own honour, was obliged to do it, though what they had done or promised was by his minister's orders^f. Letters of abolition were granted to the duke of Espernon, and all the queen's adherents^g. The king, indeed, scrupled taking back two captains of the guards who had quitted him to serve his mother, but she remained firm, and he was at length obliged to comply. All scruples being now removed, the queen consented to an interview with her son; and, being accompanied by the duke of Espernon to the frontiers of his government, she presented him at parting with a very fine diamond ring from her

^d Traites de la Paix par l'heureux accord & amiable Reconciliation du Roy avec la Reine sa Mere. ^e Memoires du Duc de Rohan.

^f Procès verbal de la Conspiration faite en la Ville d'Angoulesme ensemble l'Execution publique, qui s'en est ensuivie, à Paris, 1618. Histoire de Louis XIII. P. Matth. Hist. de Louis XIII.

^g Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espernon, tom. ii. liv. viii

finger^b, which was all he ever had for the expence of two hundred thousand crowns, and the risk of his fame, his family, and fortune. The interview being fixed, the king and his mother met at Coufieres, a house belonging to the duke of Montbazon, with a great appearance of tenderness and affection on both sidesⁱ: they proceeded together to Tours, and continued there eleven days; but the queen-mother could not be brought to think of returning to Paris, saying, in plain terms, when pressed to it, that she was not inclined to be led in triumph, but, however, promised to go thither at a convenient time. The queen then returned to Angers, and the court to Paris^k. The grandeur of the favourite and his family rose daily higher, and yet it did not seem to be placed on the most secure and solid basis.

The favourite, doubting of his own situation, apprehensive of the queen's recovering her influence, and instigated by those who had more reason to fear it than he, resolved at length upon a measure which he had long meditated. He went in person to the castle of Vincennes, on the 20th of October, and set the prince of Condé at liberty^l; who, as a mark of his gratitude and respect, accompanied his deliverer to the parliament, where he was received as duke and peer of France, the estate of Maille, near Tours, which was transferred to him by his brother, being erected into a duchy in his favour. But the terms of the king's declaration on the release of the prince of Condé being conceived in such a manner as to censure the regency, extremely offended the queen, who fixed upon the declaration rather than the measure, and expressed herself so strongly upon it, that the disputes between the two courts rose again very high; so that the peace of the kingdom was once more in danger^m. These disturbances had all along a very indifferent influence upon foreign affairs, as appeared more especially from the death of pensionary Barneveldt in Holland, for whom the king interceded in vain.

*Prince of
Condé re-
leased,
who joins
the duke of
Luyne.*

A.D. 1519.

At the opening of the year, the king made the first promotion of knights of his order, in which there were fifty-nine included; but the duke de Luyne, to avoid

^b Vie du Cardinal de Richlieu. P. Matth. Histoire de Louis XIII. Histoire de la Vie de Duc d'Espemnon, tom. ii. livr. viii.

ⁱ Histoire de la Mere & du Fils, tom. ii. p. 385, 386.

^k Me-

moires de Bassompierre.

^l Dupleix, Histoire de Louis XIII.

^m Memoires du Duc de Rohan.

The queen-mother again displeased the Protestants court her, and many of the great nobility.

creating enemies, desired a kind of election, which method has been followed since ⁿ. It did not entirely answer his end; for he himself and both his brothers being included in this promotion, many who had, or who thought they had, as good a right to it, were displeased. The Protestants had assembled at Loudon, not only without the king's permission, but continued assembled, notwithstanding he had sent them orders to disperse; and sent some of their deputies to pay their respects to the queen-mother, who insisted peremptorily upon a declaration that might justify her conduct, at least in the same degree that had been used with respect to the prince ^o. The king's coffers being empty, some edicts were prepared for new taxes, to which du Vair, keeper of the seals, made some opposition, but, for fear of losing his office, complied. The king carried those edicts to the parliament, and caused them to be verified in his presence, notwithstanding the first president Verdun, and the advocate-general Servin, remonstrated against them boldly. The attachment of the prince to Luynes, and the credit this gave him with the king, excited a secret discontent amongst the princes and great lords, who thought their services but ill requited; and this humour spread, in a short time, to such a degree, that, about the month of April, most of them left the court. The duke of Mayenne retired to his government, the count de Soissons, the duke of Vendosme his brother, the grand prior, the dukes of Nevers, Tremouille, Rohan, Retz, and others, went directly to Angers, to pay their court to the queen-mother, who appeared to be now at the head of a powerful and well connected party ^p. This circumstance alarmed the king exceedingly, and the favourite much more; especially when he understood that the duke de Espernon, to whom he had rendered very essential services, entered entirely into the views of the queen-mother. The endeavours used to appease that princess had no effect: she complained that the promises made to her had never been kept; and declared that, in case of any future agreements, she expected that either some foreign power, or at least the parliament of the kingdom, should become the guarantees of it, a declaration which astonished Luynes as much as it displeased the king.

ⁿ Mercure François. Dup. Histoire de Louis XIII. ^o Mémoires du Duc de Rohan. ^p Mémoires de Bassompierre.

In this struggle the queen-mother had great advantages, and might have made very advantageous terms for herself and her adherents. The prince of Condé and others about the king persuaded him to continue negotiating, but in the mean time to march with what forces he could collect into Normandy, where the duke of Longueville, who had exchanged that government for Picardy, which he yielded to the duke de Luynes, was endeavouring to secure all the strong places for the queen¹. He entered into this measure with great spirit, after having communicated his design to the parliament of Paris, dispatched his orders to such as still remained firm in their obedience, he marched directly to Rouen in the beginning of July. The duke of Longueville abandoned the place upon his approach, and retired to Dieppe. Caen likewise opened her gates, and the castle was reduced in a few days. This success increased the king's vigour, who began now to act of himself, gave his orders frequently without consulting any body, and excited a new spirit in his forces, by rejecting all timid counsels, and bestowing the governments of the places he took upon such as distinguished themselves in his service. It is inconceivable what an effect this conduct had, and how much it contributed to augment the force and the courage of his army; so that, in the space of less than a month, he advanced into the neighbourhood of Pont-de-CE, on the preservation of which the queen's safety depended. If she had followed the advice of the duke of Rohan, the king would have found it very difficult to terminate this dispute. That great man persuaded her to retire to Bourdeaux, where she was sure of having her cause owned by that parliament, and might have interposed an army of thirty thousand men between her and the king. The queen was well inclined to this measure, and it is not a little uncertain how she came to decline, or to take so wrong a step as to remain at Angers. Some say the duke of Espernon dissuaded her, from an apprehension that, if she was once in the hands of the duke of Mayenne, he should lose his influence; others ascribe this counsel to the bishop of Lucon from the same motive². It is not impossible that the duke was the author of the measure, and that the prelate, foreseeing the consequences, engag-

Her affairs so managed that she is constrained to conclude a peace.

¹ Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Bernard. Mallogre. ² Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espernon. Duplex, Histoire de Louis XIII.

ed the queen-mother to conclude the treaty that had been so long negotiating, before things came to extremities. It was accordingly signed on the 7th of August^s; but the king dissembling any knowledge of it, ordered Pont de Ce to be attacked on the 8th, which was very ill defended by the duke of Retz^t; and with this action the war ended; for on the 9th the peace was proclaimed. The enemies of Richlieu say that he sacrificed the queen and her party to his ambition.

*Luynes
sacrifices
the interest
of France
to his own.*

By this treaty that of Angoulême was confirmed. Those who had taken arms for the queen were indulged with an amnesty upon laying them down, and continued in their posts, excepting such as the king had bestowed during the war. It was stipulated privately that the king should demand a cardinal's hat for the bishop of Lucon, and that prelate also promised his favourite niece to the nephew of the duke de Luynes. Their majesties had an interview at Brisac^u, where the queen seemed to be thoroughly reconciled. Lewis, charmed with the success of this expedition, and very desirous of putting an end to these confederacies, advanced in the month of September to Bourdeaux, in order to curtail the power of the duke of Mayenne. After having settled his authority in those parts, he marched into the principality of Bearn, to restore the church lands, and to establish the Catholic religion in a country where there were no Catholics, and at Navarins he caused mass to be said in his presence, fifty years after it had been abolished^w. If the marquis de la Force, who was governor of that province, had not trimmed at first, and tried to reconcile his interest and his conscience, all this might have been prevented by the assistance of the Protestants, who then held an assembly at Rochelle; but now there was no remedy. In order to pacify the minds of the people, and prevent an effusion of blood, they were promised the continuance of their privileges, and the preservation of their old form of government; but, as soon as the king found himself absolute master, he, by an edict, united the principality of Bearn to the crown of France, erected the chancery of Pau into a parliament, and by changing their former government, suppressed their privileges at once^x. In

* *Mercure François.*

† *Memoires du Duc de Rohan.*

^u *Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espèrnon, tom. ii. livr. viii. Dupl. Histoire de Louis XIII.*

^w *Bern. Hist. de Louis XIII.*

^x *Memoires de Bassompierre. Memoires du Duc de Rohan. P. Dan. Journal Historique de Louis XIII.*

order to fix this establishment, he left garrisons in most of the strong places, then returned to Bourdeaux, and, from thence repaired to Paris. Notwithstanding these great exploits, the assembly of the Protestants continued sitting at Rochelle, though they had been ordered to disperse, under pain of being declared rebels ^y. Monsieur de Cadenet, second brother to Luynes, had the staff of marshal of France ^z, the viscount d'Aubterre was likewise advanced to the same dignity, and had three hundred thousand livres given him, upon his surrendering the government of Blaye, which was bestowed on the favourite's brother. De Luynes undertook that no assistance should be given to the elector Palatine, who was lately become king of Bohemia; and several other steps were taken directly opposite to what was esteemed the true interest of France, from the same motives that had induced the court, the year before, to abandon the Arminian party in Holland.

A.D. 1620

As the assembly at Rochelle continued sitting, notwithstanding the king's repeated orders to dissolve, they were considered as rebels ^a, and the great object of the king's council was to devise ways and means for their utter destruction. According to the French historians in general, they drew this vengeance upon themselves, by throwing off the royal authority, establishing a sovereign council, dividing the provinces into circles, and establishing a republic agreeable to the genius of their religion in the heart of the monarchy ^b. This most certainly is a very proper picture of their conduct, supposing it drawn with a view, to justify the usage they met with; but, with the pencil of truth, we may describe it in very different colours. These Hugonots, republicans from the principles of their religion, had sacrificed their lives and fortunes to set Henry the Fourth upon the throne, and had even consented to his change of religion, that he might sit there in peace, by which they had merited a legal establishment, which they obtained by the edict of Nantes, carefully drawn, maturely considered, fortified by the royal authority, registered by the parliament of Paris, and, in short, rendered stable and authentic by every method the law could devise ^c.

Causes of the first civil war against the Protestants during this reign.

^y Histoire du Connestable de Lesdiguières.

^z Histoire du

Règne de Louis XIII. tom. iv. p. 155.

^a Mémoires de Ame-

lot de la Houffaye.

^b Mémoires Jaques de Chastenot, Sieur de

Puysegur.

^c Mémoires de M. Deageant. Gramond Historia

Gallix. Mémoires du Duc de Rohan.

The ministry had begun to sow discord among their chiefs, were endeavouring to bribe some, to menace others, and, under various pretences, were sapping the very foundations of their establishment, in consequence of Luynes's plan, to ingratiate himself with the clergy and the zealous Catholics.

Lefdiguieres is detached from the Protestants.

In order to accomplish this design of abasing, or rather of crushing the Hugonots, it was thought necessary to detach from their party the greatest man they had, who was, at the same time, the greatest man in France. This was the marshal duke de Lefdiguieres, who, from a volunteer, had raised himself by his valour and capacity to the first honours. The staff and the letters patent for duke and peer of France had been sent him, and now it was resolved to offer him the sword of constable, if he would qualify himself by embracing the tenets of the church of Rome. It was a nice and delicate commission; and Luynes, guided by better heads than his own, made choice for it, of one of the greatest masters of intrigue, the famous Deageant, who being clerk to Barbin, had undermined his master, contrived the ruin of d'Ancre, planned the greatness of Luynes, and was now alike hated and feared by him and all the ministers; yet so much esteemed by their master, that they durst not attempt his removal, but in this oblique manner in giving him a commission to which no other man was equal. He had always lived in confidence with Lefdiguieres; he knew the difficulty of the commission, and their motives for employing him; but he accepted it nevertheless. He told them that it was impossible for him to succeed, if the marshal suspected his errand, and this consideration obliged them to purchase for him the post of first president in the chamber of accounts at Grenoble, where Lefdiguieres resided in quality of governor of Dauphiné. Thither he went to take possession of his new employment, nor was it long before he accomplished the arduous affair with which he was charged. But by that time the views of the favourite were changed, and Bouillon, another instrument of his, was sent to incline Lefdiguieres to decline the very honour they had pressed upon him, that it might be given to Luynes: this negotiation was to have been a secret to Deageant, but the marshal consulted him upon it immediately, complained of ill usage, and threatened to resent it. Deageant, after aggravating the provocation, and observing that he also had cause to be displeased, told

told him that revenge was beneath a man of his character, whose merit set him above all honours; that, by asking the post of constable for Luynes, he would in reality bestow it, which was far greater than accepting it; and that by contenting himself with the office of marshal-de-camp-general, he would retain the power, and make it visible to the world, that the king had given his favourite a gilded scabbard, instead of a sword, which he could not wield. Lesdiguières took his advice, and, accepting the solid favours that were offered him, yielded a title to the favourite, which at once covered him with the envy of the court, and brought upon him first the suspicion, and then the hatred of the king^d, who was jealous of an authority he could not manage, and quickly hated those to whom he trusted it for his own ease.

On the second of April the duke de Luynes was, with great ceremony, installed constable of France; the scabbard of the pomel of the sword being adorned with jewels of the crown, to the value of thirty thousand crowns. His brother, who was already marshal of France, and just returned from his embassy into England, was made duke and peer of France, by his wife's title of Chaulnes; and his second brother, having married the heiress of that illustrious family, assumed the title of duke of Luxembourg. The king took the field in the beginning of May, accompanied by the new constable, the prince of Condé, the old count d'Auvergne, now duke of Angoulême, the count de Soissons, the marshals de Chaulnes, Roquelaure, du Pleffis Prassin, Lesdiguières, and St. Geran. The duke of Mayenne acted likewise under his orders, and the duke d'Espèrnon had already driven the marquis de la Force out of Bearn^e. Indeed the great operations were begun long before, by bribing, promising, threatening, and exciting jealousies amongst the principal officers of the Protestants, as if the whole force of France had been too little, unless they had assisted to reduce themselves. About the middle of the month the town and castle of Saumur, their most important pass upon the Loire, was seized. Monsieur du Pleffis Mornay making a scruple to resist the king^f, a multitude of other places were reduced, taken, and burnt. About the middle of June the king besieged St. Jean

*Luynes
made con-
stable of
France,
and dies
soon after.*

^d Mémoires de Bassompierre. Dupleix, Histoire de Louis XIII. Bernard Hist. de Louis XIII.

^e Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espèrnon. Dupleix, Histoire de Louis XIII. Le Grain.

Maling. ^f Mémoires du Duc de Rohan. Vie de du Pleffis Mornay. Mercure François.

d'Angeli in form; it was defended by monsieur Soubize, brother to the duke of Rohan, and made a glorious defence; but, after a siege of thirty-five days, it was forced to submit, and the king spared the garrison, though without a capitulation. The dukes of Bouillon and Tremouille, and monsieur Chatillon, deserted the Protestants on this occasion. Clerac was taken after a short siege, but vigorous defence; and, on the 17th of August, the king invested Montauban, persuaded that the loss of this place would break the spirits of the Protestants. His army consisted of twenty-five thousand men; the place was strong, had a numerous garrison, commanded by the marquis de la Force, who defended it with equal conduct and resolution. The siege was long and bloody. The king after having remained before it three months, was obliged to raise the siege, which cost the duke of Mayenne his life, with several other persons of distinction, and the new constable his reputation and his favour, which he did not long survive. The last stroke of his credit was the disgracing father Arnoux, and the last negotiation of consequence was an attempt to detach the duke of Rohan from the Protestant interest, in which he failed. The last great office he obtained was that of keeper of the seals, on the death of monsieur du Vair. The king, after the fatigues of a long and bloody campaign against his own subjects, which in every instance of this dispute, gave him convincing proofs that he was extirpating the bravest and best of his people, returned to Paris gloomy and dissatisfied; notwithstanding the acclamations of his courtiers, who would have persuaded him that he equalled Cæsar in courage and Cato in virtue. The priests and those in their interest besieged him so closely, that he would not listen to a general peace, but persisted in endeavouring to foment animosities amongst the Protestants, and to corrupt such as had no religion but their interest, and no views but for themselves. By degrees this spirit universally prevailed, and, instead of virtue, honour, and regard for the public good, nothing but cabal and intrigue was to be seen, even amongst those whose birth and rank ought to have taught them other paths to greatness.

The king entered Paris in the month of January, having left the command of the forces about Montauban to the duke of Angoulême, and the marshal de Them-

^g Memoires de Bassompierre. Bern. Hist. de Louis XIII. Le Grain. Le Gend. P. Henault.

mines^b. The cardinal de Retz and the count de Schomberg were at the head of affairs. The queen-mother had some degree of favour, but very little creditⁱ. The policy of the ministers at this time, except with regard to the Protestants, whom they hated heartily and persecuted furiously, was weak and full of duplicity: for while the king's ambassador, by his order, solicited at Rome a hat for the bishop of Lucon, the king himself informed the pontiff that he could not oblige him more than by refusing it. The prince of Condé, who loved money and power, solicited Retz and Schomberg to admit him as their companion, that they might form a triumvirate, which he thought no intrigue could break. In the depth of winter, marshal Themmines forced Bourniquet and Negrepelisse, but the inhabitants of the latter rose upon the garrison, and cut them off to a man^k. The duke d'Elbœuf defeated the marquis de la Force on the first of February, and, before the end of the month, the marquis de Lefignan, with a small body of Protestants, recovered Clerac; the marshal Lesdiguières and the duke de Montmorency were also in the field. The former, who still wore the appearance of a Protestant, and who had a real concern for the miseries of his country, made use of his interest at court to suggest pacific counsels, and, at the same time, insinuated, that the war was now carried on with such circumstances of rage and fury, as was rather fit to depopulate countries than to reduce them^l. The king caused this point to be debated in council, where the queen-mother, the chancellor de Silleri, the keeper of the seals, monsieur de Vie, and monsieur de Puiseux, argued very pathetically for peace. They were opposed by the prince of Condé, the cardinal de Retz, the duke de Guise, and the count de Schomberg, who insisted on the continuance of the war, in which they had all a visible interest.

A debate in the king's council, where those who were for continuing the war prevail.

The two circumstances that most affected the king were the death of the president du Croisse and the invasion of Poitou. The president had been sent by the duke de Lesdiguières to treat with the duke of Rohan, at Montpellier; he was first president of the parliament of Grenoble, a Protestant, and a person of great temper and moderation. The inhabitants of Montpellier, who placed all their hopes

The king defeats monsieur Soubize.

^b Bern. Hist. de Louis XIII. Le Grain. Le Gend. ⁱ Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Memoires de Puysegur. ^k Vittoria Siri. Memoires recondite. Memoires Historique & Critique, par Amelot de la Houffaye. ^l Hist. du Connestable de Lesdiguières. Dup. Hist. de Louis XIII.

in the duke of Rohan, who knew Lesdiguières had left them, and who suspected the president, surmised that, under colour of a treaty of peace, he was come to detach Rohan from their interests, and, in the heat of this imagination, forty of them entered into a conspiracy to murder him, a deed which they perpetrated in the most base and barbarous manner ^m. The duke of Rohan took all the pains imaginable to detect the offenders, but was able to seize no more than four, who were condemned and executed. The invasion of Poitou was made by M. Soubize, whom the king had treated with lenity at St. Jean d'Angeli. The forces he commanded were indigent; and, as it was not in his power to pay them, he could not prevent their plundering, which was attended with circumstances of violence and cruelty. The king, having assembled a small army of eight thousand foot and a thousand horse, marched directly towards him in the beginning of April, upon which Soubize retired into the isle of Rhé, with about seven thousand men, and fortified himself there in the best manner he was able ⁿ. This island was separated from the continent by a small arm of the sea, which was fordable at low-water, but with great hazard. The king, accompanied by the prince of Condé, the flower of the nobility, and the best officers in his service, attacked him in the night, forced his intrenchments, and obliged him to escape with about four hundred men by swimming. Of his troops about fifteen hundred were killed, as many taken prisoners and sent to the galleys, the rest were knocked on the head by the peasants. The courage and conduct of the king upon this occasion are highly magnified by Bassompierre.

*General
peace con-
cluded.*

In the beginning of May, the duke d'Elbœuf besieged Tomeins, which had been taken by the marquis de la Force, who twice attempted to relieve it in the space of forty days that it was defended. When taken it was burnt to ashes, in revenge for the blood that had been spilt in reducing it. Roan was taken in sixty days by marshal Vitri and the duke d'Espèron, but with considerable loss. The marquis de la Force had thrown himself into the town of St. Foix. When summoned he declared he would surrender only to the king, which he did upon very favourable terms for the inhabitants; we may guess at the importance of his submission by the reward of it. He received from

^m Mémoires de Bassompierre. Mémoires du Duc de Rohan. Bern. Hist. de Louis XIII. ⁿ Gramond Hist. Gallie. Hist. du Lesdiguières. Mémoires de Puysegur.

Lewis the staff of marshal of France, and two hundred thousand crowns in money, in consideration of the government of Bearn, which he had lost^o. This liberality had its effect; some of the greatest lords amongst the Hugonots, particularly the duke of Sully, came in and rendered the places they had. Negrepelisse was attacked in the beginning of June by the prince of Condé. It was resolved to make an example of the place and of the people. The inhabitants, when summoned, refused to accept of any terms: they sold their lives very dear, but at length it was forced, and the inhabitants, without respect of rank, sex, or age, except ten men, were put to the sword. When they were brought into king's presence, he told them they did not deserve mercy; they answered they would not receive it; that the only favour they asked was to be hanged upon the trees in their own gardens, a request which was granted, and the place reduced to ashes^p. The town of St. Antoinin was obstinately defended for twelve days, and at length taken by storm, but it cost the lives of a great number of gallant officers. The count de Soissons was sent, towards the close of the month of June, to form the blockade of Rochelle. In July and August several places were taken by the king, the prince of Condé, and the duke of Vendosme; but in September the king's forces were obliged to raise the siege of Briteste, a miscarriage which did not hinder the king's being prevailed upon to besiege Montpellier, notwithstanding the inhabitants offered to admit the duke de Lefdiguieres. The prince, ever desirous of command, and ever unfortunate, here lost his credit and the king's troops. There fell before the place the young duke de Fronzac, messieurs Beuvron, Canillac, Zamet, Senecei, Fabrigues, St. Brez, Luffan, and Monbrun. We may from this specimen guess at the miserable consequences of this war; to put an end to which, and to obtain an entrance into Montpellier, a general treaty was concluded with the duke of Rohan^q, by which the edict of Nantes was confirmed: considering the sad events of the war, and the want of any resource, he obtained good terms for his party, with some advantage to himself; but, as this success was owing to his credit with the chancellor and monsieur Puiseux, he lost all interest at court when they were disgraced.

^o Memoires de Bassompierre. Bern. Hist. de Louis XIII. Malin. Le Gend. ^p Memoires de Duc de Rohan. Memoires de Puysegur. Dup. Hist. de Louis XIII. ^q Memoires de Duc de Rohan.

*The king
visits several
pro-
vinces and
returns to
Paris.*

By the conclusion of this peace it appeared that the prince of Condé had lost his credit. He was displeased at the giving the marshal's staff to the marquis de la Force, much more disturbed at the bestowing the constable's staff upon Lesdiguières, he could not bear to see the seals given to Commartin, but the peace so chagrined him, that he resolved to make a tour into Italy, being no longer able to support himself after the death of the cardinal de Retz. The bishop of Lucon at last received his hat, and is henceforward to be styled cardinal Richelieu. The see of Paris was this year raised to the rank of an archbishoprick by Gregory the Fifteenth, the bishops of Chartres, Meaux, and Orleans, being appointed his suffragans^r. Besides the marquis de la Force, Charles de Crequi, who married successively two daughters of the constable Lesdiguières, Gaspard de Coligni, the sieur de Chatillon, grandson to the famous admiral, and the gallant Francis de Bassompierre, were declared marshals of France^s. The king made a public entry into Montpellier, Arles, Lyons, and Avignon, and, after passing part of the winter in the provinces, returned, at the close of the year, to Paris, where he was welcomed as a conqueror, though he came from the slaughter and destruction of his own subjects^t.

*Quarrels
among the
ministers
gradually
ruin them
all.*

The conclusion of the war, made way for disturbance and intrigue. The Protestants began again to murmur; for the chancellor and Puisieux, being warm Catholics, and having a strong bias in favour of Spain, were for tampering with the treaty of Montpellier, and trying to render the operations of peace, though more silently, yet not less destructive than those of war. The wise duke of Rohan, endeavouring to oppose this infraction, was arrested at Montpellier, but, being equally able to do himself justice with his pen and with his sword, the king disavowed his ministers, and things were for a short time set to rights, though nothing was done towards a radical cure^u. The queen-mother entered the privy-council, upon condition that her cardinal should not, a stipulation which, from his temper, it will be easily conceived he could not bear. But it does not appear that he made any great efforts to force a passage into the council, believing that, as things then stood, and as the ministers and favourites were continually thwarting and exposing each other, it could not be long

^r Aubert Hist. du Cardinal Richelieu.
Louis XIII.

^t Mémoires de Bassompierre.

^s Bern. Hist. de

^u Dup.

Hist. de Louis XIII. Bern. Hist. de Louis XIII. Mémoires du Duc de Rohan. Mercure François.

before the embarrassed state of affairs would oblige the king and his ministers to court his assistance, which hitherto, out of prejudice or envy, they had declined *. In the conduct of foreign affairs, and perhaps in the management of the finances, the ministers acted upon a plan more suitable to their own interests than to those of their master. Instead of taking advantage of the troubles in Germany, where they might have employed the Protestants in support of the king of Bohemia, and prevented thereby the union of that kingdom to the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, they suffered the emperor to overwhelm the Bohemian monarch, and not only strip him of that country, but to deprive him also of his hereditary dominions, and even of his title of elector. They took no pains to undeceive king James, but suffered him to persist in his idle and ill-judged scheme of a Spanish marriage, which, if it had taken effect, would scarce have been more prejudicial to his own interest than to their's; nay, they fell directly into the same error, and, either through the fear of provoking, or the desire of obliging Spain, acted an under and inconsistent part in Italy. This year was fatal to the marshal duke de Bouillon, the marshal de St. Geran, and the famous Peter Jeanin, president of the parliament of Burgundy, which last died at the age of eighty-four years †.

A.D. 1623.

Upon the death of Commartin, keeper of the seals, the king restored them to the chancellor de Sillery, who, with his son monsieur de Puisieux, secretary of state, continued to manage all things in conjunction with the marquis, afterwards duke de Vieuville, whom they had raised to the direction of the finances, in the room of the count de Schomberg, who had been their enemy, and to whom they were no friends ‡. The gratitude of Vieuville, if he ever had any, did not subsist long; he began to give the king ill impressions of many people about him, but chiefly of the chancellor and his son: with respect to the former, amongst the mildest of his suggestions, were his infirmities and incapacity; in reference to the latter, he objected his presumption, and his sending instructions to ambassadors at foreign courts, often without the advice of the council, sometimes without speaking to his majesty, and other things, which, by degrees, sunk into the king's mind. As a proof of these impressions, he gave the seals to monsieur

The chancellor, his son, and monsieur de Vieuville, disgraced.

* Auberi Hist. du Cardinal Richlieu. Memoires de Bassompierre.

† Mercure François. Le Grain. Malin. Le Gend. ‡ Dup. Hist. de Louis XIII. Bern. Hist. de Louis XIII.

Aligre, at the beginning of the year; soon after he gave audiences to foreign ministers, when mons. de Puisieux was not present^z. This was such a mark of that family's declining, as encouraged all their enemies to communicate their sentiments to the king: amongst these was the queen-mother; and the prince of Condé, now returned from Italy, who, though they could concur in nothing else, agreed well enough in running down the chancellor and his son: the queen disliked them for not allowing her a larger share of power; the prince of Condé hated them for the same reason, but chiefly because they had advised the peace, by which he lost his influence. At length, in the month of February, the king sent them a message to retire from court, adding, that he had received many accusations against them, into which he was unwilling to inquire; that they might justify themselves if they pleased, but at their peril. The chancellor, old and worn out, submitted without reply; but monsieur Puisieux answered, the accusations were calumnies, and that he was both able and willing to defend himself: however they both retired^a. The departments of war and of foreign affairs, both of which had been in the hands of Puisieux, were, for the present, divided amongst three secretaries. The king's cabinet council consisted at this time of the cardinal de la Rochefoucault, the constable de Lesdiguières, the keeper of the seals Aligre, the duke de Vicuville, sur-intendant of the finances, and monsieur de Bouillon^b. The queen-mother laid hold of this opportunity to press the admission of Richelieu into the council, to which Vicuville was extremely averse; but the queen-mother, to whom he had great obligations, being very importunate, he told her that she did not know the man, and that he foresaw his own ruin, and feared her's; but that, as she contributed to his fortune, he would risk it rather than lose her favour^c. The king himself was little inclined to it, and declared that he admitted him only as a member who was to speak his sentiments of what came before the council, and who was not to confer with ambassadors, or transact any other business as a minister at his own house^d. The cardinal, in accepting this limitation, converted it into a fa-

^z *Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Memoires de Bassompierre.*

^a *Bern. Hist. de Louis XIII. Memoires de Bassompierre.* ^b *Mer-*
cure François. Dug. Hist. de Louis XIII. ^c *Hist. du Regne*

de Louis XIII. tom. v. p. 343, 344. ^d *Memoires pour l'Hist.*
du Cardinal de Richieu. Memoires de Deageant.

vour; he told his friends that the weakness of his constitution rendered him unfit for the load of public business, which had induced his majesty to render it as easy to him as possible, by annexing a condition for which he was more grateful than for the honour of entering into the council. This, however, was no small honour, since, in virtue of his ecclesiastical dignity, he was seated over against the cardinal de Rochefoucault, and above the constable, though the secretaries had formerly disputed with him the precedence^z.

A treaty of marriage had been some time depending between Charles prince of Wales and the princess Henrietta Maria, the youngest sister of the king. The earls of Holland and Carlisle were sent over ambassadors from England upon this occasion. Notwithstanding the limitation before mentioned, the nature of the thing made it requisite to put the cardinal at the head of the committee of council who were to manage this alliance, and the great address he shewed in conducting this affair, which was violently opposed by the court of Rome, placed him at the head of the administration^a. Vieuville had long affected that post, and, by endeavouring either to ruin or remove such as he disliked, excited such a number of complaints, that the cardinal found it no difficult matter to dispossess him of the king's favour, and even to send him prisoner to the castle of Amboise^b. On his disgrace Marillac came into the direction of the finances; but the cardinal took care to have such a distinct account of all their departments, that the lesser ministers had it not in their power to conduct things at their pleasure, or to dispute the orders of the cardinal^c, any more than of the king. Though he disgraced his rivals, or rather procured their disgrace, he paid a proper regard to the merit of their plans, and on this score he adopted that of Luynes for the suppression of the Protestants, provoking them, by the breach of several articles of the last treaty, to take up arms, that they might be said to bring the war upon themselves. From the like motive he pursued the measures which Vieuville had begun, for giving a new turn to the affairs of Italy, where, though a treaty had been entered into with the Venetians and the duke of Savoy for abas-

Cardinal Richelieu, once introduced, soon comes to be at the head of the council.

^z Auberi Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu. Bernard. ^a Memoires de Deageant. Le Grain. ^b Memoires du Duc de Rohan. ^c Memoires de Bassompierre. Memoires de Deageant.

ing the power of the Spaniards, yet hitherto nothing had been done towards carrying it into execution: but Richelieu no sooner entered into power, than he sent the marquis de Cœuvres, with the title of ambassador-extraordinary, to the Grisons, where, instead of negotiating, he put himself at the head of an army, and, expelling the pope's troops, made himself master of the Valteline^d. This transaction occasioned some warm expostulations at Rome, which, however, made no impression upon Richelieu, who roundly told the nuncio that he had the character of the king's minister, as well as a prince of the church, and that he meant to support both; it produced as strong expostulations on the side of the Spaniards; but the cardinal having concluded a treaty of subsidy with the States-general, and knowing how well the English were disposed to enter into a league against Spain, was as little moved by them. At home, the old chancellor dying in October, the seals were given to Aligre. The king being upon ill terms with his consort, and extremely jealous of his brother, found it necessary to live in perfect harmony with the queen-mother, so that the cardinal was safe from all intrigues in appearance, and, it may be, in his own opinion; but this calm did not continue long.

A.D. 1624.

*Charles I.
of England
marries the
princess
Henrietta
Maria of
France.*

As the prudence and political skill of the minister had been exercised in the preceding year, so his courage and diligence were employed in this, both by a civil and a foreign war. Mean while, the marriage between the prince of Wales and the princess Henrietta Maria, was celebrated with great pomp, on the 11th of May, the nuptial benediction being given by cardinal de Rochefoucault, the duke de Chevreuse being proxy for Charles, now become king of England^e. Her Britannic majesty quitted that city soon after, and was conducted by the court to Amiens, where she was met by Buckingham, the king's great confidant, who, upon this occasion behaved so imprudently, as to incur the deep resentment of cardinal Richelieu, and the general hatred of the French nation^f.

If we credit the French historians, the second war with the Protestants in this reign was begun by monsieur de Soubise, even without the concurrence of his own party, in contempt of the royal authority, and in a time of full

^d Anberi Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu. Dupl. Histoire de Louis XIII. ^e Mercure François. Bernard Histoire de Louis XIII. Le Grain. Malingre. ^f Dupleix Histoire de Louis XIII.

peace. The truth of the matter is this; by the treaty of Montpelier that town was to be left free, and Rochelle in the same condition as before the war; but, notwithstanding this article, a garrison had been hitherto left in the former, and Fort Lewis, which had been erected during the war, had a strong garrison left in it to curb the latter^g. But the immediate cause of the second rupture was the equipping a squadron of the king's ships, in the port of Blovet, now l'Orient, in order to block up Rochelle; in this critical situation monsieur de Soubise offered with a few ships to enter that port, take or destroy the vessels that he found there, and ruin the magazines prepared for their destruction. He consented, in case he miscarried, to be disowned, chusing rather certain ruin to himself than to hazard the Protestant interest. His enterprize was betrayed; he executed it notwithstanding. He entered the port, took the ships, and, after being blocked up there many weeks, with the advantage of a strong wind forced a passage, and carried out his own squadron and his prizes, except two that were lost^h. His brother the duke of Rohan soon after took up armsⁱ, and the war was carried on with great vivacity, though the best part of the Protestants were afraid to own the cause of the two brothers, who from thence were exposed to many misfortunes. About the middle of September the maritime powers being then in alliance with France, the duke de Montmorency, with a fleet composed of French, English, and Dutch ships, attacked that of Rochelle, and defeated them, not without great loss, after which he reduced the islands of Rhé and Oleron^k. However, the clamours of the English nation having obliged king Charles to promise succour to the Rochellers, the earl of Holland and Sir Dudley Carleton were sent over to mediate a peace, which had been already granted to the rest of the Reformed. They succeeded in this negociation, and the king of Great Britain, by the consent of Lewis the Thirteenth, became guarantee for the performance of it, of which the principal article was, that Fort Lewis should be demolished in six months; so that, notwithstanding their losses by the war, the Protestants were gainers by the peace^l.

The second war with the Protestants in this reign ended by the peace of Rochelle.

As to the war in Italy, the constable Lesdiguières, and his son the marshal Crequi, carried it on in quality of

Treaty of Moncon.

^g Dupleix Histoire de Louis XIII. Le Grain. Malingre.

^h Gramond Histor. Gallia.

ⁱ Mémoires du Duc de Rohan.

^k Mémoires de Puysegur.

^l Clarendon's History of the Rebellion.

auxiliaries to the duke of Savoy, in shew against the Genoese, in fact against the Spaniards, at first with great success, afterwards with some loss; but the Spaniards, entering Piedmont, and besieging Verue, were forced to raise it, and the army of the duke of Feria was defeated in its retreat. The Spanish court caused all the French vessels in the harbours of its dominions to be seized, and all the goods belonging to French subjects, in the month of April; and in May Lewis the Thirteenth caused the ships and effects of all Spanish subjects to be seized in his dominions. The pope sent cardinal Barberini to prevent a rupture between the two crowns, to which they were well enough inclined; and, in the spring of the succeeding year, there was a treaty concluded at Moncon, but without the interposition of the legate, by which the sovereignty of the Valteline was secured to the Grisons, the passes were left to their disposition, and the exercise of the popish religion exclusively was established, which terms were not so favourable to France and her allies, as those of the former treaty; but the situation of things made a peace at that time necessary. Within the course of this year the marshal's staff was given to Henry count de Schomberg^m, a man of great abilities in civil and military affairs, who had been employed in many embassies with credit, who had served as master of the ordnance, and as sur-intendant of the finances, and who was equally capable of deciding in the cabinet and commanding in the field.

A D. 1625.

*The cause
of Lewis
XIII's
jealousy of
his only
brother.*

As the cardinal had incurred the hatred of all the zealous Catholics, and of the partizans of Spain, by entering into the war of Italy, so, by the conclusion of the peace before mentioned, he exasperated the allies of France, and raised up many new enemies, without recovering any of those whom he sought to oblige. In reality there never was a court in which men were more attached to their interests and their vices, or had less tincture of honour, virtue, and religion, than this. The king had been very early jealous of his brother, and that from the meanest principle possible, the apprehension of superior parts, accompanied with a most engaging and affable behaviour, and supported by noble and generous sentiments. The sieur de Breves, his governorⁿ, was removed without any reason given, there being no colour to be assign-

^m Dupl. Histoire de Louis XIII.
memoire recondate. Memoires de Bassompierre.
de Louis XIII.

ⁿ Vittorio Siri Memoire recondate. Bernard Histoire

ed; and the true reason who could give? He had a gratification of fifty thousand crowns, and Luynes, who was then the favourite, placed about him his own old master the count de Lude, who quickly tainted his pupil with the love of pleasure, and, among other unprincely qualities, taught him to swear. On the death of that nobleman he was committed to the care of colonel Ornano, who, instead of taking any pains to efface the ill impression made by his predecessor, acquired an influence over him, by a condescension fatal to persons of his rank*. To gratify his own ambition, he put him upon demanding entrance into the council of state when he was scarce sixteen, and it was for this presumption that Vieuville caused Ornano to be arrested. Monsieur expressed great concern; and when Richelieu entered into the ministry he caused him to be set at liberty, and restored to his office; notwithstanding which favour, Ornano now set the duke at the head of a party, into which all the cardinal's enemies entered, and certainly meditated very bad designs. The pretence, for it was no more, was an opposition to his marriage.

His father, Henry the Fourth, upon the death of the duke of Montpensier, who left an only daughter, had expressed a desire, that, if his son lived, he should marry her, as a princess of the blood, and one of the greatest heiresses in France. The queen-mother had this match always in view; the cardinal minister promoted it for that reason; the duke of Guise, who had married the duchess-dowager of Montpensier, was very desirous of it likewise. The cabal formed against it acted only from motives of interest and ambition. At the head of it was the queen, afraid of seeing the issue of that marriage when she had none of her own: the duke of Savoy went into this opposition, out of resentment to the late peace, and offered Monsieur, secretly, by the abbé Scaglia his ambassador, the young princess of Mantua, his grand-daughter. The prince of Condé and the count de Soissons were vehemently against it, from the common motive of its removing them farther from the succession; the duke of Vendosme, and his brother the grand prior, from their hatred of the cardinal minister; and many others from the same principle. The king himself, from the natural jealousy of his temper, was at first little inclined to it; but his favourite, Barradas, having hinted, that there was a

Who becomes the head of a faction against the cardinal, who ruins it.

* Memoires de Deageant. Memoires du Duc de Rohan.

faction formed, which had in view the shutting him up in a monastery, placing his brother on the throne, and marrying him to the queen, he changed his opinion, and became very warm in favour of the princefs of Montpensier^p. In order to engage Ornano to employ his influence with Monsieur, he was promised the staff of marshal of France; and this promise giving his pupil a fair occasion, he pressed the performance of it so vehemently, that it was granted him in the beginning of April^q. Nevertheless, he entered into the scheme formed by the abbé Scaglia to murder the cardinal at a hunting match, which was prevented by the information of Henry de Tallerande, count of Chalais, master of the wardrobe to the king, who was drawn into it by his mistress the duchess of Chevreuse. The cardinal avoided the danger, and concealed the intelligence^r. Soon after marshal de Ornano was arrested and sent to the Bastile, a step which irritated Monsieur extremely. He demanded of cardinal Richelieu whether it was done by his advice? "Yes, Sir," answered the cardinal, "I was one of those who advised it^s." He put the same question to the chancellor, who, through want of courage, denied it, upon which the seals were immediately taken from him, and given to Marillac, a creature of the queen-mother. Monsieur, by the advice of his confederates, and particularly of the count of Chalais, whom the duchess had again engaged, formed a new design of seizing the person of the cardinal, and exchanging him for the marshal de Ornano; but this likewise proved abortive. The king making a journey to Blois, and leaving Richelieu behind, an opinion prevailed that he was disgraced; but this was only a feint to draw the duke of Vendosme thither, who, with his brother the grand prior, was arrested and sent prisoner to the castle of Vincennes. The count de Chalais was likewise seized, Deageant, Modena, and some others were sent to the Bastile, upon which the count de Soissons withdrew from court, and soon after retired into Italy^t.

Monsieur being left to himself, and the princefs of Montpensier, coming to join the court at Nantes, he ei-

^p Vittorio Siri *Memoire recon dite*. *Memoires de Deageant*. *Memoires du Duc de Rohan*. Auberi *Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu*. *Memoires de M. de la Rochefoucault*. ^q Dupl. *Histoire de Louis XIII*.

^r Auberi *Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu*. ^s *Memoires du Duc de Rohan*. Vittorio Siri *Memoire recon dite*. *Memoires de Bassompierre*.

^t *Memoires de Deageant*. *Memoires de Bassompierre*.

ther conceived a sudden passion for her, or thought to mollify his brother by his marriage, which he concluded privately; on the 6th of August, cardinal Richelieu giving the nuptial benediction". In respect to himself, it had very good effects; the duchies of Orleans and Chartres, and the county of Blois, were settled upon him as his appenage; the princess brought him the duchies of Montpensier and Chattellerault, and he had also very considerable pensions assigned on the treasury". But with respect to his friends, it wrought no such favourable operations as he expected. A special commission was appointed for the trial of the count de Chalais, by which he was condemned as guilty of high treason, for having advised Monsieur to retire out of his brother's dominions, though he himself was in the king's immediate service. Chalais, either through hopes of life, or weakness of mind, or to unburthen his conscience, made a very ample confession, which availed him nothing, for he lost his head, and died with great steadiness and constancy*. Marshal Ornano would have probably shared the same fate, if he had not died of a fever and retention of urine in the Bastile†. The enemies of Richelieu say, that, as he was enamoured of the duchess of Chevreuse, he gave a loose to his resentment on this occasion; that, by giving Chalais false hopes, he drew him to confess what he would, and then abandoned him to his sentence; and that his intrigues in the course of this affair were as inexcusable as the conduct of the conspirators. Be that as it will, he turned the storm his enemies had raised, upon themselves; established himself more firmly than ever in his administration; created an opinion in the king that his power was absolutely requisite to his majesty's preservation, and procured, for the safety of his own person, a new and very singular prerogative, by having guards assigned him, who accompanied him every where, even when he went to court‡.

The dissipation of this conspiracy did not hinder its having very untoward consequences. The duchess de Chevreuse, the widow of the constable Luynes, for whom the king had once a strong affection, and who, after she was hated by him, had an absolute influence over his queen, retired into Lorraine, and set on foot fresh intrigues§. The

He marries the princess of Montpensier, but his favourites suffer notwithstanding.

A quarrel with England, death of Lesdiguières, and assembly of Notables.

u Auberi Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu. w Dupleix. Hist. de Louis XIII. Bernard Histoire de Louis XIII. Le Gend.
x Memoires de Bassompierre. Vittorio Siri Memoire recon dite.
y Memoires du Duc de Rohan. z Auberi Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu. a Dupl. Histoire de Louis XIII.

count de Soissons was not idle at Rome ; but the person who did the most mischief was the abbé Scaglia, whom his master the duke of Savoy sent over into England, where he wrought himself into the good graces of the duke of Buckingham, and induced him to prevail upon the king his master to send home all his consort's French servants, except the chaplain ; a step which produced such a misunderstanding between the courts, as obliged Lewis XIII. to send over marshal Bassompierre to negotiate a reconciliation^b. This active and artful Italian, bent upon exciting a war between the two nations, induced the same English favourite to enter into a strict correspondence with the duke of Rohan ; and the fair pretence of his Britannic majesty's being guarantee of the last treaty with the Protestants, gave him such hopes as proved the source of fresh troubles^c. Several persons of great rank died this year, particularly the constable Lesdiguières, who, if he had not sullied his many great qualities by as great vices, might have been very justly considered as one of the most illustrious and fortunate persons this kingdom ever produced. The marshals de Roquelaure, du Plessis Praslin, and Souvre, died likewise^d. Towards the end of the year there was an assembly of the Notables held at the Thuilleries, from whence, though great things were expected, yet very little was produced, except an edict against duels, by which the offenders were degraded from their nobility. The government of Bretagne being taken from the duke of Vendosme, was, by the advice of Richelieu, conferred on the marshal de Themmines ; a measure which was thought so much the more extraordinary, as his son had killed the cardinal's brother^e.

The cardinal runs great hazard by venturing to change his political system.

The king being informed of the bad state of his marine, and, at the same time, unwilling to aggrandize the duke of Montmorency, who was at that time admiral, obtained his resignation of that high office for an equivalent, and then suppressed it, as he likewise did that of constable, by an edict at the beginning of the year. It was never intended to revive the latter ; but the affairs of the marine were immediately committed to cardinal Richelieu, who, some months after, had in effect the power of admiral conferred upon him, with the title of grand-master and

^b *Memoires du Duc de Rohan.* Rushworth's Collection, tom. i. p. 423. ^c *Bernard Histoire de Louis XIII.* ^d *Dupleix Histoire de Louis XIII.* ^e *Auberi Hist. du Cardinal Richelieu.*

sur-intendant of navigation^f, calculated to lessen the envy of this new dignity, without diminution of his power. Another effect of his influence was the disgrace of Barradas, the king's favourite, who began to presume too much on his master's inclination towards him; but, because he could not be without a favourite, St. Simon was introduced in his room. As the former had enjoyed his favour but six months, the fortune of Barradas is become proverbial in France for a short-lived prosperity. It was likewise found convenient for the court to change, or at least to seem to change, its maxims. Cardinal Richelieu, from the time he entered into the administration, had two great points in view, the humbling the Protestants, and ruining the power of the house of Austria; and he persisted firmly in the execution of both parts of his scheme, until he brought them to bear. He intended to begin with reducing the power of the house of Austria, which had been neglected by Luynes, from personal considerations: it was become highly formidable to France, as the emperor aimed at an absolute sovereignty in Germany, at the same time that the king of Spain was on the very point of completing the like design in Italy. The attempt promised success, because the princes in Germany, in Italy, the crown of Great Britain, and the republic of Holland, were very well disposed to enter into a league with France for this purpose. The cardinal, therefore, like an able politician, resolved to avail himself of these advantages, and began to do it vigorously, by sending the marquis de Cœuvres to recover the Valteline, and assisting the duke of Savoy.

But when he found that, in consequence of these steps, the court of Rome took the alarm, and began to treat him as a heretic, or at least as a friend to heretics; and that this treatment gave great spirits to the remainder of the Spanish faction in France, he thought it requisite to alter his conduct, as to the manner of executing his projects, though not as to the projects themselves. He had before endeavoured to cajole the Protestants, by insinuating his inclination to curb the power of Spain; he now gave the emissaries of Rome and Spain to understand that they should proceed, though more slowly, yet more surely, against the Hugonots, under a shew of peace than in a time of war; and if he abandoned the duke of Savoy, it

This matter fully explained.

^f Memoires de Bassompierre. Aubert Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu.

was to save the Valteline, which he thought absolutely necessary, to preserve things in the situation they were in, till he should be in a condition to execute the other part of his plan. He certainly executed his scheme with all the prudence imaginable; but found as much danger in this sudden transition as in adhering to his former plan^a. The Spaniards did not in the least abate of their suspicions; the duke of Savoy was equally violent and implacable in his resentments; the English, with good reason, charged him with insincerity, as having given them hopes, and, it may be, assurances, of joining with them against Spain; the princes of Germany were no less offended, as being disappointed in the hopes they had entertained of a general confederacy, which was negotiating at the Hague, and which proved ineffectual, from this change in the cardinal's measures: but above all, the Protestants in France were most alarmed, and with most reason. They saw many of their cautionary places taken from them, popish magistrates introduced in most of their great towns, a citadel building at Montpellier, and the port of Rochelle in a manner blocked up by the fort of St. Lewis, and by the garrison in the isle of Oleron, in which the fortifications were erected, and the garrison paid at the cardinal's own expence^b.

*Source of
the war
with Eng-
land and
the Pro-
testants in
his own
dominions.*

We have before observed, that, by the advice of the duke of Buckingham, who governed all in the English court, overtures had been made to the Protestants in France of assistance from England. These were made through the duke of Soubise, who then lived an exile there, and, as it was very natural, were made by him to his brother the duke of Rohan, who declined a correspondence with the duke of Buckingham, as it might have proved dangerous to him, considering that his own court held him in continual suspicion; but he sent over mons. St. Blancard to lay before the English court the state of their affairs, and afterwards received an agent from the duke of Buckingham, with whom he consulted every thing^c. The English agent, if we may depend upon the duke of Rohan, promised more than it was possible to perform; for he gave him hopes of three invasions, one in Dauphiné, one at Rochelle, and another at the mouth of the Garonne: on the other hand, the duke of Rohan pro-

^a Dupleix Histoire de Louis XIII. Bernard Histoire de Louis XIII. Aubert Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu. ^b Memoires du Duc de Rohan. ^c Memoires de Bassompierre. Rushworth's Collection, tom. i. p. 424.

raised to join the English with a considerable body of troops as soon as they were landed; and there is good reason to believe that the English court understood that the duke of Rohan treated for the whole Protestant interest in France^k. In consequence of this negociation, the English began to seize and take French ships; and the duke of Buckingham, framing to himself an idea of making some impression upon that court by talking high, came over in quality of ambassador; but, whatever his notions were in this respect, he found himself much mistaken, returned full of resentment^l, and the court of France having made reprisals, a rupture presently followed, though without the usual formality of declarations^m. The French attribute this conduct of Buckingham to his passion for the first lady in the French court, in the first place, and in the next to his violent aversion to the cardinal, of which there is no doubt: but it may not be amiss to observe, that there was something more, and the duke's conduct was not quite so extravagant as it is generally represented. We have seen that, at the time of king Charles's marriage with the sister of Lewis XIII. the first public transaction of Richelieu's ministry, and in which he acted with so much vigour as to threaten the court of Rome to proceed without a dispensation if they continued to delay it, there was all along a tacit presumption that France would concur with England in the war against Spain, and, upon the cardinal's suggesting that it was impossible for him to take this measure, if the people of Rochelle were not obliged to accept a peace, Buckingham was drawn in to send some of his master's ships to the assistance of the French; a measure which raised the spirit of the whole English nation against him, and was made one of the principal grounds of an impeachment. In consequence of this dissatisfaction, Buckingham, like Richelieu, changed his plan, and urged the French court to conclude a reasonable peace with the Rochellers, and became security to them for its performance, in case they accepted it: but after they had accepted it, and he found that France would neither concur with England in carrying on the war against Spain, nor perform the treaty with the Protestants, Buckingham had no other way left, more especially after the miscarriage of the fleet he sent against Cadiz, of making his

^k *Memoires du Duc de Rohan.* Rushworth's Collection, tom. i.

^l *Memoires du Duc de Rohan*, livr. iv. ^m *Dupleix Histoire de Louis XIII.*

peace with the English nation, but to break, as he did, with the French court, in support of the French Protestants; and it was not so much a mistake in his measures, as his misconduct in the execution of them, that ruined this favourite¹. The cardinal, on the other hand, ever present to himself, and equal in all respects to the vast designs he had formed, laid hold of this opportunity to conclude a treaty with Spain^m against the English, by which he brought the Spanish faction in France to act with him. At the same time he concluded another treaty with Holland, by which he granted them an annual subsidy of a million for the support of their war against Spainⁿ. When the Spaniards represented against this, he told them, that it was only to prevent their giving assistance to England and to the Rochellers; whereas he meant it as a temporary assistance, till he had brought affairs into such order as would enable him to make use of their alliance for the other parts of his plan.

Death of the duchess of Orleans (Montpensier) and the consequences to the state.

In the midst of these political intrigues, the duchess of Orleans, after being delivered, on the 29th of May, of a daughter, died on the 4th of June following, which was an event of very great consequence^o. The duke, after his marriage, loved his consort with so warm and so steady an affection, and she behaved so prudently, that, instead of those jealousies and disquiets which hitherto had disturbed and distracted the royal family, all was perfectly quiet and serene: but with her this peace might be said to expire. The king's old humours revived: he could not forbear expressing an indecent satisfaction, that the child was a daughter, and not a son, with which circumstance also the queen seemed pleased^p. Hints were given to the duke of Orleans's favourites that they should spare no pains to amuse and divert him, and that, if any extraordinary sums were necessary to enliven his pleasures, they should be supplied. The cardinal, in order to contribute to this design, parted with his house at Limours to him; and it was besides intimated to the queen-mother, that she should not disturb herself too much with the thoughts of finding another consort for her son, an advice she could not either relish or excuse: but, to shew how little strength there is

¹ Vitt. Siri *Memoire recon dite*. *Memoirs de Bassompierre*. Lord Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*.

^m Dupleix *Hist. de Louis XIII.* ⁿ Aub. *Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu*. Bernard *Histoire de Louis XIII.*

^o *Memoires de Bassompierre*. *Memoires du Duc de Rohan*. *Memoires de Deageant*. *Mercur* François. ^p Vitt. Siri *Histoire de Louis XIII.*

in the best-laid schemes, these precautions were scarce conceived before it was found necessary to lay them aside. The king fell dangerously ill^a, and the news coming of the English invasion, it from thence became requisite to put the duke of Orleans at the head of the army, a measure to which the minister was little inclined, and which, however, he knew not how to avoid. The dukes of Buckingham and Rohan might have derived from hence, and from other circumstances, considerable advantages, if their schemes had been better conducted; but they were either so ill concerted, or were attended with such a series of inevitable misfortunes, as put it out of their power to draw any advantage from an armament very puissant in itself, which had been furnished by the crown of England at an immense expence.

The duke came before Rochelle on the 20th of July, with a fleet of upwards of one hundred sail of men of war and transports, and between seven and eight thousand land forces on board^r. But, to his surprize, the people of Rochelle shut their gates and their port against him, taking all possible precautions to prevent his sending so much as a messenger into the place^s. The duke of Rohan says expressly, that the mayor and principal magistrates were in the interest of the court; but, whatever the cause of it might be, the fleet proved equally fatal to the Rochellers and to himself. The consort of the duke of Rohan and his mother, having fled to Rochelle for shelter, found means, with great difficulty, to bring in monsieur Soubise, who came over with Buckingham, and he at last prevailed for the admission of sir William Beecher, the agent of that duke, to declare to them the end and design of his coming. He told them that the king of Great Britain, having induced them to make a peace on the strongest assurances of liberty and security, being informed that they had neither; that they were in danger of being blocked up, and knew not how to prevent it, or to defend themselves; and having, in vain, endeavoured to procure the advantages stipulated for them, by the treaty, through the interposition of his good offices with the court of France, had sent the lord high admiral of England to effect by force what had been denied him in quality of ambassador. The magistrates and people of Rochelle returned their thanks to his Britannic majesty for his care

Duke of Buckingham comes before Rochelle with a powerful fleet and army.

^a Dup. Hist. de Louis XIII. vol. i. p. 425.

^r Rushworth's Collection, ^s Memoires du Duc de Rohan.

and kindness; said they were a part only of the Protestant body in France; that they must consult their brethren before they could return him any definitive answer; and thus the duke was left to take what measures he judged most expedient. If, as the duke of Rohan truly observes, the Rochellers, instead of asking the advice of their brethren, had demanded their assistance, they would have done their business before the court could have been in any condition to have opposed them; or if the duke of Buckingham had followed the advice given him by the duke of Soubise, who unfortunately left him, to go and confer with the chiefs of the Protestant party, and had made a descent in the island of Oleron, which is very fertile, entirely inhabited by Protestants, where the fortifications were not half raised, and in which there were but few troops, he could not have failed of success, and of obliging the French to abandon the isle of Rhé, which he might have attacked on all sides. But so it was, that he changed his mind, made a descent in that island, where monsieur Thoiras commanded, and, having defeated him at his landing, might, if he had followed his victory, have carried the only place of strength in the island by surprise; but, wasting some days in encamping his troops and landing his equipage, monsieur de Thoiras carried all the provision he could collect into his fortress, and made the best disposition possible for sustaining a siege in a fort of four bastions, two of which were but half finished.

The duke of Buckingham retires out of the isle of Rhé with disorder.

As this affair was unluckily begun, it was prosecuted in all respects with the same ill fortune, and, to say the truth, with the same ill conduct. The duke of Buckingham besieged fort St. Martin's in form, but without taking the precautions that were necessary. The besieged had at first abandoned a well which was absolutely necessary for them, but they speedily recovered and fortified it. The duke thought it beneath him to attack the small fort of la Pree, which, however, covered the landing-place, enabled the small succours that were sent to the fort to pass in safety, and kept the English vessels at a distance. But the greatest error of all was, that the duke suffered himself to be amused by a treaty, which monsieur Thoiras set on foot, purely to gain time, which the duke was complaisant enough to give him. In the mean time the

* *Memoires de Bassompierre.* Vittorio Siri *Memoire recon dite.*
 † *Memoires du Duc de Rohan.* † *Rushworth's Collection,*
 vol. i. p. 426, 427. Dup. *Hist. de Louis XIII.*

cardinal acted with that spirit and prudence which were the characteristics of his ministry. He sent a small body of horse into the neighbourhood of fort Lewis, supported by three thousand foot, under the command of the duke of Angoulesme. At first he made the Rochellers believe that they were not intended against them, but to guard the coast against the English, a declaration which made them more remiss. Soon after he caused quarters to be marked in the villages about Rochelle for five-and-twenty thousand men; of which circumstance the Rochellers giving notice to the English fleet, this intelligence hindered them from attacking fort Lewis, that otherwise might have been taken in a day's time. In order to quicken the preparations, and that nothing might be wanting, he not only advanced his own money, but sold his plate and jewels, that supplies might be procured for the service*. By his express directions, two considerable convoys were sent to St. Martin's†. The duke of Rohan, who fulfilled his engagements, and took up arms, met with incredible difficulties, and infinite disappointments: on the one hand he was declared guilty of high treason by the parliament; on the other he was disavowed by the greater part of the Protestants, through timidity, self-interest, and corruption. In October the cardinal brought the king, accompanied by his brother, the count de Soissons, the dukes of Guise, Angoulesme, and Nemours, the marshals Schomberg, Bassompierre, and d'Estrees, the dukes of Tremouille, Bellegrade, Crequi, Chevreuse, Montbazon, Retz, and Rochefoucault, with the flower of the nobility of France, and a considerable army, before Rochelle‡. On the 6th of November, the duke of Buckingham, having received a considerable reinforcement from England, caused a general assault to be given to the fort of St. Martin, in which he was repulsed with considerable loss§. Two days after marshal Schomberg landed with a body of troops superior to his army, so that he suffered considerably in his retreat, though his troops behaved well. At length, having embarked every thing, he sailed for England, on the 17th of the same month, having done nothing worthy his own high titles, or the reputation of his countrymen.

* Dup. Hist. de Louis XIII. Bernard Hist. de Louis XIII.

Rushworth's Collection, vol. i. Memoires du Duc de Rohan.

† Auberi Hist. du Cardinal Richelieu.

‡ Memoires de

Luy egur.

§ Vint. Siri Memoire reconditæ

The royal army, notwithstanding, the inclemency of the season, and the intrigues of all Richelieu's enemies, continued before Rochelle, and he had interest enough with his master to keep him there likewise, though lately recovered from a dangerous illness, and of a constitution weak in itself, and very apt to be disordered by the vigorous exercises either of the mind or body.

*State of
Rochelle
when be-
sieged by
Lewis
XIII.*

It is said that cardinal Richelieu had meditated the siege of Rochelle for ten years; it is at least as certain that he might have speculated upon it for ten years more, if his good fortune had not furnished him with this opportunity, when, by their unreasonable diffidences, and as unreasonable confidence, the Rochellers and the duke of Buckingham had ruined each other. Richelieu was exactly informed of the situation things were in, saw his opportunity, and took it. He determined to besiege a place of great extent, and extremely well fortified, furnished with a numerous artillery, abundantly supplied with military stores, full of a martial, enthusiastic, and determined people, under the government of M. Guitton their mayor, a man of sense, experience, and invincible fortitude. The army did not consist of above twenty-three thousand men. The king graced the siege with his person, but the cardinal commanded, assisted by the duke of Angoulême, and the marshals Bassompierre and Schomberg. The lines of circumvallation were nine miles in extent, fortified by thirteen forts of different sizes, well furnished with artillery. He opened no trenches; he raised, for a long time, no batteries. The great point was to shut up the port; trials were made by driving vast stakes to embarrass the entrance, but to little purpose. Some attempts were made to construct a boom, which also miscarried. The cardinal himself, considering what Cæsar had done at Durazzo, and Alexander the Great at Tyre, resolved upon a dyke. When he first proposed it, those who ought to have been the best judges treated the scheme with ridicule; they said there were many things made a great figure in books, that had but a paltry appearance when they came to be put in practice. At last, Lewis Metezeau and John Tiriot undertook to execute what the cardinal had proposed. The scheme was to run a solid wall across a gulph seven hundred and forty toises broad, into which the sea rolled with great force, and, when the winds were high, with an impetuosity to which it seemed ridiculous to think of opposing any work of man. It was begun by throwing in great rocks to lay a kind of foundation; upon these were laid

vast

raft stones, cemented by the mud thrown up by the sea. Before and behind it was supported by beams of an enormous size, at twelve feet distance, driven into the bottom with incredible labour. It was raised so high, that the soldiers were not incommoded by the water, even at spring tides; the platform was near five toises in breadth, but the foundation was full fifteen; so that it was built in the manner of a glacis. At each extremity there was a strong fort, in the middle there was an open passage, of one hundred and fifty paces, several vessels being sunk immediately before it, together with high stakes in a double row, and before these, thirty-five vessels linked together, so as to form a kind of floating palisade. This amazing dyke was begun in December, and finished in the month of May^b. As for the army on shore, the troops were well lodged, regularly paid, and, from time to time, both officers and soldiers had considerable gratifications; besides the latter had hats, shoes, and watch-coats, delivered them whenever it was necessary. A strict discipline kept their markets full, so that necessaries and refreshments were never wanting; all possible care was taken of the sick and wounded in the hospitals, which the king, the cardinal, and the marshals often visited in person^c.

*The place
taken by
famine.*

As the reduction of Rochelle appeared to be a thing still at a great distance, the king found it expedient to return to Paris, and, upon this occasion, appointed the cardinal his lieutenant-general by a special commission, directing the duke of Angoulesme and the two marshals to obey him in all things. About the middle of May the English fleet arrived, commanded by the earl of Denbigh: it was numerous and potent enough to have attempted any thing, and yet did little or nothing, the dyke being perfectly finished, and flanked by good batteries; two of the English officers exclaimed against the cowardice of the rest, who, notwithstanding, alleged many excuses; it may be the best of them was, that most of the vessels were pressed or hired. However, after throwing in some little supply of corn, they withdrew, with assurance of a speedy return^d. In the mean time, the cardinal omitted nothing that could be attempted in the way of surprize or negotiation^e. But the Rochellers were so vigilant, that they

^b Auberi Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu.

^c Bernard

Histoire de Louis XIII.

^d Ruthworth's Collection; vol. i.

^e Memoires du Duc de Rohan.

disappointed all his enterprizes; and so firm, that, though the common people lived upon shell-fish and grafs, they would not listen to dishonourable terms. In order to hasten the great armament that was making at Portsmouth for their relief, king Charles repaired to the neighbourhood, and the duke of Buckingham went thither, where, on the 23d of August, old stile, he was stabbed by one Felton^f. This incident, instead of hindering, promoted the expedition; for the duke of Rohan assures us, that by the care and diligence of the king, more was done in ten or twelve days than in many weeks before; so that in the beginning of September the fleet sailed^g. The Spaniards, in virtue of their treaty, had sent a fleet to the assistance of the French, and this, after a short stay, in which they did little or nothing, retired; but by the cardinal's extreme diligence, exclusive of thirty galliots that were above the dyke, to keep the Rochellers from attempting any thing, he had assembled forty ships of war, which lay ranged before it in line of battle; the English fleet, under the command of the earl of Lindsey is said to have consisted of one hundred and fifty sail of all sorts; they fought, or rather cannonaded, the fleet two or three times, but with no great effect: they negotiated to as little purpose as they fought; at length the besieged, quite tired out, surrendered the place on the last of October^h. They were permitted to enjoy their fortunes and their religion; but their extensive privileges, which they had held for three hundred years, were suppressed, and all their impregnable fortifications demolished. Of twenty thousand inhabitants that were in the place when invested, there were not four thousand left, and of these not a hundred able to carry arms. The king made his entry into Rochelle on the 1st of November, about ten in the morningⁱ. About twelve arose a storm which considerably weakened the dyke; and a few days after forty toises of it were demolished. If the English fleet under the command of the earl of Denbigh had arrived a fortnight sooner, they would have relieved the place; or if the Rochellers could have held out a fortnight longer, they might have been relieved and supplied. But Providence disposed things otherwise, and Richelieu boasted, that he had taken the place in spite of

^f Clarendon's History of the Rebellion.

^g Memoires du

Duc de Rohan.

^h Memoires de Bassompierre, tom. ii. p. 516.

Memoires de Puysegur, p. 50.

Dup. Hist. de Louis XIII.

ⁱ Bernard Histoire de Louis XIII. Aubert Memoires du Cardinal Richelieu.

three kings; Philip IV. of Spain, who assisted the Rochellers with money, Charles I. of England, who wasted immense sums in fruitless endeavours to assist them, and Lewis XIII. who, by his inquietudes and despondencies, gave him more trouble than both. This important conquest, upon which the king was solemnly complimented by pope Urban VIII. was achieved without much effusion of blood, but the expence of it was computed at forty millions of livres^k.

Rochelle was no sooner reduced, and the affairs in that part of the kingdom settled, than the minister proposed a new expedition, not less hazardous, and to the full as fatiguing as that which the king had gone through, notwithstanding the clamours of the courtiers and the murmurs of the two queens^l. About a year before Vincent de Gonzagua, duke of Mantua died, and left the succession open. He considered Charles de Gonzagua duke of Nevers, his cousin-german, as the right heir, in respect to all that he held in the nature of fiefs of the empire, and his niece, the young princess of Montferrat, of whatever could descend to females. He had invited the duke de Rhetel, eldest son to the duke of Nevers, to his capital, intending to marry him to his niece, the nuptial ceremony was actually performed the very night he died, some say by his express command, others after he had expired. The Venetians and most of the other powers of Italy acknowledged the duke of Nevers in quality of duke of Mantua; however, the emperor thought fit to give the investiture to the duke of Guastalla; and the duke of Savoy having set up a claim to the Montferrat, the king of Spain entered into a treaty with the two dukes, by which he promised to furnish them with men and money to support their claims, provided they admitted Spanish garrisons into the two capitals of Mantua and Casal, which their interest induced them to accept^m. Cardinal Richelieu, who looked upon the Protestants as in a manner subdued, now turned his thoughts to the other branch of his great project, and represented to the king, that, since the house of Austria considered it as a crime sufficient to destroy all his pretensions, that the new duke of Mantua was born in France, he was bound to protect him.

A.D. 1628.

The duke of Nevers becomes duke of Mantua under the protection of the king of France.

^k Dupleix Histoire de Louis XIII. Aubert Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu.

^l Memoires de Bassompierre. Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 2.

^m Historia della Repubblica di Veneta, par Batt. Nani. Vitt. Siri Memoire recon-dite. Vie de Richelieu.

*The king
passes the
Alps, and
obliges the
duke of Sa-
voy to
grant him
a passage.*

The small remains of the Spanish party, which the cardinal had in a manner extinguished, endeavoured to defeat this scheme, and the queen-mother went very cordially into the opposition. The duke of Nevers had been ever amongst the malecontents during her regency; and the duke of Orleans had a passion for Mary de Gonzagua, the duke's daughter, which hindered him from approving his mother's choice of Anne de Medicis, the younger daughter of the grand duke. But the cardinal, though he shewed, upon all occasions, great complaisance for the queen-mother, remained firm, and assured his master, that, if they took the field early, Casal, which was besieged by Don Gonzalo de Cordova, might be relieved in the spring; and that the duke of Rohan, and those that were in arms with him, might, notwithstanding, be brought to submit before the end of the summerⁿ. In the middle of February the king arrived with his army at Grenoble, and sent to demand a passage through the territories of the duke of Savoy, who laboured to gain time, in hopes the Spaniards would be able to make themselves masters of Casal; but, by the cardinal's advice, the king marched and negociated at the same time. He passed the Alps in the midst of frost and snow, himself on foot at the head of his troops, and, on the 6th of March, forced the famous pass of Susa, which, though well fortified, was ill defended; the town and castle of the same name surrendered the next day. The cardinal made so good use of this success, that the duke of Savoy quickly consented to a treaty, by which he promised to give a passage, and to furnish subsistence to the troops that were to march to the relief of the duke of Mantua, and also to engage the Spanish general to raise the siege of Casal^o. In consequence of this accommodation, monsieur Thoiras was sent with three thousand foot and three hundred horse to take possession of that important place, and the king had the satisfaction, before his departure, to conclude two very important treaties; the first in the nature of an alliance with the republic of Venice and the duke of Savoy, for maintaining the repose of Italy; the other, under the mediation of the Venetians, with the king of Great Britain^p.

ⁿ Aubert Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu. Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. Memoire de Bassompierre. ^o Dupleix Histoire de Louis XIII. Batt. Nani. Memoires de Puysegur, p. 34.
^p Bernard Histoire de Louis XIII.

After all that had happened both before and after the siege of Rochelle, the duke of Rohan persisted in carrying on the war, always with vigour, and sometimes with success. He made a treaty with the king of Spain, who promised him an annual subsidy of three hundred thousand pieces of eight, in consideration of his maintaining a certain number of foot and horse; farther stipulating for the free exercise of the popish religion in all the places within his power during the continuance of the war; and that a toleration should be established, if he should succeed in his design of forming an independent state in France. But what is still more extraordinary, it is acknowledged, in the preamble of this treaty, that the king of Spain concluded it from motives of state, and in resentment of the great assistance given by the French to his heretic rebels in the Low Countries. At this time the duke of Rohan had considerable forces on foot in Languedoc, Guienne, and the Cevennes, and, amongst other strong places, he had in his power Nismes, Uses, Montauban, Castres, Privas, Alais, Milau Sante Afrique. In May the king besieged Privas, a strong place in Vivarez, which defended itself for twelve days with such resolution, that the king lost some hundreds of his troops before it. At length, hard pressed, and seeing no hopes of relief, the garrison retired into the fortress, and the inhabitants of the town withdrew into the mountains. Those in the fort were obliged to surrender at discretion; and the firing of some powder giving a pretence for suggesting that they had attempted to blow up the troops that had entered the place, they were most inhumanly treated, being put to a variety of deaths, and some hundreds of them hanged by the king's order, and in his sight; for that prince was naturally cruel. The cardinal being ill of a fever, was not present, and he took care to apprise the world sufficiently of that circumstance. The fate of Privas so terrified the people of Aletz, that, though the place was well fortified, and the duke of Rohan had taken care to furnish them with every thing necessary for their defence, yet he had no sooner quitted it than they began to treat, and, by the interposition of the cardinal, obtained a good capitulation, which was honourably executed.

*Lewis re-
turns into
his own
dominions,
and treats
the Protest-
ants with
great se-
verity.*

¶ Memoires du Duc de Rohan.
cernant l'Histoire de Louis XIII. tom. ii. p. 522.
Histoire de Louis XIII. Memoires de Puysegur.
Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu.

¶ Recueil des Pieces con-
cernant l'Histoire de Louis XIII.
Dupl.
Auberi

The duke of Rohan submits, and, in consequence of his treaty, quits the kingdom.

Richelieu took care to let the duke know this circumstance, and, at the same time, sent him word, that he might yet treat for himself, or for a general peace; but that, if things went much farther, he would expose himself and the Protestants to utter ruin. The duke of Rohan, being convinced that this remonstrance was but too true, and having received no advantage from his treaty with Spain, and his intelligence with the duke of Savoy, resolved to take this advice, but he treated honourably for his whole party, and with the consent of the assembly. The treaty was signed on the 27th of June^u, by which the Protestants were restored to their estates, the free exercise of their religion, and all the privileges granted by the edict, only they were stripped of all their cautionary towns, and consequently lost the power of defending themselves. The dukes of Rohan and Soubise were pardoned and restored to their estates. The king would not see the former, but, on the contrary, insisted he should quit France for a time, upon which he retired to Venice; and, to qualify this exile, he was gratified with a large sum of money^x. To shun the heats of Languedoc, in some parts of which the plague was more than suspected, the cardinal advised the king to return to Paris; while he went to Montauban, the inhabitants of which had rejected the peace, because their fortifications were to be demolished, and, as they apprehended, demolished by the prince of Condé, whom they knew to be capricious and cruel, and against whom they would have defended themselves to the last; but they made no scruple of admitting the cardinal and his troops. He remained there two days, received every body very graciously, and even the Protestant ministers in a body, under the title of men of letters. He caused the treaty to be punctually executed, left the town as he found it, permitted them to demolish their own works, and paid them for their labour. When he had settled all things, he returned in triumph to Paris, where he found the court in the utmost confusion, and himself in such a situation, that he desired the king's leave to resign his employments, the very day after his arrival^y.

Difference between the queen-mother and the duke of Orleans.

We have before mentioned the resentment of the queen-mother against the duke of Mantua, chiefly on account of the affection of Monsieur for his daughter, in consequence

^u Memoires du Duc de Rohan.

Louis XIII. Bernard Histoire de Louis XIII.

Richelieu. Vitt. Siri Memoire recondite.

^x Dupleix Histoire de
^y Auberi

of which the duke was protected and persecuted at the same time by France; sometimes he was told he had nothing to expect unless he withdrew her out of the kingdom; when he had submitted to this injunction, and sent for her, she was stopped upon the road by the interposition of Monsieur, who threatened the utmost extremities if she was sent away. He then suffered his passion to subside, or rather seemed to suffer it; upon which the queen-mother again resolved to send her out of the kingdom, but revoked her orders upon finding that her son intended to carry her off upon the road, and to retire with her into Flanders. This conduct provoked the queen-mother so much, that, while the king was with his army, she, as regent, caused the princess and the duchess of Longueville her aunt to be arrested, and brought prisoners to Vincennes, with all the circumstances of violence that female resentment could suggest: upon this occasion, Monsieur retired to Jonville, a place belonging to the duke of Guise; and the king could not help shewing that he was not at all satisfied with his mother's conduct, though at the same time he treated his brother's airs of discontent with contempt, highly pleased that the cardinal had placed his authority upon such a basis, as that his subjects of all ranks found it necessary to pay him equal respect¹. The queen-mother, who thought the cardinal should have entered into all her views; when she found that he did not disapprove of Monsieur's affection, quarrelled with him without the least reserve, treated him as an insignificant creature, raised by her favour, and styled him, in plain terms, an ungrateful perfidious person: at the same time the duke of Orleans withdrawing to Nancy, published a manifesto, in which he attributed all his misfortunes to the cardinal; gave him the invidious title of mayor of the palace; charged him with usurping the royal authority, with being the author of his exile, and the source of the miseries of France². In this situation the cardinal desired the king's permission to withdraw; but Lewis, who considered him as his martyr as well as his minister, refused it; and while they were thus embarrassed by domestic foibles, foreign affairs took such a turn as obliged the king to make, in effect, the cardinal what his brother had called him.

A.D. 1629.

¹ *Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii.* — *Auberi Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu.* — *Vittorio Siri Memoire recondite.* ² *Memoires du Comte du Brienne, tom. ii.* — *Vie de Richelieu.*

The cardinal again passes the Alps.

The duke of Savoy, as he had been compelled to make the peace of Susa, and to grant a passage for the French troops to Casal, so when he once saw the king embarked in the war with the Hugonots, he took it for granted that they might have time enough to dispossess the duke of Mantua before the French troops could pass the Alps; and, upon this supposition, he, in conjunction with the emperor and the king of Spain, renewed the war and besieged Casal again^a. In this state of things there was no remedy but that which had been before applied, of sending the army again over the mountains without delay. The urgency of affairs being so great, the king, by letters patent, declared cardinal Richelieu his principal minister^b. He had been so long, in effect; but as this influence seemed to arise from his quality of cardinal, the king thought fit, by those letters patent, to attribute it to his person, and to style him therein, not first minister, which might have been referred to precedency, but his principal minister with regard to his confidence. As it was determined that he should command the army, he was, by letters patent, created the king's lieutenant-general, representing his person, with power to receive ambassadors, to give them audience, to make and receive propositions, and finally conclude, as if the king himself was present and assenting^c. Under him commanded the marshals Crequi, de la Force, Bassompierre, and Schomberg. To distinguish him from these, and indeed from all other generals, the founding title of Generalissimo was invented, and, for the same reason, the title of Eminence was given by brief to cardinals, by pope Urban the Eighth, who were before styled Most Illustrious. Thus clothed with greater authority, and graced with higher titles than any subject had ever received, he proceeded directly to Lyons, and rejecting some propositions that were made him, he continued his march, notwithstanding the severity of the weather, and, in the month of February, arrived at Susa, with twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse^d. He summoned the duke of Savoy to execute the treaty concluded the year before, that is, to grant a free passage, to furnish subsistence, and to join a body of troops with those of the king, in order to march to the relief of the duke of

^a Dupl. Histoire de Louis XIII. Batt. Nani. ^b Recueil de Pieces concernant l'Histoire de Louis XIII. tom. ii. p. 536.
^c Aubertin Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu. ^d Memoires de Puysegur. Batt. Nani. Dupl. Histoire de Louis XIII.

Mantua. The duke of Savoy took his measures ill; he endeavoured to amuse the cardinal, who, in return was very near surprizing him at Rivoli, from whence he was glad to retire hastily to Turin, where the cardinal did not let him long rest, causing his artillery to take the same route, and marching in person, at the head of his forces, towards that city; but having obliged the duke to take all necessary precautions against a siege, he very unexpectedly invested the important place of Pignerol, which he took in two days, by which means a direct road was open from Dauphiné into Italy*. This great conquest did the cardinal as much honour this year as the relief of Casal had done the last. It augmented the king's confidence in him; and discouraged his enemies, who, though they were numerous and potent, supported by the queen regent as well as the queen-mother, yet durst not avow their sentiments, but contented themselves with secret insinuations and disguised censures, saying, amongst other things, that the king had disposed of his prerogatives, and had only reserved to himself the power of curing the evil. His master, on the other hand, was so well satisfied, that he set out, as soon as the weather would permit, for Lyons, that he might be the nearer to his army and to the cardinal, who was resolved to make himself master of Savoy†.

The cardinal had been censured, as if, upon the unforeseen good fortune of taking Pignerol, he had abandoned his original design, and the relief, of the duke of Mantua, who was miserably oppressed, in order to seize the duchy of Savoy, which the king entered, and became master of‡, the fortrefs of Montmelian only excepted, by Midsummer: but it is at least as probable, that the cardinal, who had then a treaty upon the carpet at Ratisbon, might entertain hopes, that, if any thing happened amiss, he might procure the restitution of Mantua for Savoy; and that if, notwithstanding this diversion, he should be at length able to relieve Casal, it might operate still more effectually upon that treaty. There is, however, little reason to doubt, that, whatever his notions were, the interests of the crown and of his ministry always cast the balance. Some advantages the French troops gained in Italy; but the negotiations of signor Julio Mazarine, who

The duke of Mantua is settled in the quiet possession of his dominions by the treaty of Ratisbon.

* Memoires des principales Actions du Marechal du Plissy, p. 2. † Aubert Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu. Duplex Histoire de Louis XIII. Batt. Nani. ‡ Memoires du Comte de Brienne. Memoires de Puysegur.

now first appeared on the theatre of the world, in the character of a priest and a politician (for he had appeared some time before in that of a captain of horse), were more useful: he procured a kind of suspension of arms, upon condition that Casal should be surrendered in case it was not relieved by the middle of October. What was still more advantageous for the cardinal's views, was the death of the duke of Savoy, which deprived the Spaniards of their most faithful ally. But, notwithstanding all these favourable incidents, he had still great difficulties to overcome; the duke de Montmorency had conducted a reinforcement of eight thousand men into Italy, which, notwithstanding, were consumed in a few months, and, upon his return, he was replaced by Marillac, to whom the king had given the staff of marshal at Aletz^b. It was, after all, a very difficult thing to fulfil the king's orders, who was now gone back to Lyons, and followed by the cardinal, to march through an enemy's country, to the relief of Casal. However the three marshals de la Force, Schomberg, and Marillac, found themselves obliged to undertake it, and performed it accordingly. In the mean time the treaty of Ratisbon came to their relief, in which it was agreed that the emperor should grant the investiture of Mantua to the duke of Nevers, and, in a fortnight after, hostilities were to ceaseⁱ; but the Spanish army lying still before Casal, and insisting upon the execution of the capitulation before mentioned, signor Mazarine was again obliged to interpose. He rode between the two armies, when they were ready to charge each other, and at length procured a convention, which put an end to these disputes, it delivered Casal, and intitled monsieur Thoiras, for his gallant defence, to the staff of marshal of France.

The cardinal on the point of being ruined by the endeavours of the two queens.

The king, during his stay at Lyons, was attacked with a strange disease; he had a slow fever, which nothing could allay, an extreme depression of the spirits, his belly and stomach swelling in a manner that amazed and confounded his physicians, who very positively pronounced that he could not live long^k; the queen-mother and some others thought they had this intelligence a surer way from their astrologers. The cardinal de Richelieu now found him-

^b Dupl. Histoire de Louis XIII. Batt. Nani. Memoires du Comte de Brienne.

ⁱ Aubert Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu. Vitt. Siri Memoire reconduite.

^k Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 18.

self in real distress; he was governor of Brouage, a strong place upon the coast, but he knew not how to get thither. He had recourse to Bassompierre, colonel-general of the Swiss, whom he desired to secure that body of troops, but he declined that service ^l. The king then applied to the marshal duke de Montmorency. Having sent for him into his closet, he recommended the cardinal to him with tears, and the duke promised, in the strongest terms, that he would conduct him safely through his government to his own. In the mean time the king's distemper declared itself; it proved to be an impostume in the bowels, which nature having discharged by the ordinary passages, he became quickly and surprisngly well ^m. Then broke out the designs of the great cabal against the cardinal, at the head of which were the two queens and the duke of Orleans, and yet, in effect, they were but the instruments of others. The queen-mother was entirely governed by Vautier her physician, the princess of Conti, the duchess d'Elbœuf, the marchioness d'Ornano, the garde des sceaux, and his brother the marshal Marillac ⁿ. The countess du Fargis, exquisitely handsome, and the most artful woman in France, made the queen-consort act as she thought fit, and the duke of Orleans was always in the hands of his favourites, who took care to inflame him as much as possible, that they might then sell his submission at the higher price. These, supported by the remains of the Spanish faction, filled the king's ears with insinuations against the cardinal. They affirmed that he had seized the reins of government into his own hands; that he had brought the greatest part of the court to depend upon him; that he was negotiating a match for his niece with the count de Soissons, and, when this was completed, would probably transfer the crown upon his head ^o. These imputations were urged with such confidence, and repeated by so many persons, and the king was so jealous of his authority, that he sometimes leaned, or seemed to lean, to this side; on the other hand, the cardinal pressed him to consider by what steps he had recovered his authority out of the hands of the queen, her favourites, and the princes of the blood; her apparent partiality for her younger son; her evident connections with the court of Spain; the incapacity of her

^l Preface des Memoires de Bassompierre. ^m Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 20. Aubert Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu.

p. 282, & suiv.

ⁿ Vitt. Siri Memoire reconduite, tom. vii.

^o Memoires de Bassompierre.

creatures to carry on public affairs; and the perplexities into which his majesty must be plunged, if once his business should fall into such hands.

*Is saved
beyond his
hopes, and
becomes
more inde-
pendent
than ever.*

All the king could do for his own peace was to get the decision of things deferred till he came to Paris, where he laboured assiduously to reconcile the cardinal to his mother. At length a day was fixed when he and his niece should come and ask her pardon on their knees. Madame de Combalet humbled herself first, and, instead of pardon, received a torrent of reproaches. When the cardinal came he met with the like usage, at which the king was strangely surpris'd; but Richelieu contented himself with telling her, that he had served her long enough to know that it was not in her nature to forgive, and therefore, to make the king easy, he would demand his leave to retire, and yield up his employments ^p. The king, in his confusion, seemed to acquiesce; but that he might have time to reflect at leisure, withdrew to a country seat near Versailles. On the 11th of November the whole court resorted to the queen-mother at the palace of Luxembourg, fully persuaded that she had recovered the dominion of the court. In the mean time St. Simon, the king's favourite, made him so sensible that the queen-mother had not forgot the death of marshal d'Ancre, that she was always enquiring of astrologers about the king's death, and that her greatest quarrel to the cardinal was his strict attachment to his master, that Lewis sent for him, gave him the detail of the charges his enemies had brought against him, adding, it was his pleasure he should continue to serve him, and he would protect him against them all. This circumstance was no sooner known than the queen's palace became a desert ^q. The physician Vautier was sent to the Bastile; the keeper of the seals was arrested and deprived of them; his brother the marshal met with the same fate at the head of the army he commanded; the countess du Fargis was ignominiously turned out of the court; and the queen-mother saw herself compelled to dissemble a reconciliation, that she might not share the same fate; yet though exterior respects were preserved, she plainly saw the game was lost, that cardinal Richelieu was in full possession of the royal favour, and that the king her son retained not the least affection for her person.

A.D. 1630.

^p Memoires du Comte du Brienne. Vie de Richelieu. Aubertin.
Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu. ^q Memoires de Bassompierre. Duplex Histoire de Louis XIII. Le Gendre.

In the midst of these domestic disputes, the cardinal proceeded with infinite care and vigilance in respect to public concerns; in the very beginning of the year he made a treaty with Sweden, by which an annual subsidy was given to Gustavus Adolphus of four hundred thousand crowns, in consideration of which he was to act with an army of thirty-six thousand men, in order to facilitate the re-establishment of the princes of the empire, who had been abased in their dignities, and despoiled of their estates, by the house of Austria^r. In the mean time a negotiation was carrying on in Italy, for settling the tranquillity of that part of Europe, in which the cardinal made the Spaniards sensible that they had lost the superiority which they had so long maintained in point of treaty-making; for at the very time, and in the very place where this negotiation was publicly carried on, he concluded a secret alliance with the duke of Savoy, in consequence of which that prince yielded Pignerol to France, in virtue of a territory which was to be taken from the duke of Mantua. This convention was signed on the last of March^s; and in the middle of April was concluded the public treaty of Querasque, in which the Spaniards believed they had outwitted the French, in procuring for the duke of Savoy the district before mentioned. By this public treaty Pignerol was restored to the duke of Savoy, who took possession of it with a garrison who did not know that there were six times their number of French troops concealed in the place. In May the court of France ratified a treaty with the elector of Bavaria, to the same intent with that which had been concluded with Sweden^t. In autumn, under pretence that the Spaniards had not executed punctually the treaty of Querasque, a convention was signed with the duke of Savoy, by which he consented to receive a French garrison for six months into Pignerol, to cover that which had been in it all this time; a good body of troops was likewise sent to take possession of Casal, with the consent of the duke of Mantua, and to the entire satisfaction of the Italian princes, who began now to speak in the language of liberty, and who made no scruple of demanding justice from those who, for a long course of years, had behaved towards them as if they had been their masters. Having thus the princes of Germany and of Italy closely connected

The cardinal gains the princes of Germany and Italy against the house of Austria.

^r Vitt. Siri Memoire recon dite. Bernard Histoire de Louis XIII. ^s Dupleix Histoire de Louis XIII. ^t Auberi Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu.

with him, the cardinal made no scruple of asserting his master's authority in his own dominions, and of making persons of all ranks sensible how much things were changed from what they were when he was placed at the head of the administration; a circumstance that multiplied his secret enemies, and gained him few real friends.

The queen-mother being arrested at Compeigne, makes her escape into Flanders.

It was not long after the apparent reconciliation, that the queen-mother broke out into fresh complaints against the cardinal: the duke of Orleans carried it farther; he went with a great train to the cardinal's house, with an intent, as was supposed, to do something extraordinary, but it ended only in vehement reproaches, after which he withdrew from court ^u. In the month of February, the king engaged the queen-mother to come to Compeigne, where, after trying all means to soften her, to no purpose, he quitted the place suddenly, leaving her under a guard ^v. The princess of Conti, the duchesses of Elbœuf and Lesdiguières, and madame d'Ornano, were exiled; the marshal de Bassompierre, and some other persons of distinction, were sent to the Bastile ^x. The duke of Orleans retired into Lorraine, where he contracted himself to the princess Margaret, sister of that duke, directed letters to the parliament of Paris, in which he declared himself the prosecutor of cardinal Richelieu. The king, in consequence of this conduct, proceeded to extremities, justified his minister, erected a new court of justice, and took measures to conduct his mother to Florence; but receiving intimation of his design, she made her escape from Compeigne, and retired into Flanders, about the middle of July ^y. By this extraordinary court of justice, one Duval a physician was sent to the galleys, for having predicted the king's death; the duke of Rouannes, the marquis de Vieuville, the marchioness du Fargis, and father Chantelupe, were condemned to death, and executed in effigy. Towards the close of the year, the king marched into Lorraine, where he compelled the duke to conclude a treaty on the terms he prescribed, and to expel all who had taken refuge in his territories ^z.

A.D. 1631.

Marshal Marillac put to death.

The king, in favour of his minister, erected the lordship of Richelieu, with various other lands and seignories, into a duchy, with a limitation to his heirs general, whether

^u Vitt. Siri Memoire reconдите. Memoires de Bassompierre.

^v Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 48.

^x Memoires de Bassompierre. Vitt. Siri Memoire reconдите.

de Richelieu.

^z Duplex. Bernard.

^y Vie

male or female, so that now he was styled the cardinal-duke^a. He still pressed the duke of Lorraine, whose sincerity was suspected, and obliged him to give up Marfal. The queen-mother wrote a letter to the parliament, in which she charged the cardinal-duke, to whom the king had given the government of Bretagne, with aiming at the crown, which had no manner of effect, except that it brought to a dismal catastrophe, one of her most faithful servants, the marshal Marillac, who, by an extraordinary court of justice, was condemned to suffer death for peculation^b. This step was one of the harshest, and, in the opinion of the world, one of the most unjust things the cardinal ever did. It was said, to cover it, that, at the instance of the queen-mother, he had corresponded with the Spaniards, to the prejudice of the king's service; but, out of respect to this princess, it could not be mentioned in his sentence; as if there was more regard due to princes than to justice: the truth was, that, in the cabal at Lyons, he had said, the shortest way to be rid of the cardinal was to kill him, and had even offered to execute what he proposed. His brother, who had been keeper of the seals, died soon after of grief^c. Upon information that the duke of Lorraine was assembling forces, and endeavouring to procure assistance from Germany, the king and the cardinal marched against him with a small army, and reduced several of his places. When they were on the point of investing Nancy, he concluded a new treaty at Liverdun^d, by which he confirmed that before made at Vie, and, as a security for the due observance of it, yielded Stenai, Janets, and Clermont, the two first for four years, and the last for ever. This short war was of very great consequence, as it hindered the duke, a prince of great abilities, though inconstant, and one of the best officers in Europe, from executing the project he had formed, which might have been fatal to France, since, if it had once brought the Germans into Lorraine, all that happened afterwards would have been prevented.

While the king was engaged in Lorraine, the duke of Orleans, with about fifteen hundred Flemish, Italian, and Spanish horse, and five hundred French, miserably equipped, entered Burgundy, where he published a manifesto,

^a Auberi Hist. du Cardinal Richelieu. Dupl. Hist. de Louis XIII.

^b Vitt. Siri Memoire recon dite, tom. vii. p. 495. & seq.

^c Dupl. Histoire de Louis XIII. Bernard Histoire de Louis XIII. Memoires de Bassompierre.

^d Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau.

The duke of Orleans penetrates into Languedoc, where he is beaten, and Montmorency taken;

in which he styled himself the king's lieutenant, requiring all good Frenchmen to fall upon cardinal Richelieu^c; as a disturber of the public peace, and as a traitor to the king, his family, and kingdom. He summoned Dijon to open her gates, and, because this was not done, he burnt the suburbs; marshal de la Force following him with a small army, he was compelled to pass into Auvergne, and from thence he penetrated into Languedoc, with marshal Schomberg at his heels^f. There the marshal duke de Montmorency, the last of that illustrious family, received him with the honour due to his birth, and having drawn together the clergy, nobility, and gentry, who depended upon him, at Pezenas, styled them the states of Languedoc, and declared, in harsh terms, against the cardinal^g. On the other hand, the parliament of Thoulouse declared him and them rebels. He quickly assembled ten or eleven thousand men, and with them turned upon marshal Schomberg, who had not above four. This general took possession of a strong camp, near the village of Castelnau-dari, where, on the first of September, he was attacked by the duke of Montmorency, who behaved like a hero, but very unlike an officer. He attacked the entrenchments with horse, without waiting for his foot; he carried them purely by the courage which his example inspired; but attempting to push his success, the best part of the gentlemen who were with him were slain, and his horse being killed, and himself covered with wounds, was taken prisoner^h. On the news of his misfortune the infantry disbanded; Monsieur, with the poor remains of horse, fled to Beziers; there he treated for an accommodation, and concluded it, obtaining pardon for himself, his domestics, and the duke d'Elbœuf. He promised not to remove a league from the place which should be assigned him for his residence without leave, and that he would sincerely love and esteem the cardinal Richelieuⁱ.

whom is tried, condemned, and executed at Thoulouse.

The king caused the process of Montmorency to be made before commissaries, of whom the keeper of the seals, monsieur de l'Aubestine de Châteauneuf, was the chief. As an ecclesiastic he was obliged to obtain a dispensation from Rome, for being present at a trial where

^c Memoire du Compte de Brienne, tom. ii. Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau, p. 26. Auberi Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu.

^f Vitt. Siri Memoire reconditte. Bernard, Histoire de Louis XIII.

^g Dupl. Histoire de Louis XIII. ^h Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. ⁱ Auberi Hist. du Cardinal Richelieu.

life was in danger; but we know not where he obtained a dispensation to sit in judgment upon a lord, to whose father he had been a page. The duke, by this court, was condemned as guilty of high treason; and, though all France interposed to save him, he lost his head at Thoulouse on the 30th of October^k. He was in his person one of the most beautiful, from his conduct the most amiable, as well as by his birth the most noble in that country. He died with equal courage and piety, firm without fierceness, humble without fear; he directed his confessor to ask pardon of cardinal Richelieu. If it was true that he gave the king the first notice of the cabal of Lyons, one would think he had no need to ask pardon; and that, amongst the many great qualities he possessed, the cardinal could not reckon that of gratitude. Monsieur, who was at Tours, and who had contented himself with sending a gentleman to ask the duke's life, wrote the king a letter, in which he said he would have redeemed it with his own^l; then, to keep up his character for inconsistency, he retired once more into Flanders, which, if he had done before, he might perhaps have saved Montmorency; though in his excuse, it must be owned, that the hopes of saving him was the cause of his submission. The king, to shew that justice was the sole motive to this act of severity, gave Montmorency's whole confiscation to the prince of Condé, who had married his sister.

At the time the court was in Languedoc, the queen-mother sent ten of the most determined persons in her service to Paris, to seize madame de Combalet, the cardinal's niece, but they were discovered and apprehended. The king, upon this discovery, wrote that lady a letter, in which he expressed his sense of her danger, and his joy at her escape; adding, that if the design had taken effect, he would have followed her into Flanders, with an army of fifty thousand men^m. When Monsieur arrived at Brussels, his mother retired from thence to avoid seeing him. She pretended to resent one of the conditions in the treaty he made at Beziersⁿ, which was, that he should hold no correspondence with her or any of her adherents; but in reality she was then governed by father Chantelupe, and, if the reader will compare these two incidents, he will see

True character of the queen-mother and the duke of Orleans.

^k Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 85. Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau, p. 27. ^l Dupl. Histoire de Louis XIII.

^m Vitt. Siri Memoire recon dite, tom. vii. p. 575. ⁿ Memoires de Bassompierre. Dupleix, Hist. de Louis XIII. Vitt. Siri Memoire recon dite, tom. vii. p. 580.

the true character of both the son and the mother, who, though so passionately fond of power, that they would not suffer others to govern, were, notwithstanding, unable to govern themselves. They exerted their authority to gratify inclinations and resentments that were not their own, and hated each other for that disposition which both saw in reflection, but which they could not see in themselves. Towards the close of the year the Swedes lost their king, the great Gustavus Adolphus, and yet gained the battle of Lutzen.

The cardinal's policy in bringing the Swedes into the empire.

The disputes about religion had produced a Catholic and Protestant league in the empire. At the head of the first was the emperor, the elector of Bavaria, the ecclesiastical electors, the spiritual princes in general, a very few of the temporal, and not many of the cities. The latter was composed of the electors of Saxony, Brandenburg, Palatine, the dukes of Brunswick, Wirtemberg, Mecklenburgh, and Pomerania, the landgrave of Hesse, and almost all the rich trading cities. However, the emperor and his adherents had met with so much success, that, in all probability, the Protestants would have been crushed, if France, or rather the cardinal de Richelieu, had not interposed. So long as the constable de Luynes was in favour, he preferred the private interest of himself and his family to that of the crown. He sacrificed the elector Palatine, who had assumed the title of king of Bohemia, and who, properly supported, would have certainly preserved that kingdom and the liberties of Germany. At the time Richelieu came into power the former was lost, and the latter was very near it; a war was inexpedient; and therefore he applied money, by the dextrous application of which, and suggesting plausible pretences, some of the popish powers were drawn to declare themselves neuters. By the subsidy treaty which we have mentioned, the Swedes were brought to act so powerfully and so successfully, that the face of affairs was entirely changed. In the space of two years and a half that Gustavus remained in Germany, he defeated the Bavarian and Imperial troops thrice, and reduced Pomerania, Lower Saxony, Franconia, Bavaria, the Palatinate, and the territory of Mentz. That great monarch^o, by his heroic courage and great abilities, had revived the drooping hopes of his party, checked the Imperial eagle,

• Introduction a l'Histoire de l'Univers, par M. Puffendorff. Vitt. Siri Memoire recon dite. Dupl. Histoire de Louis XIII. Bernard. Hist. de Louis XIII. Auberi Hist. du Cardinal Richelieu.

and at last, it is said, gave some jealousy even to France; at least it is certain, that the cardinal declined an interview between the two kings, though he offered to confer with Gustavus. The Swede, whose high spirit taught him to think that all monarchs were equal, insisted, that if the cardinal conferred with any, it should be with one of his ministers. Some have insinuated, that this instance of magnanimity cost him his life; but, if he fell foully, it is more probable that the assassin had his instructions from another quarter. Yet it must be allowed that Richelieu expressed no deep concern for his death, but took his measures as quickly and as prudently as if he had foreseen it, which proof of his abilities, in all probability, gave rise to the report that he directed it. His instructions to M. Feuquieres for renewing the treaty with the Swedes^p, and for conducting the negociations in the congress of Hailbron, preserved the alliance from being dissolved, by that sinister event, and put the war on the same or on a more advantageous foot for France, which, without exposing her troops, and by the sole assistance of a subsidy, enervated her enemies, attached the princes of the empire to her interests, and even extended the bounds of her dominions to the Rhine, without exciting envy or apprehension.

At the opening of the year the king caused a new parliament to be erected at Metz^q, which answered at once two great views; in the first place it brought in a large sum in ready money from such as purchased their seats in that parliament, and next it released the inhabitants of the three bishopricks from having recourse to the Imperial chamber at Spire, for which a more convenient season could not be taken than this, when the flame of war raged so terribly in Germany, that there was no passing from one city to another with any tolerable degree of certainty. In Holland the king's ministers wrought so effectually, that the negociations for a truce with the Spaniards went on but slowly^r. The duke of Rohan, who was highly esteemed at Venice, though he resided there as an exile, received unexpectedly a commission, appointing him ambassador extraordinary to the Grisons, and was likewise declared lieutenant-general of the troops the king either had or might have in the Valteline^s.

A new war with Lorraine, in which the duke is compelled to render his capital.

^p Auberi Hist. du Cardinal Richelieu. Recueil de Pieces concernant l'Hist. de Louis XIII. tom. iii. p. 215. ^q Duplex, Hist. de Louis XIII. Bernard. Hist. de Louis XIII. ^r Vatt. Siri Memoire reconдите. Vie de Richelieu. ^s Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Batt. Nani.

This step so alarmed the Spaniards, that their ambassador had orders to complain in the strongest terms, to the king and his minister. He alleged, that, under a variety of specious pretences, France, without entering into a war, assisted the enemies of the house of Austria on every side; that the king his master was desirous of making a stable and solid peace, in consequence of which he expected to see the French troops withdrawn out of Casal and Pignerol, as well as those that, under colour of assisting the elector of Treves, carried on an actual war in the heart of the empire. To this remonstrance Richelieu answered, that the king was as desirous of peace as his Catholic majesty, but that he could not desert his allies, or part with Pignerol, which, since the treaty of Querasque, he had purchased of the duke of Savoy^t. He added, with an air of freedom, that, if they disliked his manner of conducting affairs, they were unjust to themselves, since he only copied their manner of acting, as he demonstrated by a long train of facts. About Midsummer he took the field with the king^u against the duke of Lorraine, who had frequently given out commissions, and when he had levied troops, transferred them either to the Imperial or to the Spanish service, without any regard to his last treaty. The king quickly made himself master of St. Mihiel and Lunéville, upon which duke Charles sent his brother, the cardinal of Lorraine, to enter once more into a negotiation. The king told him plainly, that his resentment arose from his brother's marriage with the princess Margaret, which was null in itself for want of having his consent, and therefore he insisted that the princess should be delivered to him, in order to facilitate the dissolution of the marriage. But the cardinal, making use of the king's passports, brought his sister out of Nancy, and sent her into Flanders to Monsieur, a circumstance which so provoked the king, that he invested Nancy, and insisted upon having it delivered to him in deposit. The duke concluded a treaty to this purpose with cardinal Richelieu, and then revoked it. At length, hoping to prevail upon the king to soften the terms he had prescribed, went to pay him a visit; Lewis, by the advice of Richelieu, under pretence of doing him honour, put a guard upon his person, and forced

^t Aubert Hist du Cardinal Richelieu.
Marquis de Beauvau. *Memoires du Comte de Brienne*, tom. ii.

^u *Memoires du*

him to deliver up his capital, which otherwise would not have been easily taken ^w.

The cardinal, in his return from Languedoc to Paris the last year, had been so much indisposed as to be once thought at the point of death. It was very natural for many to aim at succeeding him, amongst whom was the keeper of the seals, M. de Châteauneuf^x. Some say that he danced at a ball while the cardinal was in extremity; others, that having an amour with the duchess of Chevreuse, he wrote her a letter, in which he treated the cardinal's malady in ludicrous terms^y. However it was, Richelieu, whose resentment was as quick and as lasting as that of any minister whose name finds a place in history, not only deprived him of his employment, but sent him prisoner to the castle of Angoulesme. He caused the chevalier du Jars, the intimate friend of that minister, to be sent to the Bastile, and, it is said, prevailed upon the judges to condemn him on very slight evidence, on a promise that he should not suffer; in which he kept his word, though not till the last moment, a pardon being produced as the executioner was going to execute the sentence^z. A circumstance that attended this affair will give us an idea of the court of France at this juncture: marshal d'Erees then commanded the army of France in the electorate of Treves; he was the intimate friend of Châteauneuf and du Jars; he understood by a private letter what had happened to them both; he understood at the same time that his two lieutenant-generals had received packets from the court, though he had none; the fate of marshal Marillac came into his head; he took it for granted that he was undone, and fairly ran away. After four days, finding that no such orders were come, he frankly wrote the cardinal the truth, who, after rallying him in his answer, bid him return to his command^a. It was not in France only the cardinal was feared; Urban the Eighth was obliged, at his request, to send a commission to the archbishop of Arles, and the bishops of Boulogne, St. Flour, and St. Malo, to hear what could be offered against the bishops of Lodeve, Aleth, St. Pons, Albi, Uzez, and Nismes, who were accused of concurring in the revolt of the duke of Montmorency; and, upon a full hearing, the three for-

New intrigues which occasion new disgraces at court.

^w Vitt. Siri Memoire recon dite. Memoires de Pontis, tom. ii. livr. ii. ^x Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. ^y Vitt. Siri Memoire recon dite, tom. vii. ^z Ibid. ^a Vie de Richelieu.

A.D. 1633.

mer were acquitted, and the three latter were deposed ^b. The queen-mother, wearied with her long exile, and piqued at the ill usage she met with from her son, solicited the king for leave to return, and at the same time assured him, that she had not the least knowledge of Monsieur's irruption into Languedoc. The king gave her for answer, that, as to Monsieur's irruption, he could not have made it if she had not pawned her jewels to supply him with money; and that, till she abandoned those who gave her ill counsels to his justice, he could not think himself safe with her in his court.

The duke of Lorraine resigns his dominions to his brother.

Charles the Fourth, duke of Lorraine, finding it impossible to comply with the terms of the treaty of Nancy, having a strong aversion to France, and an implacable hatred to the cardinal, flattered himself that he should obtain some ease for his subjects by resigning his dominions to his brother, which he accordingly did, but this step had not the proposed effect ^c. The cardinal duke of Lorraine married the princess Claude, sister to Nicola, his brother's consort, and this marriage so irritated Richelieu, to whose niece he had been a pretender more than a year, that he ordered the marshal de la Force to invest the new married couple in Luneville. The place being quickly surrendered, he brought them prisoners to Nancy, where the duchess Nicola was before ^d. On the 1st of April the duke and duchess made their escape, he in the dress of a peasant, and she with a basket on her back ^e. In a little time all the rest of Lorraine was reduced, and treated in all respects as a province of France. The States of Holland having broken their negociation with the crown of Spain for a truce, the king signed a treaty, on the 15th of April, with them, by which he promised to give them a subsidy of two millions, provided they did not conclude either peace or truce with the Spaniards for a year. On the 1st of July the king, by an edict ^f, directed his geographers to account the first meridian to pass through the island of Ferro, which is the most western of the Canaries; and at the same time declared all French and Spanish vessels taken beyond that meridian, good prize, till such time as those crowns should open their ports, in both Indies, to all vessels bearing French colours.

^b Dupleix, Hist. de Louis XIII. Bernard. Hist. de Louis XIII.

^c Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau, p. 37. ^d Vitt. Siri Mem. second te, tom. vii.

^e Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau. ^f Dupleix, Histoire de Louis XIII. Bernard. Hist. de Louis XIII.

On the 6th of September the Swedes, under the command of the duke of Weymar and marshal Horne, were totally defeated at Norlingen by the Imperialists, with the loss of twenty thousand men and seventy pieces of cannon^a. By this great blow the cardinal was forced to change his conduct; he had hitherto looked upon it as the most necessary and refined policy to make the house of Austria feel all the miseries of war from the arms and money of France, without declaring openly against her; but the allies of France, who had long thought otherwise, were compelled, by the present conjuncture of affairs, to speak their sentiments freely. They alleged, that as France did not declare herself, the Spaniards found themselves at liberty to assist the Imperialists in such a manner as rendered them superior to the allies; that in fact, therefore, this circumstance gave the house of Austria an advantage, as the French would feel, whenever the Protestant princes in Germany were reduced to make terms, since the Imperialists would throw their whole force into Lorraine, at the same time the Spaniards invaded Picardy. The cardinal contented himself for the present with renewing the treaty with the crown of Sweden, the duke of Wirtemberg, the landgrave of Hesse, and the rest of the Protestant princes who still remained in arms; by which he engaged to furnish them with a large sum of money, and, in consideration of another sum, procured from the Swedes Philipsburg and some other places; he stipulated farther, that whenever France should declare war, Alsace should be put into her hands by way of deposit. This treaty was signed at Paris on the 1st of November^b, and towards the close of the year the marshal de la Force recovered the city of Heidelberg, and forced the Imperialists to raise the siege of the castle.

The defeat of the Swedes causes a great change in affairs.

The queen-mother still continued her solicitations to return, and even condescended to write a letter to the cardinal, to intreat his interposition in her favour, which embarrassed him exceedingly. He gave, however, the same answer he had done before, except that he now named the persons whom he expected to have given up. These were father Chantelupe, who had hired several persons to assassinate him, the abbé de St. Germain, who had written volumes of libels against him, and abbé Fabroni, who had cast the king's horoscope, and very confidently pre-

The duke of Orleans quits Brussels, and returns to court.

^a Vitt. Siri Mem. recondite. Batt. Nani. ^b Recueil de Pieces concernant l'Hist. de Louis XIII. tom. iii. p. 282.

dicted he had not long to live ^l. The queen saw, that, if she stooped to these terms, she should lose the credit and confidence of all mankind, and therefore rejected the proposition. The cardinal still treated with Monsieur, or rather with his favourite Paylaurens, and the reconciliation was brought very near; notwithstanding which, Monsieur, on the 12th of May, signed the treaty with the marquis d'Aytona ^k, who commanded in the Spanish Low Countries, by which he engaged not to return in two years and a half to France, let things take what turn they would; on the other, the Spaniards promised to furnish him with fifteen thousand men, to make a fresh attempt; but the true design of this alliance was to conceal his negotiation, and to raise his terms with the cardinal. His catholic majesty's ratification, by the shipwreck of the vessel that carried it, on the coast of France, fell by that accident into the cardinal's hand, and had actually this effect ^l. However, the parliament, and even an assembly of the clergy of France, declared the duke of Orleans's marriage null and void, under pretence that the house of Lorraine had committed a rape upon him, and that the two dukes had compelled him to marry their sister. On the 8th of October, Monsieur ^m stole away from Brussels, without taking leave of his mother or wife, and, on his return to court, was very graciously received.

A.D. 1634.

*War declared
against
Spain.*

We are now arrived at that period, in which the embarrassed state of foreign affairs had almost frightened the cardinal from the helm, as he was once before on the point of resigning, from the consequences of the intrigues at Lyons. The famous father Joseph, and Bullion, who had the direction of the finances, kept up his spirits on that, as the same father and the cardinal de la Valette supported them on this occasion ⁿ. The year opened with a great misfortune: the Imperialists surprised Philipsburg, which, exclusive of its great importance, had cost four hundred thousand crowns to the Swedes; there was in it half that sum in ready money, and the magazines were completed at an immense expence. The Spaniards and the Imperialists had now so visible a superiority, that, in the beginning of February, the king was obliged to conclude new treaty ^o with the States-general, by which he pro-

^l Auberi Hist. du Cardinal Richelieu. Vitt. Siri Mem. recondite, tom. vii. p. 761.

^k Auberi Hist. du Cardinal Richelieu, tom. i. p. 425. ^l Vitt. Siri Memoire recondite, tom. vii.

^m Auberi Hist. de Cardinal Richelieu: ⁿ Bernard Hist. de Louis XIII. ^o Batt. Nani.

mised to declare war immediately against Spain, and to act in conjunction with the Dutch in the Low Countries, with an army of thirty thousand men. At the same time a plan ^p of partition was made, by which it was determined what part of the Spanish provinces should belong to the king, and what to the republic, provided the inhabitants of those provinces did not accept the proposition of revolting against their masters, and unite themselves, as the seven provinces had done, into a free commonwealth. This treaty between the crown and the republic, which seemed to unite them more closely than ever, proved the first source of those suspicions that alienated the Dutch from France; for the wisest men in the States, perceiving how earnest a desire the king had to become their neighbour, grew jealous of a power, of whom, hitherto, they had no apprehension: besides, Frederick Henry, prince of Orange, for certain reasons, hated the cardinal, and was the only person of his enemies who could justly boast of having made him sensible of his resentment ^q. The Spaniards had no sooner an account of this treaty, than they formed the project of surprising Treves, which was executed by the governor of Luxemburg, who, having surprised and cut in pieces the French garrison, plundered the elector's palace, and carried him away prisoner into Flanders, for having put himself under his most Christian majesty's protection ^r. The cardinal took this occasion to declare war ^s, and published a long manifesto, which was quickly answered by the Spaniards. The queen-mother had written at large to the king her son, to dissuade him from this measure, which she represented as necessary to his minister, and fatal to himself. This letter was transmitted to Mazarine, the pope's nuncio, who, after having communicated it to Richelieu, delivered it to the king. Lewis having read it, told him, that out of respect to his mother he declined writing an answer, that he might not be obliged to upbraid her with her partiality to the Spaniards, and the small regard she discovered for his honour and interests ^t.

In pursuance of the treaty with Holland, the French army, commanded by the marshals Chatillon and Breze, marched to join that of the prince of Orange, in the neigh-

This, at the beginning, is attended with many checks, and universal discontent.

^p Recueil de Pieces concernant l'Hist. de Louis XIII. tom. iii. p. 289. ^q Mem. de Holland, par Aubert ^r Vitt. Siri Memoire recondire. ^s Le Vassor Hist. de Louis XIII. ^t Aubert Hist. du Cardinal Richelieu.

bourhood of Maestricht. In their march they met with the Spanish army, under the command of prince Thomas of Savoy, consisting of about seventeen thousand men, but so well intrenched, that they were not at all apprehensive of being attacked: but the French, in full spirits, assailed them with such vigour, that, in a short time, they were totally defeated, four thousand killed upon the spot, nine hundred taken, together with all their baggage and artillery. This battle was fought at Avein, on the 20th of May^u. The victorious army marched without interruption to Maestricht, where they joined the prince of Orange, and fell under his command. They attacked Tirlemont, a place of considerable strength, and took it sword in hand^w. They afterwards invested Louvain, but, through some misunderstanding between their generals, were constrained to raise the siege; after which miscarriage, they went into winter-quarters. Those assigned the French were so indifferent, that this flourishing army wasted away in such a manner, that they returned home in small parties; which disgrace and disappointment chagrined the cardinal to the last degree, more especially as it created a great clamour in France, where, from the weight of their taxes, and other grievous misfortunes, the people in general were too much inclined to murmur. On the side of Germany things were like to go worse; the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg made their peace with the emperor, and their example was followed by most of the German princes: the cardinal had much ado to preserve the Swedes in a condition to keep up a diversion on that side, though he sent his great friend the cardinal de la Valette to assist the duke of Weymar. The king was so impatient at seeing not only his conquests, but his dominions in danger, that, in the autumn, he put himself at the head of a few troops in Champagne, of whom the count de Soissons was declared general, and entered Lorrain, where he took St. Mihiel, which had been surprised by the inhabitants^x. He retired soon after this exploit, the count de Cramail having shewn him that he ran a great hazard of being carried away by the duke of Lorrain: the cardinal, to hide the true cause of this retreat, caused the count to be arrested^y, and sent to the Bastile, and disgraced the count de Soissons. To put things in a better posture for the fu-

^u Mem. de Puysegur.^w Mem. de Pontis, tom. ii. livr. iii.

p. 150.

^x Aubert Hist. du Cardinal Richlieu. Le Vassor.

Mercure François.

^y Mem. du Marquis de Beauvau.

ture, he concluded, towards the end of the month, a treaty with duke Bernard of Weymar^z, by which he promised him a subsidy of four millions per annum, for the maintenance of an army of eighteen thousand men, and granted him several personal advantages besides.

The cardinal, to keep the house of Austria every-where employed, projected and accomplished the grand league in Italy, into which the dukes of Savoy, Parma, and Mantua entered; and to their assistance the marshal de Crequi marched with sixteen thousand men. Marshal Crequi invested Valence with his forces, to the relief of which the Spanish army marched, under the command of Don Carlò Colonna. The duke of Savoy went with ill will to this siege, and with a worse to attack the Spaniards, who were advancing to relieve the place; the marshal, however, attacked them, before they were intrenched, and, in all probability, would have defeated them, if he had been properly seconded by the duke: as he was not, he found himself constrained to retire, and made grievous complaints; it was suspected that marshal Thoiras, who had engaged in the service of Savoy, contributed not a little to this check; but, however, it is very certain, that this misintelligence amongst their chiefs ruined the cardinal's grand design of conquering, in one campaign, the duchy of Milan, and would have been attended with still worse effects, if it had not been for the success of the duke of Rohan in the Valteline: there, this nobleman routed the Imperialists, who would otherwise have entered the duchy of Milan with twenty thousand men, and, on the 10th of November, he defeated the Spaniards at Morbaigne, under the command of general Serbellon^a.

League of Italy concluded.

All that had been promised to Monsieur was punctually performed, and, after some delay, his favourite Puylaurens was fully gratified: he had a sum of money given him, which enabled him to purchase the duchy of Aiguillon: he married mademoiselle de Pont du Chateau, the cardinal's relation, and was made duke and peer of France^b. His fortune was great, but of no long duration; for it quickly appeared that the cardinal and he were not capable of a right understanding. The king was bent upon dissolving his brother's marriage; the cardinal desired Puylaurens to dispose his master to it, and would

Puylaurens, the duke of Orleans's favourite, imprisoned and poisoned.

^z Vitt. Siri Mem. recondite. Recueil de Pieces concernant l'Hist. de Louis XIII. tom. iii. p. 335. ^a Le Vassor. Batt. Nani. Aubert Hist. du Cardinal Richelieu. Vitt. Siri Mem. recondite. Mercure François. ^b Aubert Hist. du Cardinal Richelieu

not believe that it was out of his power. On the other hand, Puylaurens was desirous of sharing in the administration; an aim which disturbed the cardinal so much, that he engaged the king to cause him to be arrested at the Louvre, and sent to the castle of Vincennes, where he died on the 1st of July, a little suspiciously^c. To pacify his master, he was admitted into the council; but the loss of his favourite, and the imprisonment of some other persons about him, did not operate at all upon his conduct.

A.D. 1635. He disclaimed the pretence of a rape by the princes of Lorraine; he declared that his marriage was the effect of his choice; that he made it a point of conscience to adhere to his wife, to whom he remitted five thousand crowns a month; and shewed as much calmness and steadiness in this, as he had discovered weakness and inconstancy on every other occasion^d.

The war in Germany and Italy carried on with indifferent success.

On the side of Germany the Imperialists made themselves masters of Metz; but they had not the same fortune in besieging Calmar, from which they were obliged to rise by cardinal de la Valette and the duke of Weymar^e. The king having sent the prince of Condé to besiege Dole, in Franche Comté, the Imperialists made an irruption into Burgundy, where they might certainly have done something of importance, if the desire of plundering the country had not induced them to spread their troops abroad, instead of reducing and keeping any of the strong places. The king and his minister were so much alarmed at this invasion, that it was judged requisite to make a new treaty with the young queen of Sweden^f, and another with the landgrave of Hesse, granting them subsidies, in consideration of the forces they were to employ against the common enemy. The Spaniards attacked the kingdom likewise on their side, took and burned St. John de Luz, and would have reduced Bayonne, if the duke de la Valette, taking advantage of their slowness, had not relieved it; but the fleet, sent to recover the islands on the coast of Provence, met with a repulse. It was conducted by the archbishop of Bourdeaux, a circumstance which so extremely piqued the marshal de Vitry, who commanded in Provence, that he hindered the operations till the Spanish gallies appeared, by which delay the design was rendered impracticable. In Italy things went little better

^c Mercure François. ^d Vitt. Siri Mem. reconditte. ^e Vie de Richelieu. ^f Bat. Nani. Mem. de Puysegur. ^g Recueil de Pièces concernant l'Hist. de Louis XIII. tom. iii. p. 355. Le Vassor.

than before; for though the duke of Savoy defeated the Spaniards in the month of June, yet he would not improve that victory, because he had engaged by treaty to enlarge the district about Pignerol, in proportion to his conquests in the Milanese. The duke of Parma had the misfortune to see himself stripped of the best part of his dominions by the Spaniards; but the duke of Rohan was still victorious in the Valteline, a circumstance which hindered the Spaniards from pushing things on this side with vigour and advantage ^g.

The cardinal infant perceiving that, in consequence of the many designs formed on both sides, the frontier of Picardy lay in a manner open, resolved to enter France on that side, with all the force he could collect. Accordingly he committed the command of the army to prince Thomas of Savoy, who was joined by Piccolomini and John de Werth, an enterprising officer, who commanded a corps of irregular troops, who rendered themselves terrible wherever they came. This army presented itself, about the beginning of July, before la Capelle, which surrendered the sixth day of the siege, the baron du Bec, who commanded therein, thinking it impossible to defend it longer. Le Catelet was taken in two days, monsieur St. Leger having surrendered before a breach was made: the cardinal, to cover the omission in not making suitable provision for the defence of these places, caused the officers who commanded in them to be condemned of high treason, as if they had acted in concert with the Spaniards. He even went so far as to treat the duke de la Valette with harsh language, for interposing on the behalf of the baron du Bec, and caused the duke de St. Simon ^h, the king's favourite, to whom he had many obligations, to be disgraced, for endeavouring to support monsieur St. Leger, who was his uncle. These severities had not the effect he expected. The Spaniards forced a passage over the Somme, in spite of the small army commanded by the count de Soissons, and invested Corbie, in which commanded monsieur Soyecourt, the king's lieutenant-general of the province, who surrendered in a week, notwithstanding he had a garrison of eighteen hundred men, and the place was reputed strong ⁱ. The Parisians seeing John

The Spaniards invade Picardy.

^g Auberi Histoire de Cardinal Richelieu. ^h Vitt. Siri, Memoire recon dite. Memoires de Beauvas Nangis. ⁱ Memoires de Puysegur. Vie du Cardinal Richelieu. Memoires du Comte de Brienne.

de Werth within two days march of their gates, fell into the utmost confusion. The king was so much chagrined, that he scarce spoke to the cardinal, who shut himself up in his palace, not knowing what course to take. In this situation his old friend Bullion, who, by his favour, was at the head of the finances, advised him not only to appear publicly, but to lay aside his guards; "For I (said he) who am ten times more hated than you, traverse all Paris with a couple of footmen only." Richelieu took his advice, and the citizens, taking it for a mark of confidence, though they had reviled him the day before, applauded his courage, and the populace followed him with loud acclamations^k. However, this success had no effect upon the king, and his coldness so dispirited the cardinal, that he communicated to father Joseph his intention to quit the ministry, in order to provide for his safety. But the cunning Capuchin told him, that was not the way to be safe; and that a minister who had brought the kingdom and himself into danger, ought to employ his thoughts how to bring them out. The cardinal, upon this hint, laboured assiduously to reinforce the army. He borrowed money on every hand, took a footman from every person who kept two, and a horse from those that kept more than two: he stopped all the new buildings, and sent the carpenters and masons for recruits: he ordered forces from every quarter, and in a little time assembled fifty thousand men; resolved to take the command in person, if the count de Soissons would have served under him; but that prince having absolutely rejected the proposition, he gave the command to the duke of Orleans, supposing those two princes could not long agree, and that their misunderstanding would afford him a fair opportunity of removing them both, or of bringing one of them at least entirely into his measures^l.

The duke of Orleans and Count de Soissons form a design of assassinating the cardinal.

This proved one of the most dangerous resolutions he had ever taken. When the king saw his brother at the head of an army, he was so much out of temper that there was no approaching him. On the other hand, Monsieur and the count de Soissons, contrary to the cardinal's expectation, agreed perfectly well; indeed, so well, that, upon comparing their grievances, they came to a resolution of causing the cardinal to be assassinated, as he sat in council with the king at Amiens. Four of their domestics were appointed to perform this base action; and they had

^k Vie du Cardinal Richelieu. Memoires Historiques, &c. par Amelot de la Houffaye. ^l Memoires du Comte de Brienne.

the cardinal entirely in their power, for, on the day fixed, the king went early from the council: Monsieur and the count held the cardinal a long time in conversation, the four assassins standing round him, ready to dispatch him, if Monsieur had put his hand to his hat, which was to have been the signal^m: but, on a sudden, the duke of Orleans left the hall where they were, and went up stairs; one of the four followed him, and asked him what he meant? he said, his conscience would not permit him to dip his hands in the blood of a cardinal, archbishop, and priest. The cardinal knew nothing of this danger at the time, but was afterwards informed of it by the duke de la Valette, who was embarked in the conspiracy. The campaign was short; by the middle of September the Spaniards were obliged to repass the Somme; on the 10th of November Corbie was recoveredⁿ. On the 20th of the same month, the duke of Orleans and the count de Soissons fled, at eleven o'clock at night, out of Paris, the former to Blois, and the latter to Sedan; the cardinal causing false intelligence to be given them, that the king intended to arrest them, while, with his master, it passed for a kind of conviction of their guilt, that they had retired in this abrupt manner; yet both were treated with great lenity by the cardinal's advice. The count de Soissons was permitted to receive his rents and his appointments, without being obliged to return; and the king offered his brother to approve his marriage, provided he would give him a promise under his hand not to enter into any correspondence with foreigners, or to attempt disturbing the the public tranquillity^o. In order to gain Frederick Henry, prince of Orange, whom the cardinal had disoblighd by his haughtiness, and whom he had compelled to seek his friendship by submissions, he ordered the ambassador of France to give him the title of Highness instead of Excellency, and was so fortunate as to succeed, a circumstance which proved in many instances very beneficial to France, and helped to extricate her out of her present difficulties^p.

A.D. 1635.

In Germany the affairs of the Swedes went but indifferently; but the duke of Weymar had the good fortune to defeat the troops of Lorraine about Midsummer. The emperor Ferdinand the Second dying, France made some

Progress of the war in Germany, and dissolution of the Italian league.

^m Vitt. Siri Memoire reconдите. Memoires de Montresor.

ⁿ Le Vassor Hist. de Louis XIII.

^o Memoires d'un Favourite.

^p Memoires de Holland, par Auberi. Memoires de Pontis.

difficulty of owning his son Ferdinand the Third, though he had been chosen king of the Romans with the accustomed ceremonies; but when it was found this example was not either followed or approved by other princes, France dropped her opposition⁹. On the side of Italy things went very indifferently. The duke of Parma being besieged in Placentia, and the French not knowing how to relieve him, he was constrained to accept the terms offered him by Spain, which were not very unreasonable; by this event, and by the death of the dukes of Mantua and Savoy, the Italian league seemed to be dissolved, with which circumstance the cardinal was not at all displeased, because it gave him an opportunity of saving, and the unavoidable expences of the war ran so high, that he found parsimony equally difficult and necessary¹. He was, however, sensibly chagrined at the loss of the Valteline, and with reason, since it was entirely his own fault.

*The duke of
Rohan
compelled
to abandon
the Valte-
line*

He hated the duke of Rohan, and, though he had served the king with equal fidelity and success, yet no care was taken to supply him with money, which was all he wanted to insure success on that side. The Grisons, to whom he owed a million for the pay and subsistence of his troops, entered into negotiation with the Spaniards for obliging him to evacuate the Valteline: he engaged them, however, to give him two months respite, and, by way of favour, procured two months more; but the cardinal would not relieve, or so much as afford him an answer. In this distress his prudence suggested an expedient that saved his own honour and his master's troops: he undertook they should evacuate the country in a certain number of days, and became a hostage for the performance; and thus the blame was wholly and incontestably thrown upon the cardinal, and his own honour secured². The fleet, which the year before did so little, met this year with better fortune, though still commanded by the count de Harcourt, and the archbishop of Bourdeaux; for, after having made a descent in Sardinia, towards the end of February, they, in the middle of May, landed troops on the island of St. Margaret, beat the Spaniards from their forts, with great loss, and compelled them at length to abandon that of St. Honorat, which would have been done the year

⁹ Le Vassor Histoire de Louis XIII.

¹ Memoires du Comte de Brienne.

² Memoires du Duc de Rohan.

Batt. Nani.
Vie du Cardinal Richelieu.

before,

before, had not the archbishop quarrelled with marshal de Vitri, and perhaps would not have been done now, if that marshal had not been sent to the Bastile for returning the prelate's ill language with two or three strokes of his cane^t. The duke de la Valette, who, being under the cardinal's displeasure, could have no assistance from court, by cutting off their provisions, obliged the enemy to quit two or three small places they had seized in Guienne, and so delivered the province without an army. The Spaniards, to revenge these losses, invested Lucat with an army. It was a place of no great strength, and the sieur de Barri, who commanded in it, had but eighty men; but he defended himself for a month, which gave time to the duke of Halvin to march with a body of peasants, raised in haste, with whom he defeated the Spaniards: he killed them two thousand men, and took their train of artillery, consisting of thirty-seven pieces of heavy cannon, for which he was soon after rewarded with the staff of marshal, and chose to be called by his father's title, Schomberg, though duke and peer in right of his wife^u.

*Campaign
in the Low
Countries,
and La
Capelle re-
covered.*

On the side of the Low Countries the cardinal de la Valette, assisted by his eldest brother the duke de Candale, reduced Chateau Cambresis, Bavai, Maubeuge, and Landreci, small places, but important by their situation. The marshal de Chatillon took Yvoi in the duchy of Luxemburgh, and this being quickly recovered, he invested Damvilliers, which he likewise reduced. The duke of Longueville took also several places in the Franche Comté. The king was very desirous of taking the field, in order to recover La Capelle; but, according to the report that was made to the cardinal, this was not so easy or so sure an enterprise as to venture the monarch's reputation upon it; yet, in the month of September, the cardinal de la Valette, after taking the sense of a council of war, resolved to invest it, and became master of it in ten days^w. The king, though he was sensible of the great importance of this success, was, notwithstanding, displeased that he had not the credit of taking it; upon which the minister found himself obliged to send for the journal of the campaign, that he might convince his majesty that it was not undertaken by his orders, but purely by the advice of the council of war, upon finding the siege of Avesnes, which he had commanded, impracticable^x.

^t Le Vassor Hist. de Louis XIII. Vitt. Siri Memoire recon dite. Memoires du Comte de Brienne
^u Lettres du Cardinal Richelieu. Le Vassor Hist. de Louis XIII.
^w Memoires du Comte de Brienne.
^x Memoires de Puysegur.

*Richelieu
baffles the
projects of
his ene-
mies.*

The cardinal, in the beginning of the year, had prevailed upon his master to make a tour to Orleans with the French and Swiss guards. This excursion had an admirable effect in fixing the intentions of Monsieur, who had begun to draw the disaffected about him at Blois, and talked in high strains of the honour and courtesy of the Spaniards, as if he had forgot the miserable end of the duke of Montmorency, and his own sad situation at Brussels. But now, apprehending his liberty in danger, he was very willing to treat. He accepted the offer that was made him of not proceeding farther in the matter of his marriage, took a new oath of fidelity, and was extremely delighted that, at his request, the king had been pleased to set the chevalier de Grignan, and the abbé de la Riviere at liberty. The ill humours of the duke of Orleans were troublesome, but those of the king were terrible. He seemed at first thoughtful, then melancholy, and at length sullen. His confessor, the famous father Caussin, a Jesuit, had filled his mind with scruples of conscience, and, at length, in resolving them, furnished him with four charges against the minister; namely, that he had driven the queen-mother into exile, and kept her there without bread; that he had usurped the royal authority in his own person, he having the power, and his majesty no more than the title of king; that the people were oppressed with taxes in such a manner that misery was become universal; and that the wealth torn out of the vitals of the people was consumed in subsidies to heretics, such as the Swedes, the Germans, and the Dutch. The king asked him if he could recommend such another minister in point of abilities, which was a circumstance Caussin had never considered, being moved to this enterprize by bigotry rather than ambition. He answered therefore in the negative; but being pressed by the king, he undertook to maintain what he had advanced to Richelieu's face, on a day assigned. In the mean time, looking upon himself as commissioned to find out another prime minister, he communicated the whole of what had passed to the duke of Angoulesme, who promised to support him. But knowing the vindictive spirit of one priest, and having no great opinion of the sense of the other, he went directly to the cardinal, and told him how all things stood. The cardinal, in consequence of this intelligence, managed things so well with the king, that, by the time the day came, he

stood as high in the king's favour as ever; and when father Caussin appeared, and demanded an audience, he was told that the king had been for a long time with the cardinal in his closet. After having waited some time he was ordered to return to Paris, and being that evening arrested, was conveyed to Quimpercorrent in Bretagne^z. He had been prevailed upon to undertake this perilous enterprize by father Monoa, who was confessor to the duchess-regent of Savoy, the king's sister; and the cardinal's vengeance reached him the next year, by a positive declaration to the duchess, that the king could not confide in her while father Monoa continued about her person; upon which he was arrested, and sent prisoner to Montmelian^a. He made the queen also feel the effects of his power and influence, on account of her correspondence with the duchess of Chevreuse, once the object of the king's and cardinal's passion, but now inexpressibly hated by both. The marquise de la Force was erected into a duchy and peerage in favour of the marshal. This year also the cardinal instituted the French academy, composed of forty members, who were to direct their studies so as to improve and perfect the French language. The true design of the cardinal is said to have been to declare himself the protector of letters, that men of genius might in a more especial manner attach themselves to him as a patron of literary merit^b.

A.D. 1637.

The king, in the beginning of the year, by a solemn act, put his person and kingdom under the protection of the Blessed Virgin^c. Duke Bernard of Weymar having made a tour into Switzerland, the duke of Rohan, with whom he had many conferences, was so charmed with his conversation, that he engaged him to accompany him to his army, with which he besieged Rheinfeld, a strong place, which is considered as the chief of the forest towns. On the 28th of February John de Werth forced one of the quarters of his camp with great loss, took several pieces of cannon, and obliged him to raise the siege. The duke, having very exact intelligence, returned on the 3d of March, attacked and defeated the Imperial army, took twelve pieces of cannon, and their four generals prisoners. To make his court to the king, John de Werth was sent

*Course of
the war in
Germany
and Italy.*

^z Memoires du Duc de Orleans. Vie du Cardinal Richelieu.
^a Aubert Hist. du Cardinal Richelieu. Mercure François. ^b Vie
de Richelieu. Vitt. Siri Memoire reconduite. Aubert Histoire du
Cardinal Richelieu. ^c Lettres du Cardinal Richelieu.

under an escort to Paris. In the first action the duke of Rohan was mortally wounded, and died on the 13th of March, in a village belonging to the canton of Bern^d. His corpse lies interred at Geneva. The suit of armour he wore was received with great respect by the state of Venice, to whom it was bequeathed^e. He was little regretted at court, though one of the greatest men that age produced. The duke of Weymar afterwards reduced Rheinfeld, Friburg, and Brisac, after having twice defeated the Imperialists^f. In Italy things wore an indifferent aspect. The duchess of Savoy was desirous of concluding a defensive league only; the cardinal, by threatening that the king would abandon her, obliged her to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with France^g. The Spaniards having invested Brenca, marshal Crequi going to reconnoitre his lines, was killed by a cannon ball^h. The cardinal de la Valette was sent to command in his stead; but could not prevent the taking Verceil, and remained afterwards on the defensive. On the 4th of October died the young duke of Savoyⁱ, who was succeeded by his brother Charles Emanuel. The cardinal of Savoy and prince Thomas contested the regency, but the duchess, supported by her brother, prevailed.

The prince of Condé compelled to raise the siege of Fontarabia.

On the side of Spain it was resolved to act offensively. The conde duke had caused France to be invaded twice; the cardinal duke resolved on the siege of Fontarabia, contrary to the advice of the duke de la Valette, who declined commanding the army that was to form it^k. The cardinal, to mortify that family, declared the prince of Condé the king's lieutenant-general in Guienne, and the provinces adjacent, ordered the old duke of Espernon to keep his house, and the duke de la Valette to attend the prince, who entered Navarre in the beginning of the month of July, took Iron, Figuero, and Port Passage, in which he found twelve good ships, and one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. The archbishop of Bourdeaux, who had orders to second him with a fleet, defeated that of Spain, which was composed of fourteen galleons and four frigates; one only of the latter escaped, the rest were either taken or sunk, and on board them four or five thousand old troops were either burned or drowned^l. As this fleet

^d Mercure François.

^e Batt. Nani.

^f Le Vassor.

^g Recueil de Pieces concernant l'Hist de Louis XIII.

^h Vitt.

ⁱ Siri Memoire reconditte.

^j Lettres du Cardinal Richelieu.

^k Vitt. Siri Memoire reconditte. Le Vassor.

^l Aubert Hist.

^m du Cardinal Richelieu. Vie du Duc d'Espernon.

was intended for the relief of Fontaràbia, the place was given up for lost, though very gallantly defended. But the prince of Condé made a strange mistake in abandoning Port Passage, a step which enabled the admiral of Castile to march with twelve hundred horse and fifteen thousand militia, to the relief of the place. It was in so desperate a state that he put all things to the hazard, and, on the 7th of September attacked the French in their entrenchments, though their army consisted of nineteen thousand old troops. The officers did their duty, but the first entrenchment being forced, all things fell into confusion; the prince of Conti and the archbishop of Bourdeaux retiring to the fleet, embarked part of the troops, and escaped. The duke de la Valette, who had been removed from his command, and was at a distance from the army, returned of his own accord, rallied the flying remains of their forces, and made a decent retreat^m. The prince, notwithstanding, threw all the blame upon him, and the duke, who foresaw he should be made a victim, notwithstanding the credit his brother had with the cardinal, withdrew to Englandⁿ; upon which his process was made, he was condemned to lose his head, and that sentence was publicly executed in effigy at the Greve, though the president Bellievre and some others, his judges, protested against it. As the cardinal had power to depress even without cause, so he claimed also the prerogative of exalting without merit: his nephew, monsieur de Pont Courlai, with fifteen French galleys, attacked as many of the Spaniards before Genoa, on the 1st of September, and, with the loss of three of his own, defeated them totally, and took six, by which exploit he gained great reputation, though his personal behaviour did not at all contribute to the victory^o. These were the dawns of the French naval power which this minister had much at heart.

The marshal de Chatillon, with a numerous army, entered Artois, and in the latter end of May invested St. Omer; but, after laying before it seven weeks, and losing a great number of men, he was constrained to retire by prince Thomas of Savoy and general Piccolomini, with which retreat the king was greatly offended; so that he was ordered to retire to his house, and the command was

The cardinal inexorable to the queen-mother.

^m Mercure François.

ⁿ Lettres du Cardinal Richelieu.

^o Aubertin Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu. Mercure François

given to the marshal de la Force ^p. In autumn, however, monsieur du Hallier recovered le Catelet, which was the last of their conquests that the Spaniards retained. The disputes at court ran as high as ever this year, and the minister's authority and influence appeared with greater lustre than ever. The queen-mother, after spending some little time in Holland, made a tour to Great Britain, where she prevailed upon the French minister Bellievre, by the recital of her miseries, to write in her behalf. She desired him to acquaint the cardinal, that, as things were no longer what they were, so her desires were regulated by their present state; that she no longer sought for power, for places of safety, or even the splendour of a court; that she was willing to submit to his will, and receive from it, in what corner of France he pleased, bread and peace. The ambassador wrote all she desired in a very pathetic style, but wrote without effect ^q. The queen-mother had once declared herself before the king implacable towards the cardinal; and either fear or resentment made him so ever after. He mortified the reigning queen almost as severely: he discovered her correspondence with her brother the cardinal-infant, and caused her to be interrogated upon it by the chancellor, though she was then with child. Thus questioned, she said the ties of nature obliged her to love her brother and her country; but that she had never written any thing inconsistent with her duty to the king, or with the affection she owed to France, since the sole end of her correspondence was to procure peace. On the 5th of September she was delivered at St. Germain en Laye of her eldest son Lewis ^r, in the twenty-third year of her marriage, an event which filled all France with joy to a degree that is inexpressible.

*Causes the
duchy of
Aiguillon to
be given to
his niece.*

The cardinal, not satisfied with shewing that he had an interest with his master superior either to his mother or his wife, went yet farther, and took from him his mistress, madame de la Fayette. This aim he effected by corrupting one of his servants, and also forging billets, by which he forced her into a convent. There the king learned the secret ^r from her own mouth; for which the servant was disgraced, but without any diminution of the cardinal's

A.D. 1638. power, as appears from the following instance: he pro-

^p Memoires de Puysegur. Lettres du Cardinal Richelieu.

^q Vittorio Siri Memoire recon dite.

de Bienne.

^s Mercure François.

^r Memoires du Comte

^t Vitt. Siri Memoire

recon dite.

cured Aiguillon to be erected into a duchy and peerage^u, in favour of Magdalen de Vignerot, better known by the name of madame de Combalet, with this singular clause, to be enjoyed by that lady, her heirs and successors, as well males as females, in such manner as she should be pleased to appoint. In virtue of which clause, by her testament in 1674, she called to the succession her niece, Maria Theresa, and at the same time substituted her grand-nephew Lewis marquis of Richlieu^w.

Duke Bernard of Weymar, who had hitherto rendered such important services to France, began now to give some trouble to the cardinal: he was a prince by birth, a soldier by profession; he had learned the art of war under Gustavus Adolphus; but his army was his own, though in the pay of France; it was composed of all nations, but chiefly of Germans: towards the close of the year it was thin and weak, but without any difficulty he recruited it before the spring, by the reputation of his generosity, justice, and an exact regard for merit. The count de Guebriant and the viscount Turenne had served under this prince, and were at once his lieutenants and his pupils. By a secret article in his treaty, duke Bernard was to have Alsace and a large pension; he was inclined, in the mean time, to keep Brisac, and to form a principality by the conquest of several small places in that neighbourhood. This design did not at all please the cardinal; he wanted Brisac for France, and he pressed the duke to come to Paris, that they might confer about the operations of the campaign. But of this journey the duke would not hear: he said the Imperialists were making great preparations to oppress and destroy him, and therefore it was not time for journeys. The count de Guebriant had orders to try if he might not be brought to sell Brisac, or to exchange it for the Franche Comté, which, if he could conquer, should be preserved to him at a general peace. The duke answered like a soldier, "Monsieur le Comté, to propose to a woman of virtue the sale of her virginity, and to a brave man the purchase of his honour, is the same thing^x." He sent, however, major-general Erlach to Paris, to settle the operations of the campaign, and with him the cardinal agreed, that, if the duke died, he should have a certain sum for the surrender of Brisac. On the return of that officer, the duke

Duke Bernard of Weymar dies.

^u L'Etat de France, tom. ii. p. 303. ^w Abrege Chronologique de l'Histoire de France, seconde Partie, par Pr. Henault, p. 508. ^x Le Vassor. Le Gendre.

opened the campaign in January, and prosecuted it with vigour; he took several small places, but, on the 18th of July, deceased at Newburgh on the Rhine, after a short illness ^y. There seems to be no great doubt that he died by poison, and there is as little that the cardinal was not displeased with his death. He died at thirty-six years of age, and left his succession to any of his brothers who would accept it under the protection of France and Sweden. He appointed major-general Erlach, colonel Oheim, the count de Nassau, and colonel Rozen, directors of his army. With these directors, after a long negociation, France concluded a treaty, and, in virtue of that, and the money before stipulated, major-general Erlach gave up Brisac, and another officer surrendered Friburg; but of both places they were to remain governors, with a garrison half German and half French: the elector Palatine, who aspired to the command of this army, left England with that view; but, being arrested in his passage through France, the cardinal prevailed upon the directors to accept of the duke of Longueville for their chief ^z.

Military and political transactions in Piedmont, with the famous retreat of count Harcourt.

There were, on the side of Piedmont, more transactions of consequence this year than in any of the preceding. About the middle of March, the princes of Savoy, that is, the cardinal and prince Thomas, uncles to the reigning duke, made a treaty with the marquis de Leganez, at Vannero, by which it was stipulated, that the marquis should put them in possession of the tutelage of their nephew, which they claimed; that they should use their joint endeavours to drive out the French; that such places as should open their gates should belong to the princes; but that such as were reduced by force of arms should be left in the hands of his catholic majesty ^a. In consequence of this treaty, before the end of the month, Chivas was surprised, a circumstance which so raised the spirits of his party, that Guieres and Montcallier declared for him: Verue and Crescentine submitted soon after. In the beginning of May he reduced Trin, which was very ill defended ^b. These losses obliged the duchess-regent to conclude, on the 1st of June, a treaty with the king her brother ^c, by which she consented to receive French garrisons into Carmagnola, Savillan, and Querasque, which were to be restored upon

^y Mercure François. Lettres du Cardinal Richelieu. ^z Le Gendre.

^a Vittorio Siri Memoire recondue. Lettres du Cardinal Richelieu. Le Vassor.

^b Auberi Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu. ^c Corps Universel Diplomatique, tom. vi. par. i. p. 174.

the conclusion of a peace. Her affairs, indeed, were in a very bad situation, notwithstanding that cardinal de la Valette recovered Chivas; but they became still worse, when, on the 27th of August, the princes of Savoy surprised Turin so suddenly, that the duchess had much ado to escape with her jewels into the citadel. About a month after cardinal de la Valette, wore out with labour and chagrin, breathed his last at Rivoli. The pope refused him the usual honours paid to the memory of cardinals, because he had commanded armies against catholics, and sometimes acted in conjunction with heretics^d. The command of his army was given to the count de Harcourt, who hitherto had commanded on board the fleet. About this time the duchess repaired to Grenoble, to confer with her brother, where cardinal Richelieu represented to her in plain terms, that her own subjects being better affected to the princes than to herself, and the Spaniards pouring continually fresh troops into her dominions, there was no measure left for her to take with security and honour, but to put Montmelian into her brother's hands, and to send her son the young duke to Paris, to be educated with the dauphin. She was pressed to this measure also by the king himself, but, wanting words, she answered both with tears, and returned with little other assistance than promises^e. Count Harcourt sent monsieur le Mothe Haudancourt to surprise Quiers, a service which he performed towards the end of October, on which the count marched thither with the rest of his army, to assist in the fortifying it. He continued there about a month, when the marquis de Leganez encamped behind him, with the Spanish army, and prince Thomas before him, with all the forces he could assemble, secure that he could not escape either being starved or cut to pieces. He took his measures, however, so well, that, decamping in the night, he attacked and forced a passage through the army of the princes, before the Spaniards had any intelligence of his march; and, having the next night fortified a bridge, where he left some troops and cannon, he proceeded securely with the rest of his army, before the Spaniards could force it, a retreat which was looked upon as one of the greatest actions in this war.

^d Memoires du Marechal de Fabert. ^e Batt. Nani. livre xi.
Vittorio Siri Memoire recondite, tom. viii. Auberi Histoire du
Cardinal Richelieu.

*Progress of
the war in
Spain, and
the Low
Countries.*

By the advice of Richelieu, the king resolved to act offensively against Spain; and the prince of Condé was sent with a considerable body of troops to besiege Salces, while the archbishop of Bourdeaux, with his fleet, alarmed and insulted the coast ^f. The reasons which he assigned were, that whatever fate attended the Spanish irruptions into France, the subjects of that monarchy were made to believe their master was invincible and terrible to his neighbours; but, if once attacked at home, they would speedily change their sentiments, and, loaded as they were with taxes, and discontented with the austere insolence of Olivarez's government, some of the provinces would not fail to revolt, when they saw that strangers were both able and willing to lend them assistance. It is true, this year's expedition produced not much, though Salces was taken, after five weeks siege; but, in the end, the cardinal's conjectures were verified in such a manner, that, while in other places human counsels followed events, it looked as if events had followed Richelieu's counsels ^g. Things however did not go quite so happily in all places: the marquis de Feuquieres, in the beginning of June, had, with a small army, invested Thionville, a very strong place, which, however, he would have infallibly taken, since it was equally deficient in provisions, ammunition, and garrison. Besides, he had taken his measures so well, that the governor, who was absent upon some necessary occasions, could not get in again: but general Piccolomini marched with such diligence and secrecy, that he attacked Feuquieres unexpectedly in his lines, which he speedily forced, killed and made prisoners six thousand men, and amongst the rest took Feuquieres himself, who died in Thionville of wounds and of grief. He then besieged Mauzon, where monsieur de Refuge, with a very small garrison, stood a general assault, which saved the place, for marshal Chatillon having drawn together the remains of Feuquieres' army, advanced to its relief ^h: but the great effort was against Hesdin, which the marquis de la Meilleraie, the cardinal's near relation, besieged and took, after thirty-eight days open trenches. He received the king standing on the breach, when his majesty, who

^f Auberi Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu. Lettres du Cardinal Richelieu. ^g Batt. Nani, livre xi. ^h Memoires

de Pontis, tom. ii. livre iv. Auberi Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu. Le Vassor. Vitt. Siri Memoire recon dite.

leaned on monsieur de Puysegur's shoulder, took his cane out of that gentleman's hand, and putting it into the hand of the marquis, "For once (said he) this shall serve for a bâton. Meilleraie, I make you marshal of France!" In order to gratify this gentleman with the post of grand-master of the artillery, the old duke of Sully had been made marshal when he was near fourscore. On the 1st of August, the marquis de Chatillon took Yvoi in four days, and razed it; and on the 5th of the same month the new marshal defeated the Spaniards near the river Aa, killed two thousand men, took three hundred prisoners, and four pieces of cannon^k.

In regard to the domestic concerns of this year, they were such as, if possible, gave stronger testimonies of the minister's absolute power, than any which we have yet seen. He thought it necessary to give an answer to the applications of the queen-mother, but he judged it expedient that this answer should be in the king's name. The letter was drawn in very strong terms, in which all that could be said either to justify or to extenuate the ill usage she had received was put in the best light it would bear, and, in the end, she was told, that the king not being able to satisfy himself that her mind was at all changed, he could only recommend to her a journey to Florence, to which, if she consented, she might depend upon marks of his favour. This letter, penned by Chavigni, was carried to, and signed by the king^l. The queen of England wrote in very affecting terms in behalf of her mother, and sent over a person of distinction to support what she had said, and to offer her security for the queen's behaviour, if she was permitted to return to France; but this made no manner of impression^m. On the contrary, the cardinal had an agent in Scotland, to blow the coals of that rebellion, which afterwards flamed out with such violence through the whole island. In the court of the queen-consort, madame de Senecey, who had the honour of her majesty's confidence, and who from thence thought it unnecessary to solicit the cardinal's favour, was removed, without any reason assigned, farther than the king's pleasure; and when, to avoid this mortification, the queen condescended to apply herself to the cardinal, she could obtain no other an-

The cardinal gives fresh instances of his ascendancy over his master.

ⁱ Memoires de Puysegur, p. 174.

livre iv. Vie de Richlieu.

Richelieu.

p. 640.

^k Memoires de Pontis,

^l Aubertin Histoire du Cardinal

^m Vittorio Siri Memoire recondite, tom. viii.

swer than that, since she did him the honour to ask his counsel, the best advice he could give her was to obey the king her husband^a. After madame de la Fayette retired into a convent, the king used to divert himself with madame de Hautefort, with which circumstance the queen and the cardinal were for a time equally pleased, the former, because it brought him often into her apartment, and the latter, because he knew her to be an easy good-natured woman, who troubled not herself with affairs of state. At length, perceiving her intimacy with madame de Cheme-rant, a lady of great understanding, and of a very active spirit, he grew uneasy, and resolved to supply the king with a favourite, who should render him less assiduous about his mistress; for Lewis did not at all resemble his father; there was nothing criminal in his amours, scarce any thing gallant; and as the pleasure of a free conversation was all he desired, it was indifferent to him whether he indulged this freedom with the sex or not. The person of whom the cardinal made choice, was Henry d'Effiat, seigneur de Cinque Mars, the second son of marshal d'Effiat, who owed his fortune entirely to the cardinal. This young man was handsome, sprightly, well versed in all manly sports, but of a haughty and intractable temper, which he concealed from the cardinal. He was master of the wardrobe, and, in bringing him into his master's favour, Richelieu crossed his inclination, for he had shewn evident marks of dislike to Cinque Mars; but these, by his patron's instructions, were soon got over. At the siege of Hesdin, the king gave him the first marks of his kindness, by bestowing on him a large pension; and at his return to Paris, he was so thoroughly established, that the two ladies before mentioned were forbid the court, upon a rumour that they had spoken disrespectfully of Cinque Mars. His great merit was, that he heard the king's complaints of an evening, and repeated them faithfully to the cardinal^b: but the ladies were not the only objects of the cardinal's resentment; he made the pope feel the weight of it continually, by keeping the marshal d'Etrees at Rome, with the title of the king's ambassador, who, when he bore the title of marquis de Cœuvres, had broke the heart of one of his holiness's predecessors, and who lived in a state of hostility with the pontiff, from the very moment he ap-

^a Memoires du Comte de Brienne. Overo Hist. de correnti Tempi, tom. ii. lib. ii. p. 555. Vie de Richelieu. ^b Vitt. Siri Memoire recondite. Memoires de Bassompierre. Memoires du Comte de Brienne. Le Vassor.

peared in his court. Urban VIII. for this and other reasons, had sent monsieur Scoti, with the title of nuncio extraordinary, to Paris: the cardinal, who was as little pleased with him as the pope was with marshal d'Etrees, engaged the king to send a letter to the parliament, directing them to forbid the bishops of France to have any communication whatever with this extraordinary nuncio, who also received greater mortifications than this; so little was Richelieu inclined to keep measures with any to whom he had taken offence^p. The cardinal assigned many, and some of them very plausible reasons^q, for the umbrage he said the king had taken at the proceedings of the court of Rome: monsieur Scoti made no scruple of publishing, that the true motives were the refusal of a hat for Mazarine, whom Richelieu had chosen to replace the famous father Joseph, and the delay made in sending the cardinal's own bulls as abbot-general of the order of Cisterian monks, which he resolved to have, and the pope had resolved not to grant^r.

There happened this winter an affair, the like of which had not been seen in France, or perhaps any where else. The people in Normandy, finding themselves grievously burdened with taxes, the journeymen in the great towns, and the peasants in the villages, assembled together, and refused to pay any taxes. This was called the insurrection des Pied Nuds, or of the *Naked Feet*^s. But the singularity lay in the chastisement; the chancellor Seguier went into the province, as a kind of constable of the long robe, attended by a corps of six thousand regular troops, commanded by monsieur de Gassion, who every evening carried the white standard into the chancellor's chamber, and received the word: he had likewise monsieur Vrilliere with him as secretary of state; and, though the great-seal was not removed from Paris, yet posterity will believe the contrary; for all that passed it for three months was dated from the places where the chancellor happened to be. He began with interdicting the parliament of Rouen for not proceeding vigorously against the rebels, whom he treated in such a manner, as that no blame of this sort could be fixed upon him. His troops put numbers to the sword; and those who were taken were hanged or broke alive up-

The chancellor sent into Normandy to suppress an insurrection.

^p Recueil de Pieces concernant l'Histoire de Louis XIII. tom. iii. p. 390. ^q Lettres du Cardinal Richelieu. ^r Vie de Richelieu. ^s Le Vassor. Le Gendre. P. Dan. Journal Historique de Louis XIII.

on the wheel. He declared the privileges of the city forfeited, fined the inhabitants severely, and, in a word, made the people of Normandy understand the spirit of Richelieu's administration, the most austere and unrelenting, to which this, or perhaps any other kingdom was ever exposed. Having re-established peace, by extirpating those who had taken arms, he restored the parliament to its jurisdiction, and returned to Paris, covered with the hatred of the Normans, by which, however, he merited the esteem of the cardinal minister.

Count Harcourt raises the siege of Casal, and afterwards takes Turin.

In Germany nothing happened of any great moment; for the duke of Longueville, with Weymar's army, which he commanded, being obliged to join the Swedes, who otherwise could not have opposed the Imperialists, great jealousies arose between them, the former endeavouring to debauch the duke's army, and induce them to take service under their crown, and the latter shewing great backwardness in whatever operations were proposed that had not an immediate tendency to the advantage of France^t. In Italy the Spaniards had in all respects a superiority, excepting in the material article of generals. A negotiation for peace, and a kind of suspension of arms, kept things quiet in the spring, both sides professing an earnest inclination to see the tranquility of Italy restored; which desire both sides only pretended, that, under this fair appearance, they might push their particular points. Cardinal Maurice of Savoy was in possession of the county of Nice, in appearance firmly attached to his brother and to the Spaniards, but at the same time listened to the proposals of his sister and the French^u. Prince Thomas was master of the city of Turin and several other places, closely connected with the Spaniards for the present, but not averse to proposals which he sometimes communicated to the Spaniards, that he might raise his reputation and his terms. The marquis Leganez, governor of Milan, was, in every body's opinion, an able negociator, but a great general only in his own. He had concluded a secret treaty with the duchess of Mantua, in consequence of which he made no doubt of surprising Casal: the French governor discovered his correspondence, just as he arrived before it, and prevented its effects. This discovery obliged Leganez to invest and besiege the place in form, which

^t Vitt. Siri Memoire recon dite. Puffendorff. Rer. Suec. lib. xii. Aubert Hist. du Cardinal Richelieu. ^u Vitt. Siri Memoire recon dite. Batt. Nani. Lettres du Cardinal Richelieu.

was ill provided, the inhabitants being disaffected, and without hopes of relief. However, the governor did his duty, and made a gallant defence. The count de Harcourt, with a small army, at a great distance, having many other disadvantages, resolved to attempt something, and wrote the cardinal word, that he would either raise the siege or perish before the place. He took his measures so well, and marched with such expedition, that, on the 29th of April he attacked the Spaniards in their lines, which were not half finished, forced them, though not without an obstinate resistance, and accomplished what he had proposed. Leganez had five thousand men killed, drowned, and taken; he lost besides twelve pieces of cannon, with the best part of his baggage: his papers were taken in his tent, and, amongst the rest, the treaty he had concluded with the dukes^w. Harcourt having victualled Casal, returned with great celerity into Piedmont, where he undertook another enterprize about Midsummer, which was truly singular: while prince Thomas, with his forces in Turin, besieged the citadel, the count de Harcourt besieged him, and was soon after besieged himself in his own camp by the Spanish army, under the marquis de Leganez. In this situation his safety depended entirely upon the success of his convoys, and it was here that the viscount Turenne gave the first proofs of that genius which afterwards distinguished him as the greatest captain of his time. After infinite toil and danger he carried his point, forced the Spaniards to retire, and obliged prince Thomas to surrender on the 24th of September^x, who soon after entered into a negotiation with Mazarine, whom the cardinal sent expressly into Italy for that purpose.

We have before mentioned the principles upon which cardinal Richelieu directed the invasion of Roussillon by the prince of Condé, and his reduction of Salces, into which he put a good garrison, under the command of monsieur Espinan, after which he left the command of the army to marshal Schomberg^y. The marquis Spinola, with a small army, arrived before it on the 20th of September, in the preceding year, and carried the outworks by storm, notwithstanding which, the place was so well defended, that the prince had time to assemble all the militia of the province. Marching over mountains the Spaniards thought

Miscarriage of the prince of Condé and victory gained by the duke de Breze.

^w Aubert Hist. du Cardinal Richelieu.
recondite. Eman. Tef. vol. ii. Batt. Nani.
Mercurio. Batt. Nani.

^x Vitt. Siri Memoire
^y Vitt. Siri il

impracticable, he arrived in sight of their camp with twenty-two thousand foot, four thousand horse, and two thousand volunteers, which threw them into great consternation, so that, if he had attacked them immediately, they must, in all probability, have been totally defeated; but being late in October, and in the afternoon, he delayed the attack till the next morning, and in the night there happened a violent storm; in consequence of which the greatest part of the militia disbanded. However, having collected fourteen thousand men, he, on the 9th of November, attacked the besiegers in their entrenchments, being assisted by marshal Schomberg and the duke de St. Simon, but was repulsed, and obliged to retire with the loss of three thousand men. Espinay, notwithstanding, defended the place to the 6th of January in this year, and then surrendered upon honourable terms^a. At sea, the French fleet, commanded by the duke de Breze, defeated the Spaniards before Cadiz, and burnt two of their ships, on the 22d of July. This success was particularly pleasing to the cardinal, from the nature of the service, and his kindness for him by whom it was performed.

*Siege and
reduction
of Arras.*

On the side of the Low Countries the king had two armies, one commanded by the marshal de Chatillon, the other by the marshal de la Meilleraie. The project formed by the cardinal was the attack of Clermont on the Meuse; but the heavy rains rendering this impracticable, the two generals resolved on the siege of Arras, and directed their marches so well, that they arrived before the place on the same day: there were present at this siege three marshals of France, Chaunes, Chatillon, and Meilleraie, and almost all the young nobility served as volunteers. The governor was absent when the place was invested, so that the defence was made by colonel Boyle, an Irish officer in the Spanish service, who did all that could be expected from a gallant officer^a. The cardinal infant, duke Charles of Lorraine, and general Lamboi, assembled a puissant army for its relief, which they first attempted by cutting off the besiegers provisions^b. Orders were sent by the cardinal to monsieur du Hallier, brother to marshal Vitry, who was thought to be the person who killed marshal d'Ancre, to escort a great convoy to the camp; but the king, ap-

^a Auberi Hist. du Cardinal Richelieu. Le Vassor. Le Gend.

^a Auberi Hist. du Cardinal Richelieu. Vitt. Siri Memoire recon-

dite. Memoires de Pontis, tom. ii. livr. iv. ^b Vie de Richelieu. Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau. Memoires de Pontis, tom. ii. livr. iv.

prehenſive that, if his corps ſhould be defeated, the Spaniards would enter the kingdom, again ſent him orders not to move. Du Hallier doubted; but the menaces of the cardinal prevailed^c. He executed his orders with ſpirit. The marſhals before Arras being apprized of his march, Meilleraie, with three thouſand horſe and as many foot, was detached to meet him. The cardinal infant ſeeing this advantage, attacked the French camp with ſuch vigour, that he made himſelf maſter of fort Rentzau, and was very near gaining a complete victory, when the troops of marſhal Meilleraie and du Hallier appeared; a circumſtance which obliged him to retire, and of conſequence the place to ſurrender on the 9th of Auguſt, after thirty-five days^d open trenches. The king remained, during the ſiege, at Amiens, where he had a dangerous fit of ſickneſs^e. It was generally expected that Du Hallier's ſervice would have been rewarded with a bâton of France; but his having hesitated on receiving the cardinal's orders, was an unpardonable fault during his adminiſtration; ſo that, though he continued to ſerve, and to ſerve with reputation, yet he never received that honour while Richelieu lived.

On the 21ſt of September the queen was delivered of a ſon, who had, for the preſent, the title of duke of Anjou. The cardinal, apprehenſive that her power would increaſe, laboured to extinguiſh the memory of paſt miſunderſtandings; but his attempt was ineffectual, and the queen contented herſelf with general returns, the ſenſe of which were well enough underſtood by Richelieu, who took all kinds of precaution to be in a condition to ſupport himſelf in caſe of the king's death. As he was inclined to put the management of foreign affairs into the hands of Mazarine, he intimated to the court of Rome that the gratifying this miniſter with a hat ſhould be the price of withdrawing the marſhal d'Étrees, and it was accordingly ſent him, about the middle of December in the next year, into Piedmont, where, for the preſent, finding their deſign traaverſed by the count d'Aglià, who had a great aſcendency over the duchefs-regent, Mazarine, by the direction of Richelieu, cauſed him to be arreſted in the houſe of monsieur du Pleſſis Praſlin, and carried away priſoner to Pignerol, from whence he was transferred into

*Meaſures
taken by
Richelieu
to embar-
raſs the
Spaniards
on all ſides.*

^c Auberi Hiſtoire du Cardinal Richelieu.
memoire reconditte. Memoires de Puyſegur.
Gend. Pr. Henault.

^d Vitt. Siri Me-
^e Le Vaſſor. Le

France^f. At the close of this year happened suddenly, and almost at the same time, two great events, which were extremely favourable to the power and administration of Richelieu; these were the revolt in Catalonia, and the revolution in Portugal.

*Campaign
in Ger-
many and
Italy end
with no
signal ad-
vantage.*

The French forces in Germany were conducted by the count de Guebriant, who acted in conjunction with the Swedes, commanded by the marshal Banier, the Hessians, and the forces of the house of Lunenburgh; towards the end of January they bombarded Ratibon, though the emperor and the dyet were in that city. On the 29th of June the army of the allies, under count Guebriant (for general Banier was dead), defeated the Imperial army, commanded by the archduke Leopold and general Piccolomini; notwithstanding which advantage the Imperialists began to recover strength, and the Swedish army, now commanded by Tortenson, found sufficient employment in defending what they had acquired; the princes of the house of Lunenburgh also made a separate peace, and on Christmas-day the plenipotentiaries of the emperor and Spain on one side, and of the crowns of France and Sweden on the other, signed the preliminaries at Hamburgh, referring the conclusion to the congresses of Munster and Osnabrug. The very same day the treaty between France and Sweden was renewed, that these negotiations might be managed without any jealousy on either side, or any fear of separating the interests of the two crowns^g. In Piedmont prince Thomas of Savoy, notwithstanding the treaty he had concluded with France, closed again with the Spaniards, who had the complaisance, upon his representations, to remove the marquis Leganez from the government of the Milanese, and to send in his place the count de Sersela, with whom the prince did not agree better, and under whom affairs went much worse. The viscount Turenne made himself master of Monte Calvo, and afterwards besieged Ivree^h, the only place of consequence that prince Thomas had in his own power. It was gallantly defended by his bastard brother, so that the prince had time to engage the Spaniards to march to his relief, while the count de Harcourt, returning from Paris, resumed the command of the French army. Upon the approach of the Spaniards he raised the siege of Ivree, and

^f Vie de Richelieu. Vitt. Siri Memoire recon dite, tom. viii.

^g Puffend. Rer. Suec. lib. xiii. Vie de Richelieu. Le Vassor.

^h Vitt. Siri, il Mercurio. Eman. Tesauro, vol. iii. Batt Nani,

marched

marched to give them battle; which was all that prince Thomas wished, as their army was double the number of the French. When almost in fight, the prince ranged the cavalry in order of battle, at the same time that the count of Savel ordered the infantry to retire; so that count de Harcourt attacked the horse with some advantage, and afterwards returned to his siege. Prince Thomas then engaged the Spanish army to form the siege of Chivas^l, to the relief of which the count de Harcourt coming with his army, such a reinforcement was thrown into Ivree, that he was constrained to abandon all thoughts of taking it. In the autumn, however, he invested Coni, and took it on the 15th of September, after forty-six days open trenches: prince Thomas and the Spaniards, in the mean time, recovered Monte Calvo, which, however, was no equivalent, since Coni was a place of very great importance; yet, to remove the jealousies of the Italian princes, this was immediately put into the hands of the duchess-regent^k. Before we leave Italy we must observe, that the prince of Monaco, of the house of Grimaldi, having been extremely ill treated by the Spaniards, resolved to put his place into the hands, and himself under the protection of France. It is generally believed that the treaty was negociated by the nuncio Grimaldi, who passed through Monaco in his way to Paris; it was signed on the 8th of July^l, and the king engaged to give the duke lands in France as an equivalent for his estates in the kingdom of Naples, part of which were to be erected into a duchy, with the title of Valentinois, and the rest into a marquissate and county for his son. The two princes managed their affairs with great dexterity, surpris'd and turned out the Spanish garrison, and, on the 18th of November, admitted the French^m. Antonio de Grimaldi, the great grandson of this duke, having no heirs male, married his daughter Louisa Hippolita to monsieur de Matignon, who, by virtue of letters patent, registered in 1716, became duke and peer of France, by the title of duke of Valentinois and prince of Monacoⁿ.

The first project of the Catalans, after their revolt, was to render themselves a free state, with the assistance of France; but having been vigorously attacked by the Spa-

^l Vie de Richelieu.

^k Aubertin Histoire du Cardinal Riche-

lieu. ^l Recueil de Pieces concernant l'Histoire de Louis XIII. tom. iii. p. 423.

^m Batt. Nani. lib. xi.

ⁿ Abrege Chronologique de l'Hist. de France, part. ii. par President Henault, p. 515, 516.

*Campaign
in Catalo-
nia; Ter-
ragona be-
sieged; and
the arch-
bishop of
Bordeaux
disgraced.*

niards, and being very sparingly supplied by the cardinal, they quickly discovered the impossibility of succeeding in that design, and, if they had been treated with any tolerable degree of lenity, in all probability, they would have submitted again to their own sovereign. But the Spaniards, having branded the inhabitants of some places, of which they became masters, with hot irons, as if they had been slaves, the people in despair fortified Barcelona, and, by a treaty, submitted themselves to the crown of France, stipulating only the preservation of their privileges *. The count de la Mothe Houdincourt was sent to their assistance, with five thousand men, and it was he who advised them to fortify the fort of Montjuic, which covered Barcelona. Towards the latter end of March the French had the good fortune to take five men of war and two gallies in the Bay of Roses. About the middle of May the count de la Mothe became master of Constantin, and several other places, and soon after formed the siege, or rather the blockade of Terragona, in which she shut up the prince de Bottero, with the best part of the troops the Spaniards had in the province, where they defended themselves with great bravery. The duke de Ferrendina, who commanded the Spanish gallies, resolved to succour the place, notwithstanding M. Sourdis, archbishop of Bordeaux, lay before it with a fleet. He made an effort, on the 4th of July, with forty-one gallies, of which he lost twelve, without any other advantage than that of shewing as much courage and conduct as it was possible for man to exert. However, he did not lose his spirits, but having, with infinite pains, reinforced his fleet, he, on the 20th of August, surprised the archbishop, destroyed three men of war, and threw a large supply into the place, upon which the count de la Mothe retired, after he had lain more than three months before it. The archbishop of Bordeaux, at his return, found himself disgraced without a hearing. His people on board the fleet mutinied; all the enemies of the cardinal clamoured aloud; and his friends clamoured louder than they; so that Richelieu found himself obliged to give him up, and the prelate no sooner landed than he received an order to retire to Carpentras †. In September the treaty with the Catalans was ratified; the king swore to observe their privileges, and the marquis de Breze was

* Vitt. Siri il Mercurio, tom. i. lib. i. Memoire reconдите, tom. viii. Aubert Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu. P Aub. Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu.

named their viceroy. The cardinal perceiving that it was a thing impossible to support these people effectually without being master of the county of Roussillon, sent orders to the prince of Condé to invade it with what troops he could collect, who made himself master of Elna, and the viscount d'Arpajou was sent to block up Perpignan, a place strong in itself, well fortified, which it was resolved should be besieged and reduced in the succeeding year ¹.

A new treaty with the duke of Lorraine, and an alliance with Portugal.

Before we proceed to the operations in the Low Countries, it is necessary to mention a new treaty made with the duke of Lorraine. Amongst other strange flights of this unfortunate prince, he had taken it into his head to marry the princess of Cantecroix, though his first wife, in whose right he held Lorraine, was yet living. His affairs being in a desperate situation, without money, without dominions, and with a body of hungry troops about him, who made him enemies wherever he came, she persuaded him to treat with France. Accordingly he came, upon the faith of a single passport, to Paris, where he found himself better treated than he had reason to expect; for the cardinal found, that the seizing of Lorraine had given so bad an impression of France to all the little princes her neighbours, that he was glad of an opportunity to give it him back again, as he did by a treaty, signed at St. Germain en Laye, on the 29th of March ². His capital, together with Clermont, Stenay, Jametz, and Dun, were left in the hands of France, by way of deposit, with the duke's consent that they should be united to the crown, in case he violated the treaty; he also agreed to the demolition of the fortifications of Marsal, and to allow the duchess his first wife a pension of one hundred and twenty thousand livres. On the 2d of April he swore to the performance of this treaty; on the 10th he did homage for the duchy of Bar, and then returned into his own dominions. The princess de Cantecroix, who had been the cardinal's instrument to persuade the duke to this submission, was exceedingly displeased that no care was taken of her, which indeed was out of the cardinal's power, as he knew that she could not be mentioned either to the king his master, or to the court of Rome. On the 1st of June the king concluded an alli-

¹ Vitt. Siri il Mercurio, tom. i. lib. ii. Batt. Nani. Vie de Richelieu.

² Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau, livr. i. p. 60, 61. liv. ii. p. 72, 73. Vitt. Siri il Mercurio, tom. i. livr. ii. p. 289, 291. Aubert Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu. Recueil Pieces concernant l'Histoire de Louis XIII. tom. iii. p. 397.

ance offensive and defensive with John the Fourth, king of Portugal, and, by the interposition of this court, the States-general, who were invited to become contracting parties in the treaty, concluded in the mean time a truce for ten years with that prince, which was signed on the 10th of the same month ^s, by which they engaged to act jointly against the Spaniards in the Mediterranean.

The war of Sedan, death of the count de Soissons, and submission of the duke of Bouillon.

We have before mentioned the retreat of the count de Soissons to Sedan, where, under the protection of the duke of Bouillon, and in conjunction with the archbishop of Rheims, now by the death of his father, and the prince of Joinville his brother, become duke of Guise, he assembled all the malecontents that had not fled out of the kingdom ^t. The enemies of cardinal Richelieu affirm, that he compelled these princes to demand assistance from the Spaniards, that he might have an opportunity of destroying them; it is much more certain that they entered into such a league to destroy him. It was apparently with this view that they drew up a most outrageous manifesto, in the name of the count de Soissons, who therein painted his whole administration in the blackest colours, which possibly might have had some effect, if it had come out in time. The cardinal, who was perfectly informed of all their designs, had sent marshal Châtillon, with ten or twelve thousand men, to block up the place, which service he performed with equal skill and success ^u. On the other hand, general Lamboi, by order of the cardinal infant, marched to the assistance of the princes of peace, for so the chiefs of the malecontents at Sedan styled themselves. Marshal de Châtillon posted himself in such a manner, that the enemy would have found it difficult to attack him; but the cardinal sent him orders to fight at any rate, and his orders were not to be disobeyed. They brought on the battle of Marfee, fought on the 6th of July, in which the marshal was clearly routed, and his army dispersed; but in the heat of the action, the count de Soissons was, some way or other slain ^w. His fate is a mystery which has never yet been cleared up ^x: however it happened, this gave the advantage of the victory to the vanquished, and M. de Puysegur, going to treat for the ex-

^s Vie de Richelieu. Le Vassor.
^t Auberi Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu.
 toire du Cardinal Richelieu, tom. ii. p. 735.

^u Memoires de Montre-

^w Auberi Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu, tom. ii. p. 735.
 de M. de Montrefor, p. 398. Memoires de Puysegur, p. 207.

^x P. Dan. Journal Historique de Louis XIII. tom. x. p. 56.

change of prisoners to Sedan, procured some proposals from the duke of Bouillon, which brought about a peace. It was retarded a little by the king's obstinacy, in refusing to allow funeral honours to be paid to the corpse of the count de Soissons; a process had been ordered against his memory, and the duke of Bouillon absolutely refused to treat, unless this was dropped. The cardinal told the king, that the prince was Lewis de Bourbon as well as he, and that some respect was due to his name as well as his blood. At length things were adjusted; and the king coming in person before Doncheri, which Lamboi had taken after the battle, it was surrendered, and the duke de Bouillon came to pay his respects to the king². By this treaty the duke procured an indemnity for all who had followed the party of the princes, a neutrality for his sovereignty of Sedan, and the restitution of his pensions and appointments. He was extremely well received by the king and by the cardinal, who, at his departure made him this compliment; "You have made war like a hero, and peace like a statesman; and, setting aside your having taken arms against your sovereign, I would rather have the credit you have obtained by the management of this affair, than of all Spinola's achievements³." M. de Hallier was immediately ordered to attack Lorraine, the duke having been embarked in the affair of the count de Soissons, and no care taken of him in the treaty, so that he was again dispossessed of his dominions^b.

Marshal de la Meilleraie, the favourite and the relation of the cardinal, commanded on the side of the Low Countries: after several marches and countermarches to perplex the enemy, he invested Aire, one of the most important places in Artois, and began to raise his lines on the 25th of May, which, however, did not hinder general Bec from throwing five hundred choice foot into the place^c. The governor did not defend some of the forts in the neighbourhood, or even the outworks, with any vigour, a circumstance which gave the marshal hopes that he should soon become master of the town. He found, however, that this was a purposed omission, to save his garrison; for, when he came to attack the body of the place, the governor defended himself with equal resolu-

Campaign in the Low Countries; reduction of Aire, which is recovered by the Spaniards.

¹ Recueil de Pieces concernant l'Histoire de Louis XIII. tom. iii. p. 429. ² Vitt. Siri il Mercurio, tom. ii. livr. i. p. 15.

³ Auberi Memoires du Cardinal Richelieu, tom. ii. p. 736.

^b Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau, p. 79. Vitt. Siri il Mercurio, tom. i. livr. ii. ^c Memoires de Puysegur.

tion and spirit. The cardinal infant was very desirous to relieve him, but found himself exceedingly embarrassed; the Dutch, in consequence of a new treaty they had made with the king, besieged Genap^d. All the diversions he attempted proved of no effect. He was obliged to wait for the return of Lamboi, who had been sent to Sedan, before he could march to his relief, and then it was too late, for the marshal having offered the governor very advantageous terms, he surrendered the place on the 26th of July, when the cardinal infant was in his neighbourhood, with a full intent to hazard a battle for his relief. It is thought the governor made his peace by giving the cardinal infant to understand, that he would find it more practicable to recover than he would have done to have saved Aire. Upon this advice he took his measures so well, that marshal de la Melleraié was obliged to leave the place in a hurry, that his army might not be incommoded by the want of provisions; which was all the excuse he could make for leaving the lines in part undemolished, out of which he had no sooner drawn his troops than they were occupied by the Spaniards^e. The cardinal pushed the siege but slowly, knowing well the governor could not hold out long; but being taken extremely ill in the camp, he removed to Brussels, where he died^f. Francisco de Mello, who succeeded him in the government, persisted obstinately in the same design, though the French made several diversions in hopes of raising the siege. At length being reduced to extremity, Aire returned again to its old master, on the 17th of December, to the great regret of the cardinal and his master, who, except the taking Bepaume^g, and some other small places, gained nothing on this side. The prince of Orange, at the desire of the cardinal, had entered Flanders with his army, with an intention to reduce Sas Van Ghent, but the count de Fontaines having thrown himself under the cannon of the place, with seven thousand foot, obliged the prince to retire to Bergen op Zoom^h. It was thought that if any other marshal had been in the place of la Meilleraie he would have been disgraced.

In the course of the cardinal's long administration, there seems not to have been any year pregnant with so many

^d Vitt. Siri il Mercurio, tom. i. livr. ii.

lieu. Batt. Nani.

^f Vitt. Siri il Mercurio.

moires de Pufegur. Memoires de Pontis, tom. ii. livr. v.

^h Auberi Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu. Le Vaffor. Le Gendre.

favourable events towards him as this. In the beginning of it, the king, and M. Cinque Mars his favourite, who, by the demission of the duke de Bellegarde, had acquired the post of grand-ecuyer, or *master of the horse*, and from thence, according to the mode of the French court, was styled M. le Grand, had a quarrel, which would have infallibly ended in the favourite's disgrace, whose temper, of all others, was least suited to that of his master, if the cardinal had not interposed and reconciled them ¹. But this calm did not last long. All the cardinal's endeavours to push the fortune of his niece Combalet, (except in making her a duchess,) having failed, he brought forward the younger niece, madame Clara Clementia de Maille Breze, daughter to the marshal, whom, in the month of February, he married to the duke de Anguien ^k, son to the prince of Condé, which marriage was celebrated with royal splendor, particularly a splendid balet, in which were exhibited the glories of France, or, in other words, the triumphs of the minister's administration. It was this match that overcame the patience of the count de Soissons, who had thereupon assumed the title of first prince of the blood, and did not forget this incident in his manifesto. Another affair of consequence, but of a very different nature, happened also this year: some hermits, who, under pretence of retiring from the world, lived in an obscure part of the duchy of Vendosme, where they committed an infinity of crimes, were arrested by the duke's order, and committed to prison, from whence having made their escape, they were retaken and conducted to Paris; where, to save themselves from an ignominious death, they charged the duke of Vendosme with having caused them to be set at liberty, in order to murder the cardinal ^l. That prince was no sooner informed of this infamous accusation than he sent his second son, the duke of Beaufort, not only to give the strongest assurances of his innocence, but to offer to come in person and confront them, which offer was accepted ^m. But then, being seized with a sudden panic, he and his son made their escape into England ⁿ, and there joined with the dukes of Soubise and de la Valette in their practices,

Singular instance of the minister's prosperity during the course of this year.

A D. 1641.

¹ Auberi Memoires du Cardinal Richelieu, tom. ii. p. 838.

^k Vitt. Siri il Mercur. tom. i. livr. ii. p. 231.

^l Recueil de Pièces concernant l'Histoire de Louis XIII. tom. iii. p. 395.

^m Vitt. Siri il Mercurio, tom. i. livr. i. p. 223.

ⁿ Batt. Nani. livr. xi. Le Vassor.

^a Batt. Na-

which gave an air of probability to an accusation that, after all, perhaps, was destitute of truth. Towards the close of the year the court of Rome, in return for some marks of complaisance shewn by the cardinal, gratified him by bestowing a hat^o upon his friend Mazarine, to whom he had, in a great measure, resigned the conduct of foreign affairs, or at least such as regarded Italy, which Mazarine perfectly understood.

*Monsieur
Cinque
Mars quar-
rels with
the card-
inal, and re-
solves to
attempt his
ruin.*

We must proceed with the intrigues of the court, in order to shew by what steps that minister, who, but the last year, was at the highest point of grandeur, came in this to stand on the very brink of disgrace, and even to place his safety in withdrawing himself from his master. The great cause of the quarrels between M. le Grand and his master, was the amour the former had with one Marion de l'Orine, a very beautiful woman at Paris^p, but not very illustrious in point of fame or family. So long as he was occupied with his pleasures, he remained firm in his attachment to the minister; which induced him to reject some propositions that were made him by the count de Soissons, as incompatible with his gratitude due to the author, the promoter, and the preserver of his fortunes; but touched by a new passion, which he conceived for Mary Gonzagua, princess of Nevers^q, and by her inflamed with ambition, who told him it would be time enough to think of her when he was a duke and peer, his head and his heart began to be equally infected. Upon his mentioning his high views to the cardinal, he read him so harsh a lecture on the meanness of his origin, and the obligations his whole family were under to himself, for drawing them out of obscurity, and prohibited, in such very strong terms, any overtures of the like nature for the future, that the young man determined to lay a new and odious foundation of greatness, in the disgrace and destruction of his benefactor^r. Some marks of unkindness had passed between them before. The favourite had caused the disgrace of the king's first gentleman of the bed-chamber, who was in the cardinal's interest, and on the other hand the cardinal prevailed upon the king not to call M. le Grand into his council, after he had been once admitted. But these were wounds that

^o Vie de Richelieu.

livr. ii. p. 558.

Vitt Siri il Mercurio, tom. ii.

Nani, livr. xii. Le Vassor.

^p Vitt. Siri il Mercurio, tom. ii.

^q Auberi Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu.

^r Vie de Richelieu. Batt.

might have been healed ; whereas, after the reprimand before mentioned, they were scarce in terms of civility. M. le Grand had not the will, and if he had, he wanted the prudence, to conceal his resentment.

As soon as this was perceived, with another remarkable circumstance, that the king was not displeased with it, all the cardinal's enemies became immediately friends to M. le Grand, who, if he had been a man of parts and prudence, might, very probably, have carried his point ; but he could never have carried things so far as he did, if it had not been for two of his friends, who had much better talents than his own. These were M. de Thou and M. de Fontrailles. The former was the son of the celebrated historian, a young man of great endowments, and extraordinary learning, which rendered him universally beloved. It is however certain that he had a great spirit of intrigue ; for having formerly managed a correspondence between the queen and the duchess of Chevreuse, and being detected in it, the cardinal passed it by with an admonition. As to the latter, he had the misfortune to be deformed, and the cardinal, with all his great qualities, some times sunk so much beneath his character as to divert himself at this gentleman's expence, who from thence thought himself at liberty to let him see, that, whatever defect he had in his shape, he had none in his head. At the time the duke of Bouillon concluded his last treaty with the king, M. le Grand made some overtures to him, which were not well received ; but by the interposition of M. de Thou, they were made friends, and at the very time that the duke was preparing to come to Paris, upon the invitation of M. le Grand, he received an order from the cardinal to repair thither for the king's service. On his arrival he was told, that the king had cast his eyes upon him to command his forces in Italy ; a proof that the cardinal's compliment at their last meeting was not insincere *. M. de Thou brought his two friends to confide in Monsieur, but was not present at any of their meetings. In one of these it was agreed, that they should all act against the cardinal, and that, in case of necessity, the duke should receive Monsieur into Sedan. The duke of Orleans proposed a league with Spain, which, at first, Bouillon disapproved. He said, that he knew by experience the Spaniards were ready enough to conclude leagues, but very slow in performing them ; however, con-

*He joins the
dukes of
Bouillon
and Or-
leans.*

* Vie de Richelieu. Batt. Nani, livr. xii.

sidering how much Sedan might be exposed, if the duke of Orleans retired thither without any support, he consented; and M. Fontrailles was dispatched to Madrid, either with full powers from Monsieur, or with a blank signed with his hand, which he might fill up as he thought fit; and it was agreed by all three, that the duke of Bouillon should accept the command of the army. He went accordingly to thank the minister for the confidence reposed in him by the king, who at parting used these remarkable words, "All past failings are forgot, but take care how you offend again; in that case you have no favour to expect."

The cardinal engages the king to go in person into Roussillon against the Spaniards.

The cardinal had not the least suspicion of these intrigues; but as he knew that monsieur le Grand was become his enemy, and saw that he was not at all less in favour with the king for it, he determined to carry that prince to Roussillon, in order to form the siege of Perpignan, for which expedition he had prepared a puissant army, under the command of the marshals Meilleraie and Schomberg. It is said the king had a great repugnance to this journey, and that he was dissuaded from it by his physicians; if so, the cardinal must have still had a great ascendancy over him, and no less influence over them, since he not only engaged him to undertake it, but the physicians to approve it*. Richelieu intended likewise that the queen and his brother should accompany him, and that the two young princes should be sent to Bois des Vincennes, of which Chavigni was governor. This conduct some writers have magnified as a great crime in the cardinal, as if he desired to have the whole royal family in his power. We shall see hereafter, that whatever suspicions they had of the queen, they were not ill founded, though by her tears she obtained leave to remain with her children at St. Germain's*. The duke of Orleans avoided going, by having, or pretending to have, the gout. The king left Paris in the beginning of February, and though, in all their former journies, the cardinal had avoided taking the same quarters with the king, from a foresight of its being inconvenient to both, he was now so apprehensive, that he never quitted him upon the road, which assiduity though prudent in one

* Memoires du Montresor. Auberi Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu. Vitt. Siri il Mercurio.

* Vie de Richelieu. Le Vassor. * Batt. Nani. Vitt. Siri il Mercurio. Auberi Hist. du Card. Richelieu.

respect, was very near proving fatal in another; for monsieur le Grand, who, amongst other ways of being rid of the cardinal, had thoughts of dispatching him with his own hand, would have executed his base purpose at Briare on the Loire, if Monsieur had not been absent, whose presence he thought absolutely necessary for his support. Richelieu, in his way to Narbonne, gave the cardinal's hat, with his own hand to Mazarine^y, at Valence, and from thence continued his march to the first mentioned city, where he arrived the 21st of March. There he fell so ill, that he could not accompany the king to the siege of Perpignan, at which having taken so much pains to be present, Lewis would not have the complaisance to remain with the cardinal, though the physicians thought his case desperate. The politicians had the same opinion of his favour; they knew that M. le Grand spoke ill of him to the king, and was well heard; but they did not know that he was only well heard in this, and that his own favour declined every day. Some of his best friends perceived it, and advised him to be more assiduous, to which advice he made this strange answer, "That the king's breath was so offensive, that he could not bear to be near him." However, when he found the king bore his absence without trouble, he used to remain an hour or two alone in an antichamber after the king was gone to bed, and then come out as if he had been with him, as he was wont to be in the height of his favour.

We will now speak of the operations of the war in Roussillon, and the great object of this campaign. We have explained the political reasons of the cardinal's carrying the king to such a distance from his capital; but it was a rule with him not to have recourse to any pretences that might not be so well supported as to appear the proper motives of the actions they were intended to colour. The project of this expedition was so well laid that it forced his rival the conde duke, much against his will, to abandon his own notions, and to follow his, that is, to bring his catholic majesty into the field, and, neglecting all other cares, to employ the whole force of the monarchy to save Perpignan^z. The marshal Breze, with the title of viceroy of Catalonia, and the marshal de la Mothe Haudincourt, who commanded there, gave the Spaniards infinite vexation, by embarrassing the passage of their troops, which were to cross Catalonia, in order to

*Campaign
of Perpignan.*

^y Histoire du Ministère du Cardinal Mazarine, par Galeazzo Gualdo, par. i. p. 26, 27.

^z Batt. Nan. livr. xii.

reach Rouffillon. Monsieur de la Mothe particularly killed or made prisoners a corps of three thousand five hundred horse, commanded by Don Pedro d'Arragon, who was taken amongst the rest, towards the end of March^a. The marshal de la Meilleraie, at the opening of the campaign, found it absolutely necessary to be master of Colioure, a good port, well fortified, and covered by a castle, held to be impregnable. It was defended by a numerous garrison, commanded by the marquis de Mortara, who made a very gallant defence: this siege, preparative to that of Perpignan, cost a whole month, so that the place did not surrender till the 13th of April^b. It was believed that the castle could not be taken but by blockade; however, it was resolved to attempt something by mining the rock; which promising little, it was determined to spring the mines, after a small progress, to see whether they would or would not have an effect. Upon making the experiment they were judged to have done little; but it was quickly found they had done all; for though the fortifications suffered nothing by these mines, yet the springs which supplied the garrison with water being choaked, they were obliged to capitulate. When the king came before Perpignan in May, he drew the lines of circumvallation and contravallation with his own hand; but being persuaded by the concurrent testimonies of several persons who had been in the place, that the garrison were in want of provisions, he determined to proceed slowly, in order to spare his troops. This design was owing to an artifice of Don Flores d'Avila, the governor, who knowing the distressed situation of his master's affairs, and being desirous of giving as long time as possible to provide for his relief, he distributed provisions strictly and sparingly at the beginning, though, in reality, he was well provided^c. All this time the cardinal continued ill at Narbonne; and in such danger, that on the 23d of May he made his testament, from a persuasion that he could not recover. The king, not long after, was very dangerously indisposed; insomuch that monsieur le Grand openly solicited the troops to declare for the crown; the marshals Meilleraie and Schomberg exhorted them, in general terms, to do their duty. From hence two factions arose in the camp, one styling themselves Royalists, and

^a Aubert Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu.

^b Vitt. Siri

il Mercurio, tom. ii. livr. i. Le Vassor. Batt. Nan. livr. xii.

^c Vie de Richelieu.

^d Batt. Nan. livr. xii. Le Vassor.

for.

the other Cardinalists^c. In this situation monsieur de Thou arrived, who wrote to the count de Brienne, secretary of state, to desire the queen to send him blanks, signed with her name, that he might frame such letters as he should find necessary, and address them to such officers as he thought proper, which step, at the first motion, she would have taken, if the count, very honestly, had not advised her against it^f. Monsieur de Thou in his journey to the camp, had met with Fontrailles, who gave him a long detail of his negotiation in Spain, of which he knew not a word before, and it would have been happy for him he had not heard it then; for though he disapproved it in the strongest terms, the bare listening to Fontrailles' story cost him afterwards his life. The king recovering, received an earnest invitation from the cardinal to come to him to Narbonne, where, by this time he had received a dark account of a French agent that had been at Madrid; but the king's mind was now so indisposed towards his minister, that he received these solicitations very coldly, and yet, in a few days, he returned to his old sentiments again, for very pressing reasons, which we must fetch from Flanders.

As it was impossible to furnish large armies on every side, the king, by the advice of the cardinal, resolved to act only on the defensive towards the Low Countries, and with this view the count d'Harcourt was sent with a small army to cover Picardy, while the count de Guiche, whom, in his journey, the king declared marshal of France, and who is commonly styled the marshal de Grammont, commanded another small corps of troops, with the like intent, in Champagne. Don Francisco de Mello, who commanded the army of Spain, recovered Lens in two days, and then besieged La Bassée, which he took after twenty-six days open trenches. By this time both the French armies had joined, in order to give a check to his conquests; but Don Francisco, separating his army into two bodies, the French were obliged to take the same method, the count d'Harcourt marching towards Hesdin, and the marshal de Grammont to Honnecourt: there he intrenched, having the Scheld behind him, a wood, which he thought impregnable, on his right, and a deep hollow way, which reached to the river, on his left^g. Monsieur de Puysegur, an

The defeat of marshal Grammont alarms the king, and obliges him to a reconciliation with his minister.

^c Auberi Hist. du Cardinal, Richelieu. de Brinne, tom. ii. p. 145. Vitt. Siri il Mercurio. Richelieu. Batt. Nani, livre xii.

^f Mem. du Comte
^g Vie de

officer who had seen much service, advised him to pass the Scheld, and he afterwards received the same advice from count Rantzau; but he thought to cover the country, and that the Spaniards would not have the courage to attack him^b. In this opinion he was mistaken; Don Francisco, on the 26th of May, attacked him on all sides with all his forces. The marshal de Grammont defended his lines very gallantly, till the enemy penetrated through the wood, and then they fled on every side. The loss was very considerable; fifteen hundred were killed, two thousand taken prisoners, with all the cannon and baggage, and one hundred thousand crowns in ready money^c. It was the fault of the Spaniards that they did not destroy the whole army, the marshal de Grammont, in despair, remaining some time at an abbey behind his camp, desirous of hiding his shame in a prison, or in a tomb. The news of this defeat induced the king to write a very kind letter to the cardinal, assuring him that he was as much in his favour as ever, and intreating him to give the necessary orders for repairing this misfortune, at which he was excessively chagrined. Many of the French writers, as if they believed that all events were in the cardinal's power, have asserted that the marshal suffered himself to be defeated by his order. It is certain that he had married his relation, and was his great favourite; it is no less true, that, instead of blaming, he wrote a letter to comfort him: but they who say this, should say more, and tell us, that he had some influence also over the Spaniards, since, though there was nothing to oppose their going directly to Paris, they made little or no use of this victory.

*Monsieur
le Grand
and mon-
sieur de
Thou ar-
rested.*

While the king was alarmed with this loss, the viscount de Fontrailles arrived in the camp, to press monsieur le Grand to provide for his own safety. He had sent to Monsieur to desire that he would retire to Sedan; but they were so imprudent, that they had taken no order from the duke de Bouillon for his admittance. They sent one monsieur de Montmor into Italy, to desire such an order; but he being entirely unknown to the duke, he refused to trust him; upon which they were constrained to send the count de Aubijoux, one of Monsieur's domestics. Fontrailles, who saw the consequence of these delays, told monsieur le Grand, that, being a tall handsome man, he might make

^b Mem. de Puysegur, p. 232.
Richelieu. Vitt. Siri il Mercurio. Le Vaffor. Le Gendre. Pr. Henault.

^c Anberi Hist. du Cardinal

a tolerable figure without a head, but that, his own being taken away, he should become more the subject of laughter than he was at present; he therefore privately withdrew, first into Spain, and then into England^k. In the mean time, the cardinal had received a copy of the treaty concluded at Madrid, dated the 13th of March, in which his catholic majesty promised to furnish Monsieur with twelve thousand foot, and five thousand horse, a great sum of money, and large pensions to the duke de Bouillon and monsieur le Grand^l. The king, under pretence of a fever, removed to Narbonne, where, on the 13th of June, monsieur de Thou was arrested. Monsieur le Grand absconded, but was taken the next day, and on the 23d of the same month the duke of Bouillon, who likewise endeavoured to make his escape, was seized at Casal^m; the cardinal, who had embarked at Agde, and who had prepared for his retreat to Italy, was now at Tarrascon, to which place the king went to visit him, and being both ill, they lay in the same room. The cardinal reproached him bitterly for deserting him when he was dying; the king wept, and told him all he knew, which was a great deal, since his favourite is said once to have proposed to his master the dispatching the cardinal. Richelieu having procured from the king full powers to act as he thought fit, without consulting him, advised his majesty to continue his journey to Paris, and took upon him to do what was not so fit for a monarch to have doneⁿ.

As to Monsieur, his conduct was much of the same stamp as it had always been; he endeavoured to hide himself in Auvergne, and in the mean time sent the abbé de la Riviere to see how things stood; making most humble supplications to the cardinal, and monsieur de Chavigni, confessing and begging pardon, but in general terms, which shewed it was downright fear, which he would have taken as repentance, but they did not part with him so easily. On the contrary, though he had burnt the original treaty, he made a long and ample confession of its contents, and of all the previous and subsequent circumstances that attended it. While the cardinal was at Tarrascon, he received the news of the death of the queen-mother; he

Monsieur confesses all, and messieurs le Grand and de Thou are convicted and beheaded.

^k Vitt. Siri il Mercurio. Mem. de Montresor. Auberi Mem. du Cardinal Richelieu.

^l Batt. Nani, livre xii. Le Vassor.

^m Mem. de Montresor. Mem. de Madame de Motteville tom. i. p. 92. Vie du Cardinal Richelieu.

ⁿ Mem. de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 92. Mem. de Montresor, p. 161. Auberi Hist. du Cardinal Richelieu. Batt. Nani, livre xii.

shewed

shewed a deep concern, and caused a solemn service to be celebrated for her soul^o. The king's tenderness revived upon the same occasion, and he could not help shewing his sorrow for having been the author of her miseries, who was the author of his birth. The cardinal went from Tarascon to Lyons, and having sent for the chancellor, placed him at the head of the commissioners, before whom monsieur le Grand and monsieur de Thou were to be tried. They both steadily denied the treaty; and as it could not be produced, or any witnesses to prove it, for Monsieur threatened to fly to the ends of the earth rather than be confronted with his friends, they knew not what to do. But Lanbardemont, one of the judges, drew them out of this perplexity, by persuading monsieur le Grand that monsieur de Thou had told all, upon which he made a confession that destroyed them both^p. While their process was making, arrived the long-expected news of the surrender of Perpignan, after a siege of more than three months, by which France gained a place of the utmost importance, in excellent condition, with arms and ammunition for twenty thousand men^q. On the 13th of September, monsieur le Grand and monsieur de Thou lost their heads^r. Both were exceedingly regretted, more especially the latter. They died with great firmness and piety, and with a just detestation of that ambition, which, if it had not been fatal to their lives, might have proved so to the state, as is confessed by those who, in other respects, were not averse to this design.

*The duke
de Bouillon
surrenders
Sedan, and
receives an
equivalent.*

On the day those unfortunate gentlemen suffered, the cardinal set out from Lyons, and at the first stage, not being able to write much, gave his master the state of his affairs in a single line: "Your troops (said he) are in Perpignan, and your enemies in their graves^s." His actions were all in the same style. He was so ill that he could not rise: he caused a magnificent bed, in which he lay, to be placed in a small room, with a table on one side to hold what he wanted, and a chair on the other for the person who was to converse with him. This huge litter was carried on the shoulders of sixteen or twenty men: he intended to hire peasants, but his guards would not allow

^o Mem. du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 147. ^p Mem. de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 94. Le Vassor. ^q Vitt. Si i il Mercurio. Le Gendre. Pr. Henault. ^r Mem. de Montresor. Mem. de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 95. Mem. du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 147. Vitt. Siri il Mercurio, tom. ii. livre iii. ^s Aubert Mem. du Cardinal Richelieu, tom. ii.

them that honour^t. In this new kind of triumph he moved by slow journies towards Paris, entering the towns and the houses where he was to lodge through the breach, affecting, as he had imitated Alexander in his first exploit of the dyke before Rochelle, to follow him also in his last act, by imitating the manner in which he was carried to Babylon. By his advice the king consented to accept the principality of Sedan, and to grant a pardon to the duke of Bouillon, who had been transferred from Italy to the castle of Pierre Ancise^u. The king was moved by interest, the cardinal by his respect for the prince of Orange, who, when the cardinal was falling, had frankly acquainted the French minister, monsieur d'Étrees, and desired him to inform the king, that he had listened to some proposals from Spain, as not conceiving that the allies of France could trust her, if the cardinal was disgraced. Richelieu himself was astonished at the service, and confessed, that, in the plenitude of his power, he knew not how to express his gratitude. The duke of Bouillon made a simple cession of Sedan, of which Mazarine took possession on the 29th of September, upon which the duke had his liberty, and a full abolition for every thing that was passed. The cardinal, however, thought it incompatible with his master's dignity to take such a present as Sedan, without a proper return, and by a contract of exchange gave him the duchies of Albret and Chateau Thierry, together with the counties of Auvergne and Evreux, and reserved his rights on the duchy of Bouillon, of which the family have been since put in possession^w.

In the month of October, the cardinal made a kind of triumphant entry into Paris, though still in a low and languishing condition. Rest, though it gave no hopes of recovery, afforded a kind of temporary relief, in which he resumed the dispatch of business, and his ordinary diversions, so that many of those who were most attached to him began to feed themselves with flattering hopes. He would have the operations of the next campaign settled in the king's presence, but he would not go to St. Germain where the king was: he thought the place open and insecure; for this reason he desired the king would remove, and that he would permit him to come attended by his

Last sickness and death of cardinal Richelieu.

^t Vie de Richelieu. ^u Batt. Nani, livre xii. ^w Vitt. Siri il Mercurio, tom. ii. livre iii. Aubert Mem. du Cardinal Richelieu, tom. ii. p. 766. Pr. Henault, seconde partie, p. 520.

guards. Through respect for his past services, or through the weakness of his own temper, the king yielded to these demands *, but did not listen with the same complaisance to those which he made when he came, and which were indeed very exorbitant. He proscribed four of the king's captains of the guards by name, and insisted they should be dismissed, though he acknowledged their fidelity to the king, but he suspected them to have been friends to monsieur le Grand, as they had never fought his favour. The king promised him satisfaction, and a few days after the cardinal sent monsieur Chavigni to urge the performance of this promise. The king told monsieur Chavigni, that the cardinal had persons about him whom he did not like, and whose dismissal he desired. Upon his requesting to know their names, the king mentioned himself and monsieur de Noyers, both secretaries of state. Having carried his majesty's message, he returned with the minister's desire in writing to quit his employments, which the king refused. He directed his captains to sell, but privately signified to them that it was against his will; and promised that, at a proper time, they should receive proper marks of his favour. This was the last, and perhaps the largest stretch of the cardinal's power, for towards the end of November, his disease became desperate. In the beginning of his ministry he had been at the point of death, with the hæmorrhoids, of which being cured by a painful operation, the acrid humour in his blood discharged itself on his arm, and being forced from thence by baths and fomentations, fell upon his lungs, and formed two abscesses, of which he died on the 4th of December, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and the eighteenth of his administration. He bore his malady with invincible patience, and met death with a firmness and serenity that was amazing. The king went twice to comfort him in his last moments, when the cardinal, in the most solemn manner, assured him, that he had done nothing but with a view to his majesty's honour, and the welfare of his kingdom, gave him many counsels of great importance, and recommended to him his relations and his dependents †.

We have been obliged to defer part of the operations of the campaign to the close of the year, though too import-

* Vie de Richelieu. Batt. Nani, livre xii. y Aubert Hist. du Cardinal Richelieu. Mem. du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 151. Mem. de Pontis, tom. ii. livre vi. p. 360, & seq. Mem. de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 112. Batt. Nani, livre xii. Vitt. Siri il Mercurio. Le Gendre. Pr. Henault.

ant to be omitted: the count de Guebriant, on the 17th of January, forced the imperial generals Lamboi and Merci in their lines at Kimpen, killed two thousand men, took five thousand prisoners, including their generals, with their baggage and cannon, and for this victory was rewarded with the bâton. During the remaining part of the campaign, he made himself master of the electorate of Cologne, made a powerful diversion in favour of the Swedes, who, under the command of Leonard Tortenson, defeated the Imperialists in two battles, and made themselves masters of the castle of Leipzig^c. Things, however, did not go at this rate in Lorraine, where monsieur du Hallier was constrained to raise the siege of La Motte, with the loss of almost all his men^a. On the side of Piedmont the princes of Savoy signed a treaty in the month of June with France, and with their sister, by which they abandoned the Spaniards. In consequence of this, prince Thomas was declared general of the troops of France in Italy, with whom he took Nice, Verrue, and Tortona, before the close of the year^b. In Roussillon, the marshals Schomberg and Meilleraie, after having taken Perpignan, reduced Salces, and the marshal de la Mothe Haudincourt gained, on the 7th of October^c, a victory over the marquis de Leganez, at Lerida, though he had double his number.

Progress of the war in Germany, Italy, Lorraine, Roussillon, and Catalonia.

A.D. 1642.

The new year opened with a new prospect: those who had been long tired of the strict and severe conduct of the cardinal, promised themselves freedom and ease under the reign of Lewis XIII. Some say that the king himself thought in the same manner; that he declared he would have no governor; and that, for the little time he had to live, he would pursue his own sentiments: but others with greater truth assert, that, for the short remainder of this reign, the spirit of Richelieu governed the king, as absolutely as he himself had ruled while living. It is, however, very possible, that the king might make such declarations; and it served not a little to confirm them, that the prisoners in the Bastile, such as the marshals de Vitri and Bassompierre, the count de Carmail, and many others, were discharged^d; and the exiles, such as the duke of

Prisoners discharged, and exiles recalled.

^a Vitt. Siri il Mercurio, tom. ii. livre i. p. 4. ^b Vitt. Siri il Mercurio.

Marquis de Beauvau, p. 86, & seq. ^c Aubert Hist.

Mem. du Duc de Noailles & de la Valette, p. 25. ^d Mem. du

du Cardinal Richelieu. Vitt. Siri il Mercurio. Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 161. Mem. de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 114.

Vendosme, and his son the duke of Beaufort, with many more, were recalled. Nevertheless, the king declared to all the sovereign courts in his own dominions, and to the ministry of foreign princes, that he meant to make no change in his administration. As a proof of this resolution, cardinal Mazarine was introduced into the council the very day on which Richelieu died; and the rest of the ministers were continued^e. Monsieur, who, by an edict, had been declared incapable of the regency, and deprived of his government, had leave given him to come to court, where, notwithstanding, he was not at all caressed. The war was carried on with vigour in Catalonia, where the Spaniards were obliged to raise the siege of Flex, and, soon after, that of Mirabel, by the marshal de la Mothe Haudincourt^f. At this juncture, the king gave the staff of marshal of France to monsieur du Hallier, styled afterwards marshal Hopital, which was one of the last acts of his government^g.

*Disposition
of the king
and court,
after the
death of the
cardinal.*

He had, for the last four years of his life, been subject to many infirmities, which some think were increased by his frequent journies, and his fatiguing himself beyond the strength of his feeble and delicate constitution. He was more sensible than any body about him, of the decline of his health, a consideration which induced him to think very seriously of settling the government during the minority of his son and successor. His court was divided into two factions, one for the queen, and the other for Monsieur. Lewis liked neither of them, but he did not hate his queen; and besides, experience had taught him that affairs could not be in worse hands than those of his brother. Father Sirmond, his confessor, forgetting what had happened to his predecessor Caussin, pressed him to establish her majesty and the duke of Orleans joint regents; but that monarch thought that different talents were required to direct consciences and counsels, and, since he would interfere in both, dismissed him the court^h. Lewis, who in the life-time of the cardinal, had shewn some dislike to monsieur Chavigni, relied upon him so entirely after his decease, that monsieur de Noyers desired leave to resign his post of secretary of state, presuming he should be refused, and that the king would allow him a greater share of his confidence, in order to retain him in his service; but in this hope he was mistaken, for his resignation was

^e Vitt. Siri il Mercurio. ^f Batt. Nani, livre xii. ^g Vitt. Siri il Mercurio. ^h Abrege Chron. de l'Hist. de France, seconde partie, par President Henault, p. 524.

accepted¹, and monsieur le Tellier appointed to execute his office by commission: he had been intendant of the army in Italy, and was known to cardinal Mazarine, who found him so useful, that he would never part with him. The count de Brienne resigned from another motive: he was attached to the queen; he found he could not serve her effectually, and chose, as the highest proof of his zeal, to reserve his talent for her regency; monsieur Poictier, bishop of Beauvais, had the queen's confidence; the duke of Beaufort was strongly attached to her; so was the duke de Rochefoucault, who drew to her likewise the duke of Anguien, son to the prince of Condé, who began now to make a figure. Chavigni finding the king determined with respect to his brother, began likewise to court the queen; and the prelate before mentioned, to give a proof of his abilities, brought the cardinal to make a tender of his services, though the count de Brienne went farther than courtiers are wont to do with each other, in telling him he would repent it: the queen accepted his offer, and this, with the recommendation of the nuncio, was the introduction of that minister, who made so great a figure in the next reign^k.

At length the king, on the 19th of April, published the form of the regency, the plan of which had been drawn by Chavigni, and put into order by the chancellor. According to this declaration, the queen was appointed sole regent, and had the custody of her children. Monsieur was declared head of the council, and lieutenant-general throughout the kingdom; in his absence, this place devolved upon the prince of Condé; in the absence of both, to cardinal Mazarine^l. Bulthillier, sur-intendant of the finances, and his son Chavigni, were of the council, where all was to pass by a plurality of voices. The queen had the nomination of all officers, except secretaries of state, for which she was to take the advice of the council. The nomination to benefices was reserved to the cardinal. After this deed was read, the queen and Monsieur swore to the observance of it, and next day it was registered in parliament, a circumstance which, in respect to its authority, was strong in appearance, but weak in effect. In order to make his brother the more easy, the king gave

His declaration in regard to the form of the regency after his decease.

¹ Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 165, & seq.
^k Vittorio Siri il Mercurio. Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii.
^l Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. vi. par. i. p. 269. Vitt. Siri il Mercurio.

his entire consent to his marriage with the princess Margaret of Lorraine, provided it should be solemnized again in France, which order took place, but not till after the king's decease^m. The command of the army, by the advice of the cardinal, who was desirous of making his court to the prince of Condé, was given to the young duke of Anguien, under whose orders the marshal l'Hopital was to act. The king left no public acts of displeasure upon any except Chateauneuf and the duchess of Chevreuse; the former was still in prison at Angoulesme, and the latter in England; he directed that neither should return to court. The deceased cardinal had prepossessed him with an opinion of the ingratitude of Chateauneuf, who, although gratified with the seals, a hundred thousand crowns in money, and the government of Touraine, had embarked in intrigues against the ministry. The duchess of Chevreuse had great influence over the queen, and the secret histories of those times shew clearly, that she had a large share in those transactions that gave the king infinite disquiet: but these, like most of the directions of dying princes, were very little regarded, and the consequences shewed, that, independent of his royal character, they deserved to have been treated with great respect.

*Death of
Louis XIII.*

The king, having taken these steps, resigned himself with composure to his approaching dissolution, which he met with amazing calmness and fortitude. Seeing the duke of Beaufort, and some others, whom he thought did not love him, in the room when the declaration for settling the regency was read, he said to one who was near him, "Those people are come to see if I am making haste in my journey." One day, opening the windows of his chamber that looked towards St. Denis, he said, without the least emotion, "Yonder's the place where I shall lodge a great while: my body will be well shaken, for at present the roads are very bad^o." His distemper was a slow fever, which reduced him to a mere skeleton. One morning he called monsieur de Pontis to him, and unbuttoning his shirt, shewed him his arms, emaciated to the last degree: "Here, Pontis (said he) take hold of my hand; see what

^m Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii, p. 170. *Histoire du Ministère du Cardinal Mazarin.* Vittorio Siri il Mercurio.

ⁿ Memoires de Madame de Motteville. Vittorio Siri il Mercurio.

^o Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 118, & seq.

arms these are that belong to a king of France^p." About two hours before he died, seeing Dr. Seguien, the queen's physician, near his bedside, he made a sign to him to approach, then gave him his arms: "Seguien (said he) feel my pulse, and tell me how many hours I have yet to live; but feel it carefully, for I should be glad to know as exactly as possible." The doctor having carefully examined his pulse, told him he thought he might live two or three hours at the most. The king then joining both his hands, and looking stedfastly to heaven, said softly, "Well! my God, I consent with all my heart^q." He deceased on the 14th of May, 1643, in the forty-second year of his age, and the thirty-third of his reign, dying on the day of his accession^r. This prince is said to have had as much personal courage as his father, an assertion which seems a little extravagant: but certain it is, he had neither his sense, his magnanimity, nor his clemency; nor even vigour of mind sufficient to emancipate himself from the tyranny of an insolent, minister who in effect governed both him and his kingdom with the most despotic authority^s.

^p Memoires de Pontis, tom. ii. livre v. p. 363.
de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 119, 120.

^q Memoire
^r Memoires

du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 173. Memoires de Pontis.
Memoires de Puysegur, p. 240. Le Vassor.
^s Abrege
Chronologique de l'Histoire de France, seconde partie, par President Henault, p. 526.

S E C T. XIII.

The Reign of Lewis XIV. surnamed le Grand, from his Accession to the Throne to the Peace of the Pyrenees, and his Marriage with the Infanta Maria Theresa of Austria.

The king's declaration set aside, and the queen admitted to the regency without restriction.

THE young monarch Lewis XIV. at the time of his father's decease, wanted something more than three months of five years of age. The first act of the regency shewed how great an illusion it is for princes to imagine, that the living will be governed by the dead. Lewis XIII. thought he had been well advised in making his declaration; he had obliged the queen and the duke of Orleans to swear to it in the presence of the whole court, and had caused it to be registered by the parliament of Paris. All this time the queen was taking measures to render these precautions abortive, and had secured to herself success before the king was dead. On the 18th of May she went to the parliament; told them, in a short speech, that her grief was inexpressible, that it admitted of no consolation till their deputies came to pay their duties to her son; that, afflicted, confused, and not knowing which way to turn, she came to repose herself on their advice, and to form her conduct upon their counsels^a. Such was the queen's compliment: the chancellor sufficiently explained her meaning: the parliament, prepared for the queen's purpose, and glad of such an opportunity to support their own authority, confided to her the tutelage of the king, and the regency of his dominions, solely and simply, the duke of Orleans and the prince of Condé^b assenting. In a word, without repealing, they entirely cancelled, the king's declaration. The great favour into which cardinal Mazarine rose soon after, and which he maintained as long as he lived, has induced an opinion that he was the author of this measure; but the fact is so much otherwise, that at the time he was the only person to whom it gave distaste; which he made no scruple of declaring, and disposed every thing for his^c return into Italy.

^a Auberi, Hist. du Cardinal Mazarine, edit. 1730, tom. i. p. 145.

^b Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 133.

^c Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 178.

The queen had, however, no mind to lose him, and at the same time knew not how to keep him; she communicated her thoughts to the count de Brienne, who advised her to offer him what he had lost by cancelling the king's declaration. She followed this advice, and, upon his accepting it, he quickly gained her confidence in a degree of exclusion, even to those who had raised him to this eminence. The old bishop of Beauvais, though not very quick of apprehension, either saw or was told it; upon which he behaved so strangely, that, though he had been admitted into the council, he was directed to repair to his diocese, where he died not long after of chagrin. The queen, forgetting her husband's injunctions, permitted monsieur de Chateauneuf to retire to his own house, and recalled the duchess of Chevreuse and madame de Hautefort. Her gratitude to those who had sided with her in the time of her difficulties was so strong at her entrance on the regency, and her resentment carried so sharp an edge, that she reposed her confidence in the duke of Vendosme and his sons, particularly the duke of Beaufort, whom she intrusted with the king's person when she removed him from St. Germain's ^d to Paris. She shewed likewise a disposition to despoil the family and creatures of cardinal Richelieu, that she might gratify these and other favourites. But her interests and her inclinations quickly changed, not through any fickleness in the queen's temper, but from her seeing things in other lights.

*Cardinal
Mazarine
at the head
of the
queen's
council,
and in pos-
session of
her confi-
dence.*

While the court was kept in a continual fermentation by these intrigues, the war was carried on with very different success in the different scenes of action. The marshal de Guebriant, one of the bravest and ablest officers in the service of France, besieged Rotwil, which surrendered on the 19th of November; but he was mortally wounded in the siege, and died in the beginning of the succeeding month: his body was removed to Paris, and the queen caused it to be interred in Notre Dame, all the sovereign courts attending the funeral^e. After this misfortune, great disputes arose in the army, and the command devolved upon the count de Rantzau, who being attacked

*Progress of
the war in
Germany
and in
Piedmont,
with the
defeat of
the Spanish
fleet.*

^d Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 176, 177.

^e Limiers, Histoire de Louis XIV. Memoires de Pontis, tom. ii. livr. vi. p. 401. Histoire du Comte de Guebriant, Marechal de France, par J. le Laboureur, Prieur du Juvigne, fol. Paris. 1656.

at Tudelingen by the duke of Lorrain, general Mercî, and John de Werth, was totally defeated, himself and all the general officers were made prisoners, together with six thousand men, and all the artillery and baggage. The recovery of Rotwil was the first consequence of this victory, which raised the courage of the Imperialists extremely. In Italy prince Thomas of Savoy continued to command, assisted by the viscount de Turenne and monsieur du Plessis Praslin^f. The Spaniards were long employed in the siege of the castle of Tortona, of which they at length became masters; the French and Piedmontese in the mean time took Ast and Trim; soon after which action the viscount de Turenne was recalled; and the command, by the sickness of prince Thomas, devolving upon M. du Plessis Praslin, he concluded the campaign with taking the bridge over the Stura, a place of great consequence, as it opened a communication between Piedmont and the Montferrat^g. In Catalonia marshal de la Mothe Houdincourt maintained the reputation that he had acquired, though he could not hinder the king of Spain from retaking Moncon. The truth is, that at so great a distance, and while the court was in such agitation, armies were not so well supplied, or the demands of those at the head of them so punctually answered, as in the time of Richelieu. However, his nephew de Breze, now become by his death duke de Fronzac, defeated the Spanish fleet on the 31 of September, in the fight of Carthagena, and took two of their largest ships^h.

The duke of Anguien gains a complete victory over the Spaniards at Rocroi.

But what fixed the reputation of the regency, and consoled the court for the wrong turn things took in other places, was their success on the side of Flanders. The duke of Anguien, then in his twenty-second year, commanded the forces of France, having under him the marshal l'Hospital, and the count de Gassion. His army consisted of sixteen thousand foot and seven thousand horse; the Spaniards were about twenty-six thousand, under Don Francisco de Mello, who had formed the siege of Rocroi, on the frontier of the Low Countries, towards the Ardennes. The duke, having received, by an express, an account of the king's death, resolved to relieve the place, and give the Spaniards battle. The marshal laboured all he could to dissuade him, but in vain; the

^f Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau, p. 83.
du Duc de Navailles, p. 26.

^g Memoires
^h Histoire de la Monarchie
François, par Simon de Reincourt.

battle was very warmly fought; the left wing of the French army, commanded by the marshal de l'Hospital, was defeated, and the marshal had his arm broke; but the count de Gassion having dispersed the left wing of the Spanish army, and having passed round their main body, came to his assistance, and, taking the Spanish cavalry in flank, they were quickly routed. Their infantry, forming a square battalion, having their general the count de Fuentes in the centre (who, being ill of the gout, was carried in a chair) began to retreat, and repulsed the duke of Anguien, who, through impatience, attacked him with his horse: at last the foot came up, and then they were broken, or rather slaughtered, with their general. They lost nine thousand men, and twenty pieces of cannonⁱ. This was a decisive defeat, and the ruin of the Castilian infantry, which could never be repaired. The duke of Anguien afterwards besieged Thionville, and took it, after six weeks open trenches^k, though the Spaniards had the good fortune to throw in two thousand men before the place was invested. This strong place surrendered on the 10th of August, as Sirk did on the 2d of September. The viscount de Turenne had the bâton of France given him on the 26th of November, and monsieur du Gassion on the 27th; and the same honour was intended for the marquis de Gesvres, if he had not been killed before Thionville^l.

The disturbances at court rose higher and higher. The faction of Vendôme, to whom the prince of Condé had given the name of Les Importans, or *The Importants*, persecuted the queen publicly, and privately censured her conduct. The duke of Beaufort, a young man of a large size, well-made, of moderate parts, but endowed with a peculiar kind of popular eloquence, by which he charmed the vulgar, was so much incensed at the preference the queen gave to Mazarine, that, having abundance of persons about the court at his devotion, he took such steps, as, instead of doing his own, did his enemy's business at once, so that he was arrested when he least expected it^m. He was charged with a design to murder the cardinal, though he pretended that their only aim was to frighten

Intrigues at court; duke of Beaufort arrested; disgrace of several great persons.

ⁱ Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 218. Quincy, Hist. Milit. de Louis XIV. tom. ii. p. 2. Histoire du Prince de Condé, edit. 1695. p. 27.

^k Mercure François.

^l Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 220, 221. ^m Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 167, 187.

him. But, whatever their view was, this incident put an end to all their pretensions to favour. The duke de Vendosme and the duke de Mercœur, his eldest son, were ordered to retire to their houses, and in a little time madame de Hauteforte and the duchess of Chevreuse fell again into disgrace^a. The queen was sufficiently sensible that the weight of government was too heavy for her, and therefore in a little time discharged it almost entirely upon the cardinal, who persuaded her to desist from the resolution she had formed of despoiling the relations and friends of his predecessor. He told her, that in general they were persons of merit, who had discharged the places they held with reputation; that they could expect protection only from her majesty, and must consequently remain attached to her; and that, in depriving them of the places they held, she would not find it easy to dispose of them to others who were like to behave better, or to be more steady in their obedience. The duchess of Aiguillon, to whom her uncle had secured the government of Havre de Grace, treated the queen with such profound respect, and gave her such strong assurances of perpetual fidelity, that by degrees she grew much into her favour^o. But the chancellor, the surintendant of the finances, and his son Chavigni, remained still exposed to the queen's resentment. As to the first, the cardinal represented his late service in parliament in so strong a light, that the queen at length came to endure him; but as for Bouthillier, he was removed towards the close of the year, and the office of surintendant bestowed upon the president Bailleul, a man of incorruptible integrity, but of too mild and soft a disposition for that employment, and therefore he had first Mr. d'Avaux, and then Mr. Emery, given him as an assistant. This settlement secured the chancellor, from whom if the seals had been taken, they would have been given to the president. M. Chavigni was ordered to dispose of his employment as secretary of state. The queen hated him for the restrictions laid upon her in the late king's declaration, while he thought it no small merit that the declaration was not farther clogged. The cardinal was under great obligations to him; and perhaps would have exerted himself with greater warmth in his favour, if his abilities had not

^a Auberi, Histoire du Cardinal de Mazarin.
^o Mémoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. Limieres, Rein-
 court.

been so conspicuous, or his experience in affairs had been less. He disposed of his employment to the count de Brienne^p, who had sold his own; but to preserve some measures with him, the cardinal took care that Chavigni should be admitted into the council. In pursuance of the preliminaries signed at Ratifbon, the French plenipotentiaries Longueville, d'Avaux, and Servien, were sent into Germany through Holland^q. A.D. 1643.

The queen and her minister were obliged to have great complaisance for the duke of Orleans and the prince of Condé: the duke testified a desire of being at the head of the army, and this request could not be refused. It was determined that he should command on the side of the Low Countries, where there was the least doubt of his meeting with success. The difficulty of restoring affairs in Germany invited rather than deterred the duke of Anguieu, who very readily took the command, having under him the marshals Grammont and Turenne. In the mean time the plenipotentiaries, in their passage through Holland, concluded a new treaty with the States, in which they gave them the title of High and Mighty Lords^r, and in virtue of which the prince of Orange promised to act in concert with Monsieur, whom he advised to attack Dunkirk and Gravelines. The treaty of alliance was also renewed with Portugal; and a subsidy granted to Ragotski, who made an irruption into Hungary, and afforded thereby a very necessary diversion in favour of the Swedes. General Merci, who commanded the Bavarian army, had taken Friburgh before the French were in a condition to take the field, at least with an army capable of looking him in the face. At length, the duke of Anguieu having drawn together about twenty-six thousand men, advanced towards general Merci, who was encamped very advantageously to cover his new conquests. He attacked him, notwithstanding his retrenchments, on the 3d of August, and with great difficulty forced them on one side: Merci immediately decamped, and took possession of a mountain, where he fortified himself as strongly as before; the duke attacked him again on the 5th, but without being able to force him; but on the 9th he quitted his intrenched post, and leaving behind him six pieces

Progress of the war in Germany under the duke of Orleans, and in Italy under prince Thomas of Savoy.

^p Auberi, Histoire du Cardinal de Mazarin, Batt Nani, livr. xii.
^q Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii.
^r Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. vi.
 P. 294.

of cannon^s; and part of his baggage, made a great and glorious retreat. The duke of Anguien, without amusing himself with the recovery of Friburgh, resolved to become master of the course of the Rhine. Accordingly he attacked Philippsburgh, which surrendered on the 9th of September. Upon this success Mentz opened her gates; Worms and Oppenheim were reduced; and marshal Turenne took all the places on that river as far as Landau^t. In Italy things went but indifferently; prince Thomas, after a long siege, reduced St. Va, and obliged the Spaniards to abandon the castle of Ast, which they had surpris'd while he was engaged in that siege. Pope Urban the Eighth dying, Francis interposed to prevent cardinal Pamphilio from succeeding him; but cardinal Antonio Barberini, who at this time was protector of the affairs of France, being gained, and the French ambassador, who confided too much in him, deceived, Pamphilio was advanced to the papal throne, and assumed the title of Innocent the Tenth; a circumstance which so provoked the French court, that they obliged cardinal Antonio to take down the arms of France that were placed over his gate, and recalled and disgraced the ambassador^u.

Marshal de la Mothe Houdin-court beat before Lerida, and unjustly censured.

The marshal de la Mothe, who still commanded in Catalonia, was obliged to raise the siege of Tarragona, in order to march to the relief of Lerida, which was besieged by his Catholic majesty in person. The marshal, though with an inferior army, gave the enemy battle on the 15th of May, in which he had the misfortune to be defeated, with the loss of two thousand men, his artillery and baggage. In these circumstances he gave a distinguishing proof of his prudence and presence of mind, by causing a great convoy of provisions to enter the place during the heat of the dispute; notwithstanding which, Lerida surrendered^w after a siege of six weeks. Cardinal Mazarine, notwithstanding his former services, recalled the marshal, caused him to be arrested at Lyons, and sent prisoner to Pierre Encise, loading him with heavy accusations. On the other hand, the marshal retorted the charge, affirming, that, since the death of Richelieu, he had been ill supported; and that, in the action before

^s Quincy, *Hist. Militaire de Louis XIV.* tom. i. p. 22. *Histoire du Prince de Condé.*

^t *Histoire du Vicomte de Turenne*, par M. de Ramsay. *Memoires du Comte de Bienne*, tom. ii.

^u *Memoires de Madame de Motteville*, tom. i. p. 233. ^w *Memoires Chronologiques & Historiques, Histoire de Louis XIV.* tom. i. p. 44.

Lerida, he would have defeated the Spaniards, if his horse had done their duty. He even went so far as to allege, that this misbehaviour was not owing to any want of zeal or courage in them, but to certain secret orders which were sent them by monsieur le Tellier. This insinuation piqued the cardinal extremely, who caused his process * to be made before the parliament of Grenoble; but four years after he was discharged with great honour, and released from his imprisonment.

The duke of Orleans, having under him the marshals de la Meilleraie and de Gassion, marched into the heart of Flanders, and, contrary to the advice of the prince of Orange, invested Gravelines ¹. The States sent a fleet to facilitate the reduction of the place by sea under the command of the famous Tromp; but he came too late to do any great service, and the governor Don Hernando de Solis was obliged to surrender it on the 28th of July, after forty-eight days open trenches ². On the 7th of August the prince of Orange made himself master of the Saas van Ghent ³, a place of great importance, which the republic has ever since possessed, and which gave their forces an open passage into Brabant. The duke of Orleans was ambitious of fame, but did not care to engage in enterprizes which were accompanied either with much difficulty or danger, so that nothing farther of importance was done on this side. He was received, however, on his return ^b, with all imaginable testimonies of respect by the court, with which he was highly pleased.

The duke of Orleans reduces Gravelines, and then returns to court.

The domestic affairs of France began to be disturbed, in consequence of the hasty steps taken by the queen in the beginning of her regency. The council of state had imposed a tax upon the new houses built contrary to the edict for setting bounds to the city of Paris; upon which followed an insurrection of the people, whose cause was supported by the parliament. At first vigorous measures were resolved on; but the natural moderation of Mazarine prevailed; and the queen, in return for the affection the Parisians had always shewn for her, pardoned the offence ^c. This did not hinder new disputes with the parliament, who saw their opportunity, and were very desir-

Beginning of those disputes and contents which at length produced a civil war.

* Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. ii. p. 36. 47. 56. 373.

¹ Memoires de Puysegur, p. 244.

² Quincy,

Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. i. p. 19. Memoires de Puysegur.

^a Memoires de Fred. Henri, Prince d'Orange,

in 4to. p. 322.

^b Memoires de Madame de Motteville,

tom. i. Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii.

^c Me-

moires d'Omer Talon, la Haye, 1732, 8 vol. 12mo. tom. iii.

ous of extending their authority. The queen sent for them to court, and caused them to be reprimanded by the chancellor^d; but this step had little effect. They resolved to convert her compliment into a concession, and made her deeply repent the promise she had made them of receiving their counsels, and following their advice. If this spirit of theirs had been truly what it seemed, zeal for the cause of their country, and an honest desire of sparing the purses of the people, it would have been highly commendable; and very probably they might have prevailed. But this was not the case; M. de Chateauneuf, released from his imprisonment, and suffered to live at his house at Montrouge, was the great author of these discords. He expected to have succeeded cardinal Richelieu, or at least to have had the seals: being disappointed in these great views, he forgot the favour he had received, and, by his discourses to those who came to visit him, inspired the parliament with a desire of controlling the administration, and acquiring a share in the government by censuring its proceedings^e. The sickness of Mazarine^f was another misfortune; it retarded the progress of affairs, and raised a multitude of pretenders; but at the same time it afforded an excuse for that want of vigour which was shewn in support of the royal authority. Mazarine, who was very able in foreign affairs, was not so knowing in those that regarded the domestic interests of France; and could never be driven from that equitable maxim, that the queen, having received her regency from the parliament, could not, either with propriety or decency, treat them roughly. This minister, in appearance so gentle, treated duke Charles of Lorraine very hardly, prescribing to him such terms as it was impossible for a sovereign to accept. The duke, however, continued to negotiate; got some articles softened, others explained, and at last concluded. His views were to make better terms with the Spaniards, which he did, and then refused to ratify the treaty with the minister, so that in the end he was the only gainer^g by the minister's obstinacy.

A.D. 1644. The queen of Great Britain, whom the civil war in her own dominions had driven abroad, passed the winter in Paris, and was treated with very great respect. On the 6th of October died Elizabeth of France, queen of Spain,

^d Reincourt, Limiers.
Motteville, tom. i.
tom. ii. p. 229.

^e Memoires de Madame de
^f Memoires du Comte de Brienne,
^g Limiers, Reincourt.

exceedingly regretted^b; she had just acquired some influence in the councils of Madrid, and employed it in behalf of the people.

Leonard Tortenfon, who commanded the Swedes, had gained a great victory over the Imperialists at Tabor, in the beginning of March, in consequence of which general Rosen was sent with a body of cavalry to join marshal Turenne, who was advancing into Franconia. With this view he passed the Rhine and the Main, and sent Rosen with his horse to observe the motions of general Merci, an officer inferior to none, who continued retiring before him. Rosen, having followed him four days, returned to marshal Turenne, with an account that the enemies were gone; upon which, at the request of the Germans, and because the season was rude, the troops were put into quarters of refreshment. Merci, who foresaw this step, and who had followed Rosen back but slowly, and at a distance, on the 5th of May fell upon the quarters of the French at Mariendal, carried them with great ease, killed a great many men, and took six pieces of cannon, and all the baggage, a check which obliged Turenne to repass the rivers, and to retire fighting under the walls of Philippsburghⁱ. This was the single defeat that Turenne ever received, and yet perhaps it was the resource of his humility in his victories. At least this is certain, that whenever he was applauded for the latter, he always mentioned the former, and gave those praises to Merci that others would have given to him^k. The duke of Anguien, who was destined to command on this side, marched to his relief, and in his passage assisted the marquis de Villeroi in taking la Motte, where the duke of Lorraine had still a garrison.

The French army under marshal Turenne surprised by general Merci.

The French forces, being joined, marched under the command of the duke and the marshals Grammont and Turenne, in order to form the siege of Hailbron. After taking Wimphen, which opened the passage of the Neckar, they continued their march towards Nortlingen, not far from which they found general Merci, encamped more strongly than at Friburgh, on a mountain surrounded by a morass, a large village in his centre, his right wing covered by a thick wood, and his left by an old fortress, into which he had put several pieces of cannon. The

The duke of Anguien, with the marshals Grammont and Turenne, beats the Germans at Nortlingen, where general Merci is killed.

^b Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV, Vicomte de Turenne, tom. i.

ⁱ Quincy,

^k Limiers, Histoire du

duke attacked him even in this posture, on the 3d of August. The command of the right wing was given to marshal Grammont, who was to oppose general Glesne; the marquis de Castelnau commanded in the centre; and marshal Turenne, with the German horse, in the left wing, was opposed to count Merci, who commanded the right of his own army. The action began by attacking the village, a service which the marquis de Castelnau performed with great vigour; but was on the point of being repulsed, when the duke of Anguien, with his gens d'armes, came in to his relief, and carried their point¹. Marshal Turenne with infinite difficulty forced an eminence between the village and the enemies right wing, which he defeated with great slaughter, the brave count Merci being killed upon the spot^m. Marshal Grammont, with the French cavalry, was thoroughly broken, and himself taken prisoner; and if general Glesne had not amused himself with attempting to plunder the baggage, he might have restored the fortune of the day, or at least he might have made a good retreat; but his troops being dispersed by the victors, he was himself made prisoner. The Imperialists had three thousand men killed, two thousand taken prisoners, and lost fifteen pieces of cannon; but the victory was very dearly bought. Nortlingen and Dunkespiel surrendered, and the victorious army besieged Hailbronⁿ. The duke of Anguien, falling ill, was obliged to leave the army to the command of marshal Turenne; and the archduke Leopold and general Galas advancing with a superior army to its relief, he raised the siege^o. The Imperialists, after retaking Nortlingen and Dunkespiel, went into winter-quarters, as the marshal intended to do. But, being informed that there was a very weak garrison in Treves, he very unexpectedly advanced towards it, and invested the place, which opened its gates on the 19th of November^p, by which means it was restored to the elector, whose liberty the French plenipotentiaries at Munster had procured.

On the side of Italy there was a treaty concluded on the 3d of April, between the king and the dukes of Sa-

¹ Histoire du Prince de Condé, p. 108. Aubert, Histoire du Cardinal Mazarin, tom. i. p. 294. Mémoires Chronologiques & Historiques.

^m Histoire du Vicomte de Turenne, tom. i.

ⁿ Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Mémoires Chronologiques & Historiques, Mémoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 304, 305.

^o Histoire du Prince de Condé.

^p Mé-

moires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii.

voy, by which Turin, and all the other places that had French garrisons, were delivered to the young duke. The execution of this treaty took up so much time, that the Spaniards might have taken advantage of it, if their forces in the duchy of Milan had been near so considerable as in times past; but, to say the truth, this long war had so exhausted both crowns, that, in the more distant scenes of action, things were carried on in a very languid manner. In the summer campaign, the marquis de Serra, who commanded in the Milanese, only rendered himself master of the fortrefs of Capiara, which he demolished. In the autumn prince Thomas of Savoy took the field with the French and Piedmontese troops, and besieged Rocca de Vigevano, which surrendered on the 12th of September^a. Innocent the Tenth, who had ascended the papal throne by the assistance of the Barberini, was no sooner firmly seated thereon, than he began to make them feel the weight of his resentment, and that in so extraordinary a manner, as obliged them to have recourse to the protection of France, or rather to that of the cardinal, who, by his sole influence, procured it to be employed in their behalf in its utmost extent. The cardinal Antonio Barberini, and his brother the prefect Thadeus, with his family, retired to Paris, where they were received with all possible marks of honour and respect^r. They brought with them immense sums of money, which they freely lent for carrying on the war on this side; and in consideration of which Mazarine, in process of time, advanced cardinal Antonio to the archiepiscopal see of Rheims, and the post of lord high almoner.

Campaign in Italy, and the retreat of the Barberini into France.

The minister was obliged, for his own justification, to take all imaginable care of the affairs in Catalõnia, where the marshal de la Mothe was replaced by the count de Harcourt, with the title of viceroy. He opened the campaign towards the close of March with the siege of Roses, an important post, strong by situation, well fortified, in which there was a garrison of three thousand foot and three hundred horse. The count du Plessis Praslin commanded the siege, and the count de Harcourt covered it. The place was well defended; and Don Andrew de Cantelmo, who commanded the army of Spain, did not find himself strong enough to undertake any thing for its re-

Count de Harcourt, viceroy of Catalonia, takes Roses, and beats the Spaniards at Lioren.

^a Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. i. livr. ii. p. 88. ^r Auberi, Histoire du Cardinal Mazarin, Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 281, 282.

lief, so that the place surrendered on the 26th of May, after forty-nine days open trenches^s. This achievement intitled the count du Plessis Praslin to the bâton of France; which as soon as he received, he was sent into Piedmont, to assist prince Thomas of Savoy^t. After his departure, the count de Harcourt passed the Segro with all his forces, in order to give battle to the Spaniards, who were posted between Liorens and Balaguier. The battle was fought on the 22d of June, when the Spanish troops were defeated, having a thousand men killed, and two thousand taken prisoners; which action was followed by the loss of Liorens and Balaguier^u. But this was not the greatest event of the year; the baron d'Alby formed a dangerous conspiracy for restoring Barcelona to the Spaniards, in which a great number of the inhabitants were embarked; but it was discovered on the very point of execution, by the great vigilance of the viceroy, by whose orders some of the principal criminals were severely punished^w, and the malecontents effectually disabled.

*Operations
in Flanders
under the
duke of Or-
leans and
the mar-
shals du
Gassion and
de Rant-
zau.*

The greatest efforts were made on the side of Flanders, where the duke of Orleans commanded, having under him the marshal du Gassion, and the count de Rantzau. The Spaniards were but weak, and the great diversion made by the prince of Orange very much facilitated the progress of the French. Casal was taken by storm, an incident which opened a passage to the siege of Mardyke. This place was then no more than a very strong fort covered by marshes, into which the Spaniards had put a garrison of twelve hundred men, with all the ammunition and provisions necessary, general Piccolomini being near with his army, to afford the besieged all the assistance in his power. The siege was carried on with great circumspection; and the Dutch fleet, commanded by admiral Tromp, blocked up the place by sea. It was surrendered on the 10th of July, after twenty days open trenches^x; by which conquest, the count de Rantzau, abjuring the Protestant religion, obtained the marshal's staff. To secure this conquest, the marshal de Gassion was sent to take the fort of Link, a service which he performed within the compass of the same month, being

^s Quincy, Hist. Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. i. p. 50. ^t Mémoires de divers Exploits & Actions du Marechal du Plessis Praslin, 4to, Paris, 1676. ^u Fautes des Rois de France, tom. ii. p. 298.

^w La reye, tom. i. p. 48.

^x Quincy, Hist. Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. i. p. 37.

dangerously wounded in the attack. The two marshals next attacked Bourbourg, which, after a siege of ten days, was surrendered, and the garrison were made prisoners of war. Menin, Bethune, and Lillers, followed; while in the mean time the prince of Orange^y besieged Hulst, a place of great strength and importance. The Spaniards, seeing him thus employed, assembled all their forces in Flanders, in order to recover some of the places they had lost; in which attempts they met with some success, for they recovered Casal, and surprised the fort of Mar-dyke^z; but in the mean time the prince of Orange took Hulst on the 14th of November, and the forces on both sides went into winter quarters.

At home the cardinal found himself every day in fresh perplexities with the parliament; and very often his quarrels were about such trifles, that it was sufficiently evident this great and powerful body took a pleasure in embarrassing and perplexing his administration. He wanted not some true friends, who advised him to act with vigour; and to let the parliament know, that though kings were minors, yet the royal authority did not participate either of age or of youth, but was always the same; and that having declared the queen sole regent, they were as much bound to obedience as the rest of her subjects^a. But the cardinal considered his own situation as a stranger that had no alliance, no support but from the queen; he had no adequate notions of the constitution of France, but took his opinions in that respect implicitly from others; he had also many false friends, who either took pleasure, or found their interest in seeing him thus confounded. The queen herself did not discover any want of resolution; but in the audiences that she gave to the committees of parliament, behaved with steadiness and dignity; and the chancellor was not wanting in the proper discharge of his office^b. But, nevertheless, the parliaments were gainers by every dispute; and it was this success that excited them, as soon as one terminated, to set on foot another. In point of raising money, it was thought proper to make use of the king himself, who went in person to hold his bed of justice, when, according to the established usage, the parliament registered the edicts, out of respect to the

New disputes with the parliament and other causes of embarrassment in public affairs.

^y Memoires de Fred. Henri Prince d'Orange. ^z Buffy, Rabutin, Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. i. livr. ii. p. 78, 79.
^a Auberi, Histoire du Cardinal Mazarin. ^b Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i.

king's presence, without remonstrances^c. In order to make the most of this expedient, the king carried nineteen money bills at once^d. On this occasion, the advocate-general Talon made a bold and eloquent speech, which the queen, more intent upon the spectacle than the importance of this transaction, could not help applauding. It was not without concessions that a point of so great consequence, and in which there was nothing harsh or immoderate, was got over; and even with the help of these it was not without much difficulty the minister brought it to bear. The cardinal was no less embarrassed with the negotiations at Munster, where the Spaniards laboured assiduously, and with great address, to detach the States-general from their interests, at the same time that the emperor acted with the same view, and with the like probability of success, in regard to the Swedes; but, in the management of these affairs, the cardinal discovered much greater abilities, and, with the assistance of the count of Brienne, enabled the French plenipotentiaries to make good their party with their allies^e. Ladislaus, king of Poland, having demanded the princess Mary of Nevers in marriage, the treaty was quickly concluded, and on the 9th of November the ambassadors espoused that princess in the name of their master^f. Madame la Maréchale de Guebriant conducted the princess Mary into Poland; and was the first, and perhaps will be the last, that bore the title of ambassadress, which however was never better supported.

The king taken out of the hands of the women, and marshal Villeroi appointed his governor.

Lewis the Fourteenth was now turned of seven years old, and it was judged absolutely necessary to take him out of the hands of the women. But as the education of the young prince was a point of great consequence to the queen and her minister, it was thought most expedient to confide this great trust to the cardinal himself, who was by letters patent created surintendant of the king's education^g. The marquis de Villeroi, now raised to the rank of marshal of France, was declared his governor; and the abbé de Beaumont, better known by the name of Perefixe, afterwards archbishop of Paris, was his preceptor^h;

^c Memoires d'Omer Talon, tom. iii.

XIV. par M. Voltaire, tom. i.

Munster, &c. tom. i.

tom. i. p. 319, 320, 321, &c. Reincourt, tom. i. p. 141.

^g Aubert, Histoire du Cardinal Mazarine, Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 347.

^h Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire, tom. i.

but,

but, whether it was through the fault of the latter, as is commonly reported, or whether in fact the king had naturally slow parts, and little capacity, he made but very little progress in what is generally styled learning, though, on the other hand, by the conversation of marshal Villeroy, and of the cardinal himself, he was informed of those things that it best became a king to know, was accustomed to think before he spoke, and to judge of persons and things without passion or prejudice. It is certain that the cardinal himself was very sensible of the defects in the king's education; but at the same time suggested, that they were in a great measure unavoidable, and that he had laboured not unsuccessfully to correct them as he advanced in years; and impartial judges have inclined to believe, that he asserted nothing in this respect that was contrary to truth¹. But the censures passed upon his preceptor have not been thought without foundation, and that his want of talents for the office confided to him were not discovered till it was too late.

The presidents Gayan and Barillon dying towards the close of the year, revived the ill humour of the parliament at the beginning of this, and for two reasons. The first was, the president Barillon died in the fortress of Pignerol, to which he was sent as the author of the first quarrel. He was a magistrate of great parts and probity, but of so strange a temper, that he was ever at the head of some party or other. He had been very steady in the service of the queen, and very useful in getting the limitations contained in the king's declaration cancelled. But when this aim was effected, he was the first to murmur, and the last to be reconciled to the court; so that, after condescending often to his humours, and sacrificing much to his resentment, the queen very unwillingly caused him to be arrested, and carried prisoner to the frontiers of Piedmont^k. The other cause was, that these two employments were disposed of to two young counsellors, with a dispensation for their want of age, a step which furnished fresh matter of complaint. When the court gave way in this particular, the chambers quarrelled amongst themselves, as if peace and the prosecution of their duty had been the most intolerable of all grievances. In the course of these debates, they advanced a little too openly that

Disputes in the parliament of Paris, and delays in the negotiation at Munster.

¹ Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. i. livr. iv. p. 163, 164. ^k Memoires d'Omer Talon, vol. iv. p. 57. Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 226, 227.

maxim which it imported them most to have concealed, "that they held the royal authority incomplete during a minority." But the perplexity occasioned by these ill-timed animosities was still less than that which arose from the disagreement of the plenipotentiaries at Munster, where, at the same time, the Imperial and Spanish ministers were practising every art to separate France from her allies. His catholic majesty proposed leaving it to the queen-regent to dictate a peace, making her the high compliment to declare, that he looked upon her wisdom and piety to be such, that he was content she should adjust all things between her brother and her son. This offer imposed upon the French plenipotentiaries, who made no scruple of declaring, that they looked upon the peace as made, and they transmitted this proposal to the queen. But she, by the advice of Mazarine, treated it in a proper manner; and, after expressing a due sense of the compliment, declared, that in a thing of such high importance she could not trust herself; that she would never listen to any terms of peace, but in conjunction with her allies, or negotiate any where but at Munster¹. The treaty of subsidy was renewed with the States; and the requisite measures having been taken for carrying on the war, the forces were permitted to act as if all thoughts of peace had been lost.

*Campaign
in Ger-
many and
in Italy,
where the
cardinal
forces the
pope to sub-
mission.*

Marshal Turenne commanded on the side of Germany, the only side on which the minister, from the situation of public affairs, was able to do little. The whole army consisted but of eight thousand men; and all that could be expected was, that the marshal should make some effort to join the Swedes, a junction which was apparently difficult, if not impracticable. Turenne himself treated the project as a chimera, and made dispositions of a very contrary nature. He prevailed upon the landgravine to throw a bridge over the Rhine at Wesel; and, passing there unexpectedly with his forces, prosecuted his march with such vigour, that, before the Imperialists could reach him, he entered Bavaria, joined the Swedes, and besieged Augsbu^m, which siege, however, he was obliged to raise in the beginning of October; but his junction with the Swedes, notwithstanding, was the principal motive that induced the electors of Bavaria and Cologne to conclude a neutrality, in order to save their country, which

¹ Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. i. livr. iv. p. 170, 171. ^m Hist. du Vicomte de Turenne, Quincy, Hist. Milit. de Louis XIV.

was of as great consequence to France as a victory would have been. On the side of Italy, cardinal Mazarine was determined to employ the power of France to humble the pope, who not only prosecuted the Barberini with unrelenting severity, but had refused a hat to the archbishop of Aix, the cardinal's brother; he had even published a bull, insisting on the attendance of the whole sacred college at Rome, unless exempted by his holiness's permission^a. Mazarine knew perfectly well the temper of that court, upon which nothing can work but fear. Prince Thomas of Savoy had received orders to march with his forces to Orbitello, on the coast of Tuscany, where five thousand French troops were embarked on board a fleet commanded by the duke de Breze, to assist him in the siege. This step was scarce taken, before the Spanish armada appeared under the command of admiral Pimentel. The duke de Breze acted with great spirit, went immediately on board his own vessel, and put to sea with his fleet, in order to give that of the enemy battle. This engagement happened on the 14th of June, and it is said that he had the advantage, when unluckily, by a cannon shot, he lost his head in the flower of his age, being but twenty-seven^o. His vice-admiral, the count d'Oignon, instead of prosecuting the fight, or regarding what might happen to the forces on shore, bore away for the coast of France, in order to secure Brouage, and the rest of the places, of which, in consequence of his uncle Richelieu's will, the duke was governor. This action, which one would have thought must have occasioned his disgrace, made his fortune^p. Prince Thomas, after lying before the place till he had lost the greatest part of his troops, was constrained to raise the siege. But Mazarine, persisting in his resolution, equipped another fleet of greater force than the former, embarked a fresh body of troops, and sent the marshals Meilleraie and du Pleissis Praslin into the island of Elbe, where they reduced Piombino and Portolongone^q. But, before this event, the very terror of this armament forced pope Innocent to comply with the cardinal's terms, by which the Barberini were restored to all they had lost; a measure which gain-

^a Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. i. livr. iv. p. 181, 182. ^o Mémoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 361. ^p Hist. de Louis XIV. tom. i. livr. iv. p. 181. ^q Quincy, Hist. Milit. de Louis XIV.

ed him great reputation^r, as, in the plenitude of their power, they had been his personal enemies, though he had been once their creature, which shewed his generosity in taking them under his protection. The duke of Modena, encouraged by this success, declared again on the side of France, and admitted a body of troops into his dominions.

Count de Harcourt forced to raise the siege of Lerida, which is highly censured in France.

The count de Harcourt continued to command in Catalonia, and thought himself sure of defeating the Spaniards, who were constrained to intrust the command of their forces once more to the marquis de Leganez. The count de Harcourt proposed to rout the marquis first, and then to take Lerida. On the other hand, the marquis very well knew that fighting was not his business, and therefore avoided it with great address. At length the count invested Lerida, a very strong place, well provided in all respects. The marquis suffered him to remain there quietly enough for about six weeks, then harrassed his foragers, and at length advanced towards his lines with his troops in order of battle: having presented himself in this manner frequently, he at length retired, as despairing of success. In the mean time he had provided a large convoy of provisions, under the escort of fifteen hundred chosen troops, and on the 21st of November they approached the place on one side, while he with all his forces marched back from the same distance on the other. The count de Harcourt judged rightly that he was in earnest, made the necessary dispositions to receive him, and defended his lines with great courage and intrepidity: but while he was thus employed, the Spanish troops who escorted the convoy forced one of his quarters, and entered the place; of which particular he was no sooner apprised, than he raised the siege, and made a regular retreat, but was obliged to leave behind his artillery, and the best part of his baggage^s. This unfortunate event cancelled all his former services, and induced the cardinal to remove and recall him; but being as complete a courtier as a captain, though he came in disgrace, he had not remained long at court before he wrought himself into very high favour.

^r Auberi, Hist. du Cardinal Mazarin, Hist. du Ministère du Cardinal Jules Mazarin, par Galeazzo, premiere partie, p. 42, 43.

^s Quincy, Hist. Milit. de Louis XIV. Memoires de Madame de Moitteville, tom. i. p. 392. 311.

On the side of Flanders the Spaniards being in motion in the beginning of May, with an intent to strengthen the garrisons of the most exposed places, marshal de Gassion marched with two hundred horse to Menin, where being informed that the enemy's infantry were on one side the canal, and their horse on the other, he marched with such celerity and secrecy, that he surpris'd six regiments of the latter, as they lay scattered in the villages, and killed, took, or dispers'd them all^a. At the beginning of the campaign the army was commanded by the duke of Orleans, under whom served the duke of Anguien, and the marshals Gassion and Rantzau. The army consisted of thirty thousand men, with which about the middle of June they invested Courtrai: the enemy, commanded by the duke of Lorraine, and the generals Bec and Lamboi, were twenty-five thousand strong; who encamped so near them, that they cannonaded each other's camp with some effect. The abbé de la Riviere, who could not leave Monsieur, was not at all pleas'd with this situation, and this timidity of his had so visible an operation on their councils, as hurt his master's credit. The place, however, surrendered on the 28th, after fifteen days open trenches^b. The army of France afterwards joined that of Holland, upon which the duke of Lorraine retired under the cannon of Bruges. Much was expected, and much might have been done, after this junction; but the States-general, and even the prince of Orange himself, had changed their sentiments, and were more afraid of their ally than of their enemies. In consequence of some disputes about command, they separated, six thousand French only, under the command of marshal Grammont, being left with the prince of Orange, the rest retired towards Courtrai, and, after a short respite, besieged Bergues Saint Vinox, which surrendered in three days. This success facilitated the siege of Mardyke, which was long and bloody, because it could not be perfectly invested on the side of Dunkirk, from whence the garrison was every day as regularly relieved as the troops of the besiegers in their trenches; neither would it have been taken at last, if the Dutch, to save appearances, after delaying as long as possible, had not sent Tromp with a fleet before Dun-

The duke of Orleans takes Courtrai, and the prince of Condé Dunkirk.

^a Bufff Hist. de Louis XIV. ^b Reincourt, Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. i. Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires de Puyseg. p. 252. Bufff, Memoires, Edit. de 1711. tom. i. p. 108.

kirk, which soon brought the place to capitulate on the 24th of August, and the garrison was made prisoners of war. The duke of Anguien signalized himself at this siege, in which he was wounded; notwithstanding which accident, the duke of Orleans left the command to him, being persuaded by his favourite to quit the army. The Spaniards had such a sense of this change, that the marquis de Carracena, with his forces, quitted the neighbourhood with such precipitation, that they abandoned Furnes, and thereby facilitated the design of the duke of Anguien, which he had cautiously concealed, and which now appeared to be the siege of Dunkirk. His army was so diminished, that it did not consist of above ten thousand foot and five thousand horse; his whole train of fifteen pieces of heavy cannon. The garrison consisted of two thousand five hundred foot, and three hundred horse, commanded by the marquis de Lede. The duke, though he made all the dispatch possible, was three weeks in finishing his lines, but in that time the Dutch fleet under Tromp arrived. The trenches were opened on the 24th of September, the siege was carried on with all possible vigour, and the place was very gallantly defended; but, as the garrison had no hopes of succour, the duke prevailed upon the governor to capitulate upon very honourable terms, provided he was not relieved within five days. This capitulation was signed on the 7th of October; and, the Spanish army not appearing, the French became masters of this important place. The duke of Anguien, having provided for the security of Courtrai, put his troops into winter-quarters, and returned to reap the reward of his services at court, where, however, his presence was far from being welcome.

Disputes about the post of superintendent of the marine, which the queen takes to herself.

The duke of Anguien, having married the duke of Breze's sister, concluded he had a clear right to the employments and to the governments possessed by the deceased; and the service of the count d'Oignon, consisted in this, that he put it in the power of the queen and her minister to consider how they should elude the duke's demand, by taking possession of Brouage and the isles adjacent. The prince of Condé solicited warmly; the duke himself wrote from the camp before Mardyke in very decent but in very strong terms, and, which is more extra-

^c Reincourt, Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. i. Memoires de Puysegur, p. 257, 258. Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 385. Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. i.

ordinary, he prevailed upon the duke of Orleans to write likewise in his favour. The queen was so much embarrassed, that she could find no other method of avoiding the duke's application, but by having recourse again to Richelieu's expedient, and causing letters patent to be expedited for the superintendance of commerce and the marine to herself. The parliament made some difficulty of verifying this grant; but, being acquainted with the true reason, they consented. When the duke of Anguien saw it impossible to have the thing, he seemed disposed to accept of an equivalent, but the difficulty was as great to find that^d. They offered him the towns lately detached from Lorrain, which he refused, and proposed giving him an army sufficient to make the conquest of Franche Comté, which he might hold, rendering homage for it to the crown of France; but the court was not disposed to revive the ancient duchy of Burgundy, which, in the hands of princes of the blood, had formerly given so much trouble to France. In the course of this dispute Henry prince of Condé died, on the 26th of December^e, a prince, who, with great faults, had also great virtues, and was singular in having a good and an ill quality, which hardly ever met, at least conspicuously, in any other man, these were, the love of justice, and the love of money. In respect to the latter, he was born the neediest, and died the richest, person of his rank in Europe. At the time of his marriage he had not above five hundred pounds sterling a-year: at the time of his decease his annual income was computed at fifty thousand pounds. With the title of Condé, and this vast fortune, which the duke of Anguien inherited from his father, he kept, by the favour of the regent, the posts and governments which he had enjoyed, so that all mention of an equivalent was dropped, the generous disposition of the young prince making him ashamed to make farther mention of any such demand. His brother Armand, prince of Conti, and his sister the duchess of Longueville, as yet had not interfered in public affairs.

A.D. 1646.

The plenipotentiaries continued to treat at Munster and at Osnabrug, the Catholics in the former of those cities, and the Protestants in the latter. The French ministers, though able men, were strangely outwitted. Mr. d'Avaux,

The campaign in Germany, by which marshal Turenne acquires great reputation.

^d Histoire du Prince de Condé, Memoires de Madame de Montpensier, Edit. de 1735, tom. i. p. 95, 96.
^e Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 394, 395.

who had both a sound head and an honest heart, pressed the duke of Longueville to sign the treaty, assuring him, that, with respect to the interests of France, the terms proposed were extremely favourable. The duke himself was of the same opinion; yet Mr. Servien prevailed upon him not to sign, assuring him, that this was the way to procure still better^f. He had the secret of the court, or rather of the cardinal, who, finding himself exceedingly embarrassed with the parliament on one side, and the princes of the blood on the other, concluded that, if a peace was once made, they would concur to his destruction. On the side of Germany, marshal Turenne commanded a small corps of troops, that could scarce be styled an army; but, by his junction with the Swedes and Hessians, he had obliged the electors of Bavaria and Cologne to sign the treaty of Ulm; after which he repassed the Rhine; and, in consequence of the orders he had received, was on the point of marching into the Low Countries, after reducing several places, and rendering equal service to the Swedes and to the landgrave^g of Hesse. This consideration did not hinder the allies from taking it extremely amiss that he should be recalled. The Swedish general Wrangel engaged Rosen to draw off the German and Swedish officers and troops that still remained of the forces once commanded by the duke of Saxe Weymar; to prevent which separation the marshal found himself obliged to arrest Rosen; and this step offended that part of his small army to such a degree, that they mutinied. Turenne did all that lay in his power to reduce them by fair means; and, when these failed, attacked and dispersed them; and then continued his march^h. The elector of Bavaria, who had detached himself from the emperor purely to save his country, thought this a favourable opportunity for renewing the war, believing what they had so long sought was at length effected; and that the French and Swedes, after what had passed, could never act together again. Marshal Turenne saw this project clearly, with all the consequences that must attend it; and, having represented them in the strongest light to the court, received both orders and reinforcements, passed the Rhine, and, in spite of all the obstacles that could be thrown in the way, came to the assistance of the Swedes; a circum-

^f *Memoires du Comte de Brienne*, tom. ii. p. 237, 238. *Auberi Histoire du Cardinal Mazarin.* ^g *Histoire du Vicomte de Turenne.* ^h *Reincourt, Hist. de Louis XIV.* tom. i.

stance which so intirely effaced all memory of former misunderstandings, that they took quarters together in Bavaria, and thus punished the elector for his perfidy in breaking the peace¹.

The constable of Castile, who commanded the Spanish troops, gained some advantages on the side of Piedmont^k. In the latter end of the year the duke of Guise made his romantic journey to Naples, where he performed things almost incredible, and where it is morally certain that he would have carried his point, if it had not been for the jealousy of Mazarine, who sent a fleet indeed to Naples, which might have done every thing, but which in effect did nothing^l. On the side of Catalonia the prince of Condé commanded, but with an army much inferior in point of strength to his own rank, and to the nature of the service, though composed of good troops, and commanded by excellent officers^m. The prince, however, considering rather for what end he was sent than the means that he had in his power, dismissed the fleet, that might have been of great service if he had attacked any of the ports, and resolved to attack Lerida, before which the marshal de la Mothe and the count de Harcourt had failed. Don Antonio de Brito, who had acquitted himself so well in the former sieges, commanded there still; and the Spaniards, who know the importance of the place, had left him a garrison of three thousand men, well supplied with all things necessary. The prince came before the place in the middle of May, invested it, prepared the old lines, but did not break ground till the 27th, and then opened his trenches with a concert of violins, a circumstance with which he was often reproached in the sequel. After some progress made in the siege, it appeared that they had made their attack on the wrong side; and that the shortest and wisest step they could take was to begin again. But, by this time, the Spanish army was formed; and, advancing towards Lerida, where the governor had allowed them no respite from the time they began the siege. The prince, laying these circumstances together, very prudently resolved to retire in time, and,

Progress of the war in Italy and in Catalonia, where the French forces were but feeble.

¹ Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. i. livr. iv.
Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. i.

^k Quincy, Hist. Auberi, Histoire du Cardinal Mazarin, tom. i. Reincourt. Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. i. Les Memoires de feu Monsieur le Duc de Guise, Paris, 1668. 4to.

^m Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i.

p. 419.

having

having sent away the artillery and baggage, raised the siege on the twenty-first day after the trenches were opened, without losing a manⁿ. The rest of the campaign was spent in preventing the Spainards from gaining any farther advantage, and in taking a little place or two upon the frontiers of Arragon, in which the marshal de Grammont, who commanded under the prince, gained great credit.

The campaign in the Low Countries, and the death of the gallant marshal Gassion.

The Spaniards, having united themselves still closer than formerly to the emperor, resolved to make great efforts on the side of Flanders, and with that view confided the government of the Low Countries, and the command of the army, to the archduke Leopold, who, reinforced with some German regiments, took the field in the beginning of May. On the other hand, Mazarine, extremely embarrassed in raising money, was very well pleased that the physicians of the duke of Orleans sent him to drink the waters of Bourbon, and gave the command of the army to the marshals Gassion and Rantzau. The archduke besieged Armentier, and, though it was very well defended, took it after fourteen days open trenches^o. He next invested Landreci. Marshal Gassion would have attacked him in his lines, but Rantzau declined it, upon which it was agreed that they should endeavour to make a diversion. Rantzau accordingly attacked the forts Knocque, Nieudam, and Sluce, while in the mean time marshal de Gassion besieged La Bassée, which he pressed with great vigour, knowing that Landreci could not hold long, and that he should have the archduke with his army at his elbow. In two days he carried the covered-way, and began to batter in breach. On the 4th he prepared for a general assault; and at the same time sent the governor word, that if he carried the place sword in hand, he would not spare man, woman, or child. The governor demanded four hours to consider: the marshal laid his watch on the ground before him, and bade the officer who brought the message tell the governor, that if in three quarters of an hour he did not deliver him a gate, he had no quarter to expect for himself or the rest of the inhabitants. The place surrendered^p; and the marshal had scarce taken possession, before he had intelligence, that

ⁿ Limiers, tom. i. p. 110. Larrey, tom. i. p. 101. Histoire du Prince de Condé.

^o Reincourt, Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. i. Memoires de Puysegur, p. 260. Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 399.

^p Quincy, Histoire Milit. de Louis XIV. tom. i. p. 80.

Landreci capitulated the night before, which was the 18th of July, and that the archduke was in full march to relieve it. About the same time marshal Rantzau became master of Dixmude. On the 24th of September marshal de Gassion invested Lens, and pushed the siege with the same vivacity as he had done that of La Bassée; but, in the attack of the covered-way, as he was endeavouring to pull up a palisade, he received a shot in the head, of which he died on the 2d of October following, in the thirty-eighth year of his age. He was at that time in disgrace for having thrown an impertinent letter of Mazarine's upon the floor, and for having exclaimed against the idle expences of an opera, at a time when several places on the frontiers were in a very bad condition. France lost in him an able officer, and a man of honour^q. Monsieur de Villequier continued the siege, and forced Lens to surrender the day after the marshal's death; the archduke, in revenge, besieged and recovered Dixmude, with which enterprize the campaign ended^r.

As the events of the war were not favourable, so the intrigues of the court were as troublesome to the cardinal as ever. The duke de Longueville was desirous of being made admiral of France at the same time with the prince of Condé; and, not being able to obtain this office, insisted on an equivalent, which he did obtain: for this was the cardinal's weakness; he was unwilling to reward services; he gave seldom out of friendship, but his timidity made him seem generous when he really was not so. The duke, who was already governor of Normandy, had the government of Caen and the citadel added to it, and a great lordship was bought for him in the neighbourhood of his sovereignty of Neufchatel; yet when the court intended to have passed into Normandy, there appeared such a backwardness in the people, that the measure was laid aside. Things went just at the same rate with the parliament, who affected to cancel or to limit edicts, just as they suited with their designs. Mazarine spoke high of the royal authority, confuted their reasons, negotiated all the time, and at length complied. The duke of Anjou had a severe fit of sickness, from which even the best judges thought it very doubtful whether he could recover. He was beginning to amend when the king fell sick, and

Sources of the troubles in the court, and of cardinal Mazarine's apprehensions.

^q Mémoires chronologiques & historiques. Aubert, Histoire du Cardinal Mazarin, tom. i. p. 379. ^r Mémoires d'Omer Talon, tom. iv.

his disorder quickly appeared to be the small-pox, which threw the whole nation into confusion^s. The cardinal negotiated, and made presents; but, if what he feared had taken effect, it is highly probable that most of the resources thus purchased would have failed him. - Charles prince of Wales, and James duke of York, sons to the unfortunate king of Great Britain, were then at the French court with their mother, a circumstance which gave the flatterers of those times an opportunity of styling Paris the asylum of princes^t; we shall see it the very next year expelling their own. At Munster things took a new turn; the plenipotentiaries closed with the proposals made on the part of Spain; the prince of Orange now grown old, and worn out with fatigue and diseases, no longer opposed a separate peace^u; some say he was wrought upon by arguments; others, that the Spaniards made the prince^x of Orange sensible of their liberality in a very high degree; it is added, that Mazarine, after repeated promises, forgot to send her a pair of rich diamonds, an omission which gave her very great offence. The queen-regent, Anne of Austria, whom experience had taught to judge of affairs better than in times past, grew apprehensive of that ill temper which appeared in the parliament; and of that complaisance which was natural to a minister, and now likely to increase, since he had sent for a nephew and three nieces out of Italy^y; with an intent to establish them in the kingdom: a circumstance which heightened the aversion the people had conceived against him, and at the same time made him more and more desirous of pursuing what he would have styled moderate counsel, though in reality he sacrificed the interests of the state, and made use of the wealth wrung from the people to bribe those who pretended to pity and protect them.

A.D. 1647.

The parliament, moved rather by ambition than public spirit, to fall on the minister at this time.

This year is the most important of all the regency: it was at this juncture the cardinal became odious; he deserved the public hatred afterwards, but then he was respected and triumphant. If he continued the war, it was because he durst not make peace; the great taxes he levied were absolutely requisite to supply the exigencies of the government; and, if there was any misapplication in the finances, it was owing to Monsieur and the prince

^s Auberi, *Histoire du Cardinal Mazarin*, tom. i. p. 376.
^t *Histoire de Louis XIV.* tom. i. livr. i.

^u *Negociations secretes du Munster & d'Osnaburg*, tom. iv. *Memoires du Comte de Brienne*, tom. ii.
^x Auberi, *Histoire du Cardinal Mazarine*.

of Condé, the former having a passion to squander, the latter being rapacious, and both taking what they pleased. This disposition gained them friends, and made the cardinal many enemies. The distress of the treasury obliging him to be frugal, his modesty was accounted art, and his moderation ascribed to cowardice. At this time there was no room for these imputations: he was far from being rich; he was industrious and indefatigable; he gave every body good words; he was ignorant of the constitution of France, a circumstance which made him sometimes too peremptory, and, upon recollection, too compliant. He became afterwards what he was now said to be; but the parliament was not then in a condition to controul him. The parliament in the preceding year had rendered themselves popular, by interposing against edicts that charged the necessaries of life with heavy impositions. In order to obtain money, the court created twelve new masters in the chamber of inquests; that chamber refused to receive them; and the parliament began to avow their doctrine, that, during a minority, no new offices could be created¹. New incidents fell in; the court forbade the chambers to assemble, and they assembled notwithstanding this prohibition². The queen was for firm measures, the minister declared for compliance. The reason is not hard to find; the latter had more to fear than the former. The first president was in the interest of the court at the beginning; but, seeing reason to doubt whether he should be sustained, began to trim, a circumstance which enabled the parliament to go greater lengths. These domestic disputes had a strong influence on foreign affairs; they raised the drooping spirits of the Spaniards; encouraged the Dutch to persist in their new maxims; disabled the minister from pursuing the war with vigour, at the same time that they took from him the power of making a good general peace. Thus those who complained loudest were the authors of what they complained against.

Marshal Turenne having, in the spring, joined the Swedes under general Wrangel, resolved to attack the Imperialists under the command of general Melander and the duke of Wirtemberg; and they, on the other hand, passed the Danube, in order to avoid fighting; but the mar-

The excellent conduct of the wisecount Turenne obliges the Imperialists to conclude the treaty of Munster.

¹ Memoires du Cardinal de Retz, Amsterdam, 1731, tom. i. Memoires d'Omer Talon, tom. iv.

² Histoire de Louis

XIV. tom. i. livr. iv.

shal passing that river at Laufinghen, pursued them with such vigilance, that he came up with, engaged, and routed a part of the army, where general Melander was killed. But the duke of Wirtemberg, with twelve hundred horse and two battalions of foot, occupied a meadow, and defended themselves so well, that they prevented an entire defeat. This is called the battle of Zusmarhausen, or Summerhausen^a, fought on the 17th of May, in which the Imperialists lost four thousand men, ten pieces of cannon, and the greatest part of their baggage. As a proof of their victory, the French and Swedes besieged Rain, a little town not far from Augsburgh, which quickly surrendered. Upon this event, the old elector of Bavaria found himself obliged to quit his dominions, and retire to Saltzburgh^b. The victorious army gained thereby the advantage of plundering and raising contributions as far as the river Inn; which was an inexpressible advantage, since it enabled the marshal not only to subsist, but to enrich his troops, who would otherwise have been forced to disperse for want of pay. In Bohemia another body of Swedes, under the command of count Coningsmark, plundered a part of the city of Prague, and acquired an immense booty; so that under this dismal distress, and wearied by the representations of the elector of Bavaria, who threatened to quit the Imperialists in earnest and for ever, the peace that had been so long negotiating was at length concluded^c, in spite of all the measures taken by Spain to prevent it.

The Dutch detach themselves from the interest of the French, and conclude a separate peace.

We have before observed, that the Spaniards and the Dutch began to have a good understanding about two years after the conferences began, which was in some measure owing to the advances made by the Spanish plenipotentiaries, but chiefly to the mistakes of the French, though they were all of them great men. The duke of Longueville, whose sovereignty of Neufchatel ran continually in his head, talked of nothing but sovereignty; and shewed such aversion to preserving the rights and liberties of the cities and lordships in Alsace, as gave the ministers of the republic a terror of having France for her neighbour. Mr. d'Avaux, a wise and moderate minister, made as strange a mistake when he passed through Hol-

^a Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. i. Histoire du Vicomte de Turenne.

^b Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. i.

livr. v. p. 268.

^c Memoires historiques & chronologiques. Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. i. livr. v.

land into Germany: after several conferences with the chief persons of the republic, he thought it became him, after the example of the president Jeannin, to recommend, in very warm terms, their catholic subjects to the States-general. The difference of the times, and the difference of the language gave these harangues very different effects; the former was well received, and the latter was very ill taken, and gave the States a very bad impression of the best of the French ministers. As for M. Servien, who had the cardinal's secret, he had also a great deal of the cardinal's manner; he talked and wrote very plausibly, but his meaning could seldom be ascertained. There was great vivacity in his reasoning, his periods were perfectly well turned, and his conclusion seemed to follow his premises, but then they were not distinctly expressed. He drove the cardinal's project, for exchanging Catalonia and Roussillon against the Low Countries and the Franche Comté, very warmly with the Spaniards, who communicated all his propositions constantly to the Dutch. This design alarmed them exceedingly; and if they still carried on the war, and continued to negotiate in concert with France, it was in appearance only; and the proposal of giving the marquissate of Antwerp to the prince of Orange, instead of gaining him, lost the States. The Spaniards, who had granted them very good terms, under the notion of a truce, offered to convert this project into a stable peace, which was accepted. Though the concurrence of France was demanded for form's sake, the treaty was, without that concurrence, signed on the 30th of January, which the Spaniards looked upon as a great point gained, and was a favourable precedent also for the emperor's making a like treaty with the Swedes.

The treaty of Osnaburg, which settled the affairs relative to the Protestants, was signed on the 6th of August; that of Munster on the 24th of October; the last victories of marshal Turenne, and the dexterity with which he had reconciled himself to the Swedes, did more towards rendering this important negotiation favourable to France, than either the arts of the cardinal or the address of the plenipotentiaries. To say the truth, this treaty could not have been more favourable or more honourable. The supreme seignory of the bishopricks of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and of the town of Moyenvic, were yielded to the French crown; the emperor and the empire made also a cession of their rights on Pignerol, as also on Brisac, the landgraviate of the Upper and Lower Alsace, the Sund-

Advantages acquired by France in consequence of the treaty of Munster.

gaw,

gaw, and the provincial prefecture of the ten imperial cities in Alsace; besides, the king was allowed to have a garrison in Philipsburg, and no new fortresses were to be erected between that and Bale. These were vast accessions in point of power and territory; and yet these apparent advantages were nothing in comparison of the benefits derived to France from the influence which this treaty created. The liberty of the empire was secured; the balance between the two religions settled; and all this seemed to be ascribed to France, and was to depend upon her for support. The Swedes had dominions given them in the empire, which was in effect attaching them for ever to France, and a free entrance into Germany was secured to both these crowns; so that the great project of Richelieu, with respect to abasing and constraining the power of the house of Austria in Germany, was for the present most effectually executed.

The campaign in Italy and in Catalonia, during the perplexed situation of France at home.

But to return to the history of the war: the marquis de Navailles, who had maintained his quarters upon the Po till joined by the marshal du Plessis Praslin and the duke of Modena, advanced with the army of the allies to attack that of Spain, intrenched under the command of the marquis de Carracena, upon the Oglio; which intrenchments, chiefly by his good conduct and gallant example, were forced, and the Spaniards obliged to retire to Cremona, with considerable loss, on the 30th of June^d. In consequence of this victory, they besieged Cremona^e; but not having troops sufficient to invest so large a place, and some differences arising amongst the generals, they were constrained to raise it. The revolt of Naples, which the duke of Guise had excited, came to nothing, for want of the smallest support; a want which cardinal Mazarine suffered to be imputed to his dislike to the duke, and to a variety of suspicions he was supposed to conceive, in order to conceal the real cause, which was, that he had not wherewithal to support him. The duke, being taken prisoner by the Spaniards, saved his life by avowing himself an enemy to France; upon which he was sent into Spain, where he no sooner arrived than the cardinal, in his turn, avowed, that he had done nothing but by command, and under the authority of the French court, that he might no longer be considered as a prisoner of state, but as a pri-

^d Quincy, Hist. Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. i.
^e Mem. du Duc de Navailles, livre i. p. 73. Mem. Historique & Chronolog.
^f Mem. du Duc de Guise.

soner of war. In Catalonia the marshal du Schomberg commanded, though the cardinal, by a strain of ambition not very consistent with that moderation which he affected, had given the title of viceroy to his brother the cardinal archbishop of Aix, who died when on the point of entering on the administration. The marshal, who had but a small army, invested Tortosa on the 4th of July, and, on the approach of Don Francisco de Melos, advanced to give him battle; which he declining, in consequence of express orders from his court, the marshal returned to the siege, and, finding the breach practicable, made a general assault, and took the place by storm on the 10th of the same month^g. This was a desperate and bloody affair; for not only the garrison, and a great part of the inhabitants, were put to the sword, but the bishop, with a half-pike in his hand, with several priests and monks about him, was found lying dead on the breach. With this conquest ended the campaign.

The prince of Condé commanded in the Low Countries, having with him the marshals de Grammont and Rantzau; he caused Ypres to be invested, and prosecuted the siege with great vigour^h. The archduke presented himself before his lines with a fine army, but found them so well fortified, that he did not attempt to force them. The prince met with no other difficulty, so that on the 28th of May he became master of the place, after twenty-eight days open trenchesⁱ. In the mean time, the archduke attacked Courtrai, a much smaller place indeed, but of greater importance. The governor, Mr. Pallvau, served in quality of lieutenant-general in the army of the prince of Condé, and had conducted the greatest part of his garrison to the siege of Ypres, so that the town was taken by assault, and the castle surrendered soon after. This disaster was followed by another; marshal Rantzau formed the project of surprising Ostend^k; but, instead of succeeding, the troops were made prisoners of war. The archduke likewise reduced Furnes; and the Flemings, to whom this good fortune was new, spoke of the French army with contempt, because its motions were conducted with more than usual caution. The true reason of this was, that the prince, being informed Monsieur had gain-

The siege of Ypres and Courtrai, the battle of Lens, and the taking of Furnes.

^g Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. de Puysegur, p. 265.

^h Memoires

ⁱ Reincourt, Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. i. Histoire de Condé.

^k Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV.

ed a great ascendancy in the queen's council, thought it for his interest to make a tour to court, where, however, his stay was not long. On his return, he resolved to take the first opportunity of fighting; and, having received intelligence that the archduke was marching towards Lens, he directed his route thither, though his army did not consist of more than fourteen thousand men. He entered the plain, in which that place was situated, on the 19th of August, where he had the mortification of seeing Lens taken by assault. He persisted, nevertheless, in his resolution of fighting; and accordingly attacked the enemy the next day, himself commanding the right, the marquis de Châtillon the main body, and marshal Grammont the left wing of the army. At the beginning the Spaniards had very much the advantage, several French officers of distinction being killed and taken; but the prince, making a new disposition, and attacking with great vigour, gained a complete victory¹. The Spaniards had about four thousand men killed, and as many taken; they lost upwards of thirty pieces of cannon, and as many standards and colours. On the 21st of August, Lens was retaken; and, on the 10th of the succeeding month, this was also the fate of Furnes, where the prince of Condé was wounded in the thigh. After these exploits, both armies separated, and went into winter-quarters, the success of the campaign being rather of more consequence at home than abroad.

*The rise of
the two
parties,
Mazarins
and Fron-
deurs, and
disorders in
the state.*

The campaign was almost as warm at court as in the field, and the minister was more indebted for his safety to the queen's fortitude than his own. The duke of Beaufort made his escape out of the castle of Vincennes^m. The parliament, by an arret, established a union with all the sovereign courts, in order to deliberate on the king's edicts. This was annulled by an edict of the council of state, which likewise forbade their assembling, in pursuance of the former edict, but it had no effectⁿ. On the 14th of July, the parliament, by an arret, discharged all the intendants throughout the kingdom, and ordered them to be prosecuted for oppression, which edict the queen was obliged to confirm by a declaration. On the last day of the same month the king held a bed of justice, revoked certain edicts, and forbade the parliament to assemble.

¹ Quincy, *Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV.* tom. i. Reincourt, *Histoire de Louis XIV.* ^m *Memoires de Rochefoucault*, p. 152. ⁿ *Memoires du Cardinal de Retz*, tom. i.

The chambers met the next day, in contempt of the royal authority : in this assembly the parties first took the names, reciprocally thrown by way of reproach, of Mazarins and Frondeurs. The cardinal, finding that all concessions were vain, and only furnished new pretensions, resolved to have recourse to bolder measures. On the 26th of August, when Te Deum was solemnly performed at Notre Dame for the victory gained at Lens, he caused the president Blancmenil, and counsellor Broussel, to be arrested, a measure which threw the whole city of Paris into confusion, all the entries of the streets being chained, and the barricades renewed. The queen and the whole court remained in terrible apprehensions all night : next day the storm rose higher, and the queen was obliged to promise the prisoners should be set at liberty *. She made a kind of escape soon after out of Paris to Rouel, with the king ; she retired from thence to Fontainebleau, and at length to St. Germain. The cardinal banished Mr. Chateauneuf ; and, having caused Chavigni to be arrested, sent him prisoner to Havre de Grace, a step which served only to raise a new storm †. The parliament persisted in and augmented its pretensions ; at court there were infinite intrigues. The duke of Orleans and the prince of Condé amused the queen with fair promises, without giving her any real assistance. The cardinal was constrained to recall Chavigni ‡. The parliament mistook their point, and treated the minister as the sole author of these confusions, who in reality had the least share in them, and was more disposed to an accommodation than any body else. They excluded him from all conferences ; and yet it was in virtue of his advice that things were compromised by the king's declaration of the 24th of October §, which was verified by the parliament of Paris. By this ten millions were remitted in the tailles, two millions in the duties of entry ; and, which was of the greatest importance, it was provided, that every French subject, charged with any crime of state, should stand entitled to a legal trial, according to the ordinary forms of justice. In order to gain a greater strength to the court, titles were very liberally bestowed ; the duchy of Rohan was revived in favour of monsieur Chabot, who had married the heiress. Cœuvres was

* Memoires de Gui Joly, Amsterdam, 1738, p. 10, 11. † Memoires du Cardinal de Retz, tom. i. livre ii. p. 153. ‡ Mem. d'Omer Talon, tom. v. § L'Etat de France, tom. ii. p. 307—309.

A D. 1648.

erected into a duchy, by the name of Estrees, in favour of that marshal. The county of Guiche was likewise erected into a duchy, by the title of Grammont; as the county of Trefines also was by the name of Gefvres. The abbé de la Riviere, who governed the duke of Orleans, and who had been promised a hat from Rome, was admitted into the council, to qualify his disappointment which arose from the prince of Condé; and thus, by the end of the year, things seemed to be pacified, though in reality there was scarce any body contented.

The parliament declare the minister a disturber of the public peace, and an enemy to the kingdom, but at length incline to peace.

This artificial calm did not last long; the parliament, under pretence of infractions, began to resume their meetings, in which all things were conducted according to the old method. The better part of the assembly knew not by whom, or by what spirit, they were governed; abundance of great lords were discontented; they wanted power, they wanted places, that is, fortresses, where they might act like sovereigns; they wanted vast appointments; and yet, with all these private views, they instigated their partisans to declare loudly their zealous attachment to the public good. The queen saw the disposition of the parliament, and suspected the secret authors of these confusions; but she did not suspect they were so numerous, or of so high quality, as they proved. She exposed her apprehensions to the duke of Orleans and the prince of Condé; she made them sensible how much the monarchy suffered, and how little the king, herself, and the royal family, were safe at Paris, notwithstanding all her complaisance at their request. In consequence of these explanations, it was determined to retire, or rather to escape, to St. Germain en Laye; and this retreat was executed with great secrecy on the 6th of January, at four in the morning^s. The inhabitants of Paris were strangely astonished, when they found the royal family and the princes gone. On the 8th, the parliament, by a solemn arret, declared cardinal Mazarine a disturber of the public peace, and an enemy to the kingdom^t. In this state of affairs, the concealed chiefs were obliged to declare themselves: the prince of Conti, the dukes of Beaufort, Longueville, Bouillon, and Rochefoucault, with all their adherents, offered their services. The prince of Conti was declared generalissimo, the dukes of Elbœuf and Bouillon,

^s Memoires du Cardinal de Retz, tom. i. livre ii. p. 171.

^t Memoires de Guy Joly, tom. i. p. 45. Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. iii.

and the marshal de la Mothe, were appointed generals: but the soul of the party was the coadjutor to the archbishop of Paris, so famous afterwards by the name of the cardinal de Retz, a man of uncommon abilities, and prodigious vices. The parliament taxed themselves to raise an army, and in the space of six weeks there was ten times as much money raised and squandered away as the taxes amounted to, which had given the first rise, or rather the first pretence, to these quarrels^u. The prince of Condé, with an army of between six and seven thousand men, blocked up Paris. The prince of Conti, to give the Parisians spirits, occupied Charenton with three thousand men: the prince of Condé, to convince them of their own weakness, caused it to be attacked by the duke de Chatillon, with a very small force; who carried it, after a short dispute, but had the misfortune to be shot through the body^w, and died with a fairer character than almost any man of his rank that he left behind him. On the signal given by Paris, other parliaments and other provinces revolted, so that the whole kingdom was in confusion. Volumes have been written upon this subject, for which we can spare only a very few lines. The whole conduct of the malecontents was wild and ridiculous; their troops were defeated as often as they engaged; they refused admittance to a herald sent by the king: they granted audience to a monk who took upon him the character of an agent from the king of Spain. They caught at the distant assistance of the avowed enemies of the kingdom, and they neglected what was absolutely in their power. If they had taken the advice of the duke of Bouillon, the only man with a sound head they had amongst them, and had sent a fourth part of the money they raised to his brother, the marshal de Turenne, whom he had seduced from his duty, he would have been enabled to march the army out of Germany to their assistance: for want of this, they found themselves under a necessity of making peace, to which the court was very much inclined.

A conference was agreed upon at Rouel; the parliament, the princes, and the city of Paris, sent their deputies thither; on the part of the king came the duke of Orleans, the prince of Condé, the cardinal, the chancellor, the marshal de la Meilleraie, the abbé de la Riviere, Mr. le Tellier, *Noble behaviour of the first president, in the conclusion of a peace.*

^u Memoires d'Omer Talon, tom. iv. Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. iii. ^w Memoires du Cardinal de Retz, tom. i. livre ii. p. 231.

and the count de Brienne *. The negociation was several times on the point of being broken; the deputies were in terrible apprehensions, if they did not keep close to their instructions; the prince of Condé was excessively warm, and, resenting the hatred the people of Paris had expressed against him, behaved in such a manner, as made him still more hated. On the 11th of March, the treaty was concluded †; but it was the end of the month before the parliament and the people of Paris consented to, and confirmed it. The first president, Matthew Mole, gained immortal reputation: his colleagues were afraid of signing at Rouel, when, taking the pen, he said, "It is for the public service, and it is our duty to risque ourselves." At his return, he shewed the same intrepidity against the enemies of peace amongst the princes and the parliament; and, after running infinite hazard there, refused to go out privately, and hide himself from the people. His virtue was respected by the populace, and his courage and conduct saved the capital and the kingdom ‡. By this treaty neither party carried their point; the parliament was permitted to assemble, which was a circumstance that the court would have avoided; the minister was preserved, whom the parliament and people would have destroyed. A general amnesty was granted; and thus a temporary quiet was procured, without any extinction of hatred on either side. The coadjutor to the archbishop of Paris would not be included, as he says, in the amnesty. Cardinal Mazarine asserted, that he was included, not by name indeed, but in the general words. The former affected to shew his intrepidity by this declaration; and the latter, by his construction, expressed his contempt.

The progress of the war on all sides, which is carried on with little vigour.

On the side of Germany, at the opening of the present year, there was an army without a war, commanded by marshal Turenne; it was not indeed very numerous, seven or eight thousand men at the most, but under very singular circumstances. The troops as good as any then were in Europe, but a kind of mixed body of Swedes, Swifs, German, and Dutch, as well as French, were ill paid, and ready to serve any power that would but tempt them with money. The marshal himself, who had been long solicited by his brother the duke of Bouillon, seeing the

* *Memoires du Comte de Brienne*, tom. iii. p. 38. † *Mem. du Cardinal de Retz*, tom. i. livre ii. p. 319, 320, & suiv. *Mem. de Guy Joly*, tom. i. *Memoires de Madame la Duchesse de Nemours*. *Memoires du Comte de Brienne*, tom. iii. ‡ *Memoires de Madame de Motteville*, tom. iii.

times favourable, looking upon himself as ill used, and desirous of supporting the interests of his family, began to intrigue with the officers and soldiers, in hopes of gaining them for the parliament, and thereby rendering them serviceable to his views, or rather to his passion; for it is more than possible that the former were pretences only, and that his affection for the duchess of Longueville was the true motive to his infidelity. All the troubles of France arose from the coquetries of half a dozen women, who, with light heads and bad hearts, sacrificed every thing to their pleasures. The minister very well knew the disposition of the army in Germany, and of their chief: he sent his orders, therefore, to general Erlach, to take the best care he could to defeat the marshal's intrigues; and, notwithstanding the extreme distress of the court, sent Hervart, intendant of the finances, with half a million of livres, to support that general's persuasions. This management had so excellent an effect, that, instead of debauching the forces, as he might have done, if the Parisians had furnished him with money, Turenne was obliged to retire, and thought himself happy that he escaped being arrested by them^a. The Spaniards did not let slip so fair an opportunity; they were early in the field, recovered Ypres by the 8th of May, and St. Venant on the 10th: but the peace of Paris being made, and the troops from Germany arrived, the count de Harcourt also took the field with an army of thirty thousand men, with which he besieged Cambray^b. The place was very large, and not well fortified; and it is generally thought that the count would have taken it, but the German troops behaved suspiciously, and suffered a considerable reinforcement to get into the place, upon which the count de Harcourt raised the siege on the 3d of July. Some time after cardinal Mazarine came to the army, but it was not without some apprehensions. He was, however, better received than he expected, and had the same honours paid him that had been formerly paid to cardinal Richelieu, with which he was extremely well satisfied. The army afterwards took Condé, and some other small places not worth keeping; and towards the end of August, or the beginning of September, went into winter quarters^c. On the side of Italy

^a *Memoires de Madame de Motteville*, tom. iii. p. 201. *Memoires de Gui Joly*, tom. i.

^b Quincy, *Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV.* *Memoires de Puysegur*, p. 291, 292.

^c Rein-court, *Histoire de Louis XIV.* *Memoires de Puysegur*, p. 304.

the duke of Modena was again forced to come to terms with the Spaniards, and even ^d to take such as they thought fit to prescribe in Catalonia. Don Juan de Garai commanded for his catholic majesty; he rendered himself master of Constantine and other places, and even threatened to besiege Barcelona; but monsieur Marfin, though able to do nothing else, put this enterprize out of his power.

*Return of
the court to
Paris, and
the first
symptoms
of the re-
vival of
the troubles.*

It was not without some apprehensions, that, after keeping the court in motion all the summer, the cardinal returned with their majesties to Paris in the autumn, where his partisans having whispered that their majesties returned by his advice, the people received him not only with satisfaction, but with joy: but this was far from putting an end to the troubles. The queen found herself very uneasy, being obliged to live in a continual state of dissimulation, receiving courteously those who least deserved that treatment, and bestowing favours on such as ought to have thought themselves happy if they escaped punishment. The duke of Orleans could not resist the temptation of becoming popular, or the prince of Condé the continual solicitations of his sister the duchess of Longueville. It was now that cardinal Mazarine began to alter his measures: he thought it necessary to obtain an establishment, to make alliances, and to return the compliment the people had paid him in plundering his house, by squeezing them, and oppressing their liberties. He had incurred the public hate, while attached sincerely to the public service. To overcome this, he attached himself entirely to his own interest; and, having his passions more at command, and being a greater master of intrigue than any of them, it is no great wonder that he succeeded in this age of intrigues. In the mean time the state, the government, and the royal family, suffered extremely. The war was carried on with disadvantage on every side, and there were less hopes than ever of making a good peace. The Frondeurs were daily gathering strength; the treasury was empty, and the people not relieved; the king's household in a great measure was cashiered, for want of money to sustain it; and, while private persons were acquiring titles, power, and fortune, by their crimes, the public, that paid for all, was brought to the very brink of ruin ^e.

A.D. 1649.

^d Quincy. *Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV.* Reincourt Hist. de Louis XIV. tom. i. ^e Mem. de Rochefoucault.

A sudden and a great change was brought about, in the beginning of the year, by all those silent and under-hand methods that were now grown into fashion, and had in a manner banished candour and sincerity from the court. The prince of Condé, presuming upon his great services, treated every body with an air of haughtiness, that, notwithstanding his power, deprived him gradually of affection and esteem. He had framed to himself a strange notion of assuming absolute power, in an age and country where even legal authority was so far from producing obedience, that it could not secure respect. The manner in which he expressed this fancy united all parties against him. He had excited one of his dependents to make love to the queen^f, and undertook to prevent the effects of her resentment when she shewed an inclination to chastise him. He opposed the cardinal's marrying his niece into the house of Vendosme, looking upon it as a sign that he was withdrawing himself from his protection. In this situation there was an attempt made to assassinate him in Paris, which he attributed to the Frondeurs, and persecuted them so briskly for it in parliament, that they found the only method of securing safety was his destruction. Upon this motive, the coadjutor, by the interposition of the duchess of Chevreuse, proposed the matter to the queen and to the cardinal, who concurred in it, brought the duke of Orleans to consent, and, which was more, to discard his old favourite the abbé de la Riviere, for fear he should disclose the secret. Things being thus concerted, the prince of Condé, the prince of Conti, and the duke of Longueville, were arrested at council^g, on the 18th of January, and sent prisoners to the Bois des Vincennes; upon which the people of Paris made bonfires, who had rebelled upon the arresting Broussell, who was now well received in the queen's circle, and the government of the Bastile confirmed to his son. The duchess of Longueville made her escape, and retired into Normandy^h; the duke of Bouillon retired into his territory of Turenne; his brother the marshal to Stenai, where he quickly drew together a small force, and entered into a treaty with the Spaniardsⁱ. By this strange conjunction of the court with the Frondeurs, the cardinal found himself under the ne-

The queen causes the princes to be arrested, at which the people of Paris exceedingly rejoice.

^f Memoires du Cardinal de Retz, tom. ii. livr. ii. p. 53.

^g Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. iii. p. 71.

moires de Madame la Duchesse de Nemours, p. 68, 69.

^h Memoires de Gui Joly, tom. i. Histoire du Vicomte de Turenne.

*Insurrec-
tions in
Normandy,
Burgundy,
and Gui-
enne, speed-
ily and
fully sup-
pressed.*

cessity of taking the seals from the chancellor Seguier, who was his best friend, and the queen's faithful servant, to give them to his rival Chateaufort^k.

By the imprisonment of the princes, a new civil war commenced before the old was quite extinguished. The duchess of Longueville endeavoured to raise Normandy^l; the friends of the prince were in arms in Burgundy; and Guienne, in consequence of the declaration of the parliament of Bourdeaux, was still in a state of disobedience ever since the last broils. The court began first with Normandy, where the very presence of the king brought the people to submit, and obliged the duchess of Longueville to retire by sea into Holland, and from thence to marshal Turenne at Stenai. There having drawn the flame of rebellion to a head, she had the courage to undertake a journey, by land, to Bourdeaux, where the duke of Bouillon, and her other admirer the prince of Marillac, now become duke of Rochefoucault, were admitted, with the princess of Condé, and was so lucky as to accomplish it, though she was once taken prisoner in her passage^m. In Burgundy the troubles were likewise speedily suppressed with little effusion of blood; which event, though it afforded the minister some satisfaction, yet this was in a great measure abated by the necessity he was under of being absent from Paris, where the duke of Orleans was left in the hands of the Frondeurs, who, though they had concurred with the cardinal in the imprisonment of the princes, were now negotiating with the duke a reconciliation with those princes, in order to the cardinal's destruction. In this perilous situation he caused the court to set out for Bourdeaux, that the presence of the king might encourage the small army under the marshal de la Meilleraie. And it had this effect; for though the dukes of Bouillon and Rochefoucault made a great and gallant resistance, yet the royalists daily gaining ground, and the cardinal ever pressing better terms than they had reason to expect, the parliament would not have the complaisance to sacrifice themselves and their fellow-citizens either to the interest or the caprice of those great men; who no sooner discerned this disposition, than they concurred in the treaty, and made very good terms for them-

^k Memoires du Cardinal de Retz, tom. ii. livr. iii. p. 76.

^l Memoire de Tavannes, p. 36. Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. iii.

^m Memoires de Gui Joly, tom. i. p. 166, 167.

selves, and, with the princess of Condé, and her young son the count d'Anguien, went to pay their respectsⁿ to the queen. The two dukes had also several conferences with the cardinal, which alarmed the Frondeurs at Paris exceedingly.

The queen, in her return to that capital, was afflicted with a fever, occasioned chiefly by the chagrin of the ill treatment she had met with at Bourdeaux, notwithstanding the general amnesty which she had granted to all who had been embarked in the revolt; and her distemper^o was increased, not only by the want of accommodations upon the road, but by her displeasure at seeing so great pains taken by the Spaniards to support her rebellious subjects, and carry war into the heart of her dominions; and, which was worst of all, that this was attended with so great success, as to find almost as little duty and respect in her capital as she had met with in Bourdeaux. The cardinal met with the same, or rather with worse treatment; the Frondeurs had in a great measure gained the duke of Orleans, and were at the same time treating with the princes on a proposition that the prince of Condé^p should marry the daughter of the duchess of Chevreuse; for the intrigues of a few women continued to be in reality the sources of those disturbances that distracted the state. In outward appearance, however, things passed quietly enough; the duke of Orleans, the keeper of the seals, and the coadjutor, all paid their respect to the minister, who made them returns of the like kind, as being no stranger to their real sentiments, or to those of the duke of Beaufort; he had procured for his father the duke of Vendosme the queen's resignation of the superintendence of navigation and the marine, with the survivance in favour of this duke, though his youngest son, who could not prevail upon himself to be grateful at the expence of his popularity^q. In such a state of things, the minister, after mature reflexion, resolved to leave Paris and the court, in order to go to the army of the marshal du Plessis Praslin, on the frontier, with a view to revive the spirits of the soldiers, and mortify the malcontents. Marshal Turenne advancing so near to Paris, as to render it necessary to remove the princes, first beyond the

After all these successes, the cardinal is compelled to withdraw, and the queen is left in great distress.

ⁿ Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. iii. Memoires de Tavannes.

^o Memoires de Gui Joly, tom. i.

^p Me-

moires de Madame de Motteville, tom. iv.

^q Memoires du

Cardinal de Retz, tom. ii. livr. iii. Memoires de Tavannes.

Seine, and then to Havre de Grace, it may be he thought it safer also to trust himself with an army commanded by a person^a in whom he could confide, than in a city full of intrigues, where those who managed them were capable of any thing that might contribute to their own interests.

Misfortunes in Italy and in Catalonia, and defeat of the Spaniards and rebels at Rastel.

The domestic affairs of France being in this disorder, it may be easily conceived, that the crown was in no condition to furnish the necessary supplies on all sides, and that of consequence those at the greatest distance suffered most. In Italy, Portolongone, in the island of Elbe, which had been taken with so much difficulty and expence, was surrendered to the Spaniards on the 15th of August, after a siege of forty-seven days. In Catalonia things went still worse; the duke de Mercœur, who had the title of viceroy, after having caused count Marfin to be arrested, who was in the interest of the prince of Condé, made himself master of Salces; but when the Spanish army was formed, they quickly made them sensible of their superiority, by recovering Flix, Tortosa, Balaguer, and several other places. In Lorrain, the count de Ligni recovered several places for the duke, till at length he received a severe check from the marquis Ferte Senneterre. But what made the greatest impression was, the attack made on the frontier by the Spanish army under the command of the archduke Leopold, the marquis de Fuensaldagna, and the marshal Turenne, whose intrigues had reduced him to the necessity of serving as a lieutenant-general in a foreign service against the crown of France, after all the honours and rewards he had received. To this army le Catelet surrendered on the 15th of June, after a very gallant defence. The archduke advanced to Guise, and invested it; but the marshal du Plessis Praslin obliged him to raise the siege on the 1st of July. This success, however, did not hinder monsieur de Turenne from taking la Capelle on the 3d of August^c. It was from thence that he advanced with a body of four thousand horse, in order to deliver the princes out of the Bois des Vincennes; in which design he would have certainly succeeded, if he had not been betrayed by those about him^d. Monzon surrendered to the Spaniards on the 6th of November; the marshal du

^a Memoires de Gui Joly, tom. i. ^b Reincourt, Hist. de Louis XIV. tom. i. Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques.
^c Hist. du Vicomte de Turenne.

Plessis Praslin, with his army, covered Rheims^t. When cardinal Mazarine came to the army, he had determined upon the siege of Rhétel. As he was a man of a singular turn, he left the minister behind him; and whereas at court he was civil, but reserved, difficult of access, and sparing to a great degree, he was quite another man in the camp; he kept three or four open tables, conversed familiarly with the officers, and took great care of the private men. He brought with him from Paris shoes and warm waistcoats, which he caused to be distributed amongst them, and bestowed small but frequent liberalities in money. Rhétel surrendered on the 13th of December, the weather being very severe. The army taking winter quarters in the adjacent villages on the 14th, the enemy, commanded by Don Estevan de Gomara and marshal Turenne, attacked them next morning; and, after a warm engagement, they were entirely defeated^u. Monsieur de Turenne with great difficulty escaped into a wood; the Spaniards lost four thousand men, and some of their best officers. Don Estevan de Gomara was taken prisoner, with eight pieces of cannon, and many standards and colours. This victory, gained under the eye of the minister, one would have thought might have done him some honour even with the people of Paris; but at his return, he found them generally indisposed towards him, though *Te Deum* was sung; yet, except in the queen's palace, there were little or no rejoicings.

A.D. 1650.

The new year began with new troubles. The duke of Orleans could not be without a favourite; and, though he had himself better sense than any of those in whom he confided, and executed well even their bad designs, yet he would never act without advice, or trust himself with his own concerns. He loved power, he affected independency; he had it in as great a degree at this time as he could desire; and he might have kept it, and have restored the tranquility of France, if, closing sincerely with the queen and her minister, he had demanded peremptorily the marriage of the king with Mademoiselle. It is true the queen was averse to it, but the cardinal thought it a right measure, if the duke could be prevailed on to act steadily. But he was now in the hands of the coadjutor, who, finding the minister not inclined to procure

Cardinal Mazarine is compelled to retire out of the kingdom.

^t Memoires de Puysegur, p. 308, 309. Quincy, Hist. Militaire de Louis XIV.
^u Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. iii. p. 86.

him a hat from Rome, pushed the duke of Orleans to secure his authority another way. The majority of the parliament were bent upon releasing the princes; the duchess of Chevreuse had treated with the duke of Orleans, and concerted three points, that the duke of Anguien should marry his youngest daughter, that the prince of Condé should marry her daughter, and monsieur de Chateauneuf should be raised to the dignity of prime minister. But, after all, even this party were more inclined to the cardinal, who was totally ignorant of their intrigue. The duke de Rochefoucault went often to him, hinted in ambiguous terms his danger, and pressed him to preserve himself by setting at liberty the princes^w. Upon this occasion we discern not, in any of the memoirs, the arts of a consummate politician in the cardinal's conduct. He refined so much, and delayed so long, that at length all parties formed a league against him, and attacked him with such force, that he saw himself under the necessity of retiring. He found indeed the new marshals, monsieur d'Aumont, monsieur de la Ferte Imbault, styled marshal d'Estampes, and monsieur de Ferte Senneterre, called marshal de la Ferte, who, together with the count de Crancey, had the bâton given them after the battle of Rhetel, full of professions of affection and esteem; but he durst not think of raising a civil war in the capital of France. On the 6th of February he quitted the palace, and went directly to Havre de Grace, where it is thought he meant to make the princes sensible of his being the author of their freedom; but in this aim he was disappointed; for they, knowing he was forced to it, treated him civilly, but without making any great professions^x. In the mean time the queen was in a miserable situation; the duke of Orleans consulted with the coadjutor about taking the king from her, shutting her up in a convent, or assuming to himself the government under the title of the king's lieutenant-general. Her former escape from Paris had made the people so jealous of her, that she was for a month imprisoned in her palace, and her authority, her rank, and even her sex so little respected, that at midnight she was forced to let the mob come into her apartments, and

^w *Memoires du Cardinal de Retz*, tom. ii. livre iii. *Memoires de Madame de Motteville*, tom. iv. *Memoires de Gui Joly*, tom. i. *Memoires de Rochefoucault*. *Memoires de Madame la Duchesse de Nemours*.

^x *Memoires du Cardinal de Retz*, tom. ii. livre ii. p. 187-203.

draw the king's curtains, that they might see he was in bed and asleep^y. This situation continued till the arrival of the princes, when the parliament ordered a process against the minister, and, by an arret, excluded all foreigners from being of the king's council, and all cardinals, even though they were natives of France. The prince of Condé, finding himself without any rival since the retreat of the cardinal, and his own union with the duke of Orleans, thought himself at liberty to dispense with the Frondeurs; and though the duchess of Chevreuse had generously returned him the promise he had signed while in prison, as to the marriage of her brother with his daughter, that it might appear to be a matter of choice, he, by a strange stretch of power, compelled the queen to make a shew of forcing him to break the marriage. This step induced the duchess of Chevreuse, the princess Palatine, and even the coadjutor, to make a short turn; and after all that had passed, to offer their services to the queen, whom, from humour, pride, or resentment, the prince of Condé continued to persecute with unrelenting severity, and though contrary to the natural turn of his own temper, he was supported therein by the duke of Orleans.

The cardinal, traversing the bishoprick of Liege, had retired to Bruell, at some distance from Sedan; and from thence not only carried on a regular correspondence with the queen, but with the heads of all the different parties, who conspired together in abusing and treating with him at the same time. The coadjutor, finding himself slighted by the prince of Condé, and being assured of his hat by the cardinal, entered with the same violence into the intrigues for bringing back, as he had shewn in those for excluding him the court, proposing in some councils the arresting, or, if necessary, the putting to death^z the prince of Condé. The queen was much better advised; she recalled, at the desire of the prince, monsieur Chavigni, that she might persuade the parliament of her having no intentions to recall the cardinal. She likewise dismissed Le Tellier, Servien, and de Leonne, purely because the prince asserted they were friends to Mazarine^a; but, perceiving that the prince was not softened by these conces-

A new turn of affairs, which affords the queen an opportunity of recalling the cardinal.

^y Memoires du Madame de Motteville, tom. iv. Memoires de Gui Joly, tom. i.

^z Memoires du Cardinal de Retz, tom. ii. Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. v. p. 85, 86.

^a Memoires de Gui Joly, tom. i.

sions, she, by the advice of the Frondeurs, sent the count de Brienne, secretary of state, with an accusation against him, to the parliament, where, though he had consented to the measure, and corrected the charge with his own hand, the duke of Orleans sent another paper in his justification, to which the parliament gave their sanction^b. The queen, however, finding she had acquired a greater strength, resolved to exert it, took the seals from Châteauneuf, and gave them to the first president Mole. This step was taken in the month of August; but finding she was not able to support him, she took the seals back, and returned them to the old chancellor Seguier. By a strange mixture of passions the ambition of Châteauneuf taught him humility, inasmuch that he promised the queen all things; and the cardinal likewise, if he might be restored to favour. In consequence of this promise, upon the king's being declared major, on the 7th of September, he was raised to the object of all his intrigues, the post of prime minister^c, and the seals were given again to the first president. The prince of Condé, against his own inclinations, and determined by the persuasions of his sister the duchess of Longueville, raised a new civil war, by retiring into his government of Guienne, which he had exchanged with the duke of Espernon for Burgundy. He was joined by the dukes de Rochefoucault, de Beaufort, de Nemours, de Richelieu, the prince of Tarentum, the marquis de la Force, and monsieur de Marfin, who brought him the troops that should have defended Catalonia. The court did not leave him much time to collect his strength, but, advancing to Bourges, monsieur Châteauneuf prevailed upon the inhabitants to quit the party of the prince, and to receive their majesties^d. The count de Harcourt commanded the army that was to oppose the prince of Condé; and in this embarrassed state of affairs the queen invited cardinal Mazarine, who was now at Cologne, to come and join the court at Poitiers; a circumstance which so inflamed the parliament, that, by an arret of the 29th of December, they proscribed that minister, and offered a reward of fifty thousand crowns^e to any who would take him alive or dead, to be paid by the sale of his own library and effects.

^b *Memoires du Comte de Brienne*, tom. iii.

du Cardinal de Retz, tom. ii. livre iii.

livre ii. *Memoires de Madame de Motteville*, tom. v. *Memoires du Comte de Brienne*, tom. iii.

Joly, tom. i. p. 221.

^c *Memoires*

^d *Ibid.* tom. ii.

^e *Memoires de Gui*

The Spaniards had by this time subdued almost all Catalonia, and blocked up Barcelona; they recovered likewise several places in the Low Countries, and might have done much more if they had confided solely in their arms, instead of entering into treaties with the malecontents, by which they promised them vast succours, and lavished immense sums to all parties, not out of any particular regard to this or that, but because they thought that whatever contributed to the confusion of France, must be beneficial to Spain.

Cardinal Mazarine, escorted by six thousand men, *The duke of Orleans and the parliament declare against the crown.* commanded by Hocquincourt, lately made marshal of France, came to Poitiers, surrounded by a croud of gallant officers, to whom he had given governments on the frontiers, and who had remained ever firmly attached to his service. He had likewise detached the duke of Bouillon, and his brother the viscount de Turenne, from the malecontents. The parliament continued to act the same strange part as they had done for some time past; that is, they endeavoured to accommodate themselves to all parties, which did not give them the confidence so much as of one. They had verified the queen's edict, by which she declared the prince of Condé guilty of high treason. They set a price upon the cardinal's head, and formed a process against marshal Hocquincourt for that protection he had given him^e. The duke of Orleans acted the very same part; he had on many occasions declared in strong terms for the royal authority, and yet, towards the close of January, he concluded a treaty with the prince of Condé^h, but at the same time reserved a liberty of conferring and living in friendship with the coadjutor, who was that prince's mortal enemy. He also brought a corps of troops in the Spanish service into France, which joined those commanded by the dukes of Beaufort and Nemours. Mademoiselle was sent by her father to Orleans, and had the good fortune to engage that city to declare for the princes by her presence solely; but to shew the true complexion of the public spirit that prevailed in this age, she immediately gave the queen-mother to understand, that she was not implacable, and that a person of her great talents and influence might be purchased at no higher price than

^f Memoires de Madame la Duchesse de Nemours, p. 141.

^g Memoires de Gui Joly.

^h Memoires d'Omer Talon, tom. viii. part i. p. 80.

that of the crown of France; in short, that she expected to espouse the kingⁱ.

The king and court twice saved from the rebels by the courage and conduct of marshal Turenne.

As strange as this scheme may appear, she might possibly have brought it to pass, and that by force of arms; for the surprize of Orleans put the court under so great a difficulty, that they were forced to lodge in the little town of Gergaut, which has a good bridge over the Loire, with a very small number of troops about the king's person. They were scarce arrived when the duke of Beaufort with his forces took post on the other side, and began immediately to attack the bridge. Marshal Turenne happened to be there, and his presence saved the king and queen; he took two or three hundred men, who had neither ball nor powder, posted them at the houses joining to the bridge, caused the barrier to be thrown open, and advancing with his sword drawn, called to his troops, with a loud voice, not to fire till the enemy were close. This stratagem astonished the baron de Sirot, who commanded the rebels, and induced him, instead of marching on, to barricade on his side. Marshal Hocquincourt coming up with the guards attacked that barricade, and Sirot being killed, his troops were dispersed^k. The boldness of Turenne upon this occasion saved the king and queen from being made prisoners. The dukes of Beaufort and Nemours having quarrelled, the prince of Condé, whose affairs were not in a good situation at Guienne, abandoned his troops there, and, accompanied only by a few friends, made, with infinite trouble and danger, a journey of one hundred and twenty leagues, to put himself at the head of his army on the Loire, where he arrived on the 26th of March. His presence restored order and courage to those troops that wanted both. The marshal Hocquincourt having quartered part of the king's army at Blenau, at too great a distance from the rest under marshal Turenne, the prince, on the 6th of April, attacked them in the night, and carried two quarters, and would have defeated the whole army, and perhaps taken the royal family at Gien, if monsieur Turenne had not advanced with four thousand foot to his assistance, and taken post on an eminence opposite to a wood. The prince finding a pretty

ⁱ Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. v. p. 105. 109. Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. iii. p. 138. ^k Histoire du Viscomte de Turenne, tom. i. Memoires du Cardinal de Retz, tom. iii. livre iv. p. 104. Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. iii. p. 144.

large aperture, caused his horse to advance through it, in order to attack monsieur Turenne, whose troops moved slowly, as if they meant to retire: but as soon as a considerable part of the prince's army had passed, the battery, which the marshal had been preparing, fired upon them briskly on the right, while he with his forces attacked them in the front and on the left, so that, after suffering a considerable loss, the prince was obliged to retire¹.

The conduct of the duke of Orleans and of the parliament was of such a nature, that the prince thought it necessary to leave his army, in order to go to Paris, where, notwithstanding the parliament had declared him guilty of high treason, he was well received. After his departure marshal Turenne, with marshal Hocquincourt, attempted to surprise the army he had left in the neighbourhood of Estampes, and forced them to take shelter in the neighbourhood of that town, in one quarter of which twelve hundred of their best foot were cut to pieces. The two marshals besieged the rest in Estampes, and very probably would have forced them to surrender, if the duke of Lorraine, having received a large sum of money from the Spaniards, had not penetrated into France, and marched to their assistance. This incident so much changed the face of affairs, that marshal Turenne found the king's army in great danger, as being obliged to fight several different corps of troops; and therefore, when on the point of engaging the duke of Lorraine, it is said that a sum of French gold determined his retreat, as the Spanish money had procured his invasion. The prince of Condé, by the interposition of the duke of Rohan, negociated with the court, and afterwards sent deputies to St. Germain's to revive that negociation. As the demands made for himself and those of his party were exorbitant, though the duke of Orleans and himself had over and over assured the parliament that they had nothing in view but the expulsion of a foreign minister, the honour of France, and the ease of the people, who paid taxes both to the king and to the princes, cardinal Mazarine made them public, and took pains to let the world know, that though the first article of their instructions was, that they should have no correspondence with him upon any pretence, yet that was calculated only for the dupes at Paris, since they

*Duke
Charles IV.
of Lorraine
paid by the
Spaniards
for entering
France, and
by the
French for
leaving it.*

¹ Memoires du Compte de Brienne, tom. iii. p. 145. Memoires de Tavannes, Memoires du Cardinal de Retz, tom. iii. livre iv. p. 107.

had made no scruple at St. Germain's of treating with him every day.

*The prince
of Condé's
forces being
beaten,
save them-
selves in
the city of
Paris.*

The prince, finding himself equally disappointed on the side of the parliament and on the side of the court, put himself once more at the head of his troops, which were encamped at St. Cloud, having the river between him and marshal Turenne: but, receiving intelligence that marshal la Ferte was advancing with another army behind him, he found it necessary to march to Charenton, and, having passed the river there, marshal Turenne pressed him so close that he was constrained to take shelter in the suburb of St. Antoine, where the inhabitants had thrown up some works to secure themselves against their good allies the troops of Lorraine. There, on the 2d of July, happened that famous engagement, of which, from an adjacent eminence, the king himself was spectator, and in which the prince and the viscount performed all that could be expected from the greatest masters in the art of war°. By the coming up, however, of the marshal la Ferte, the prince would have been ruined, if Broufelle, at the command of Mademoiselle, had not fired the cannon of the Bastile on the king's troops, at the same time that the people admitted the prince's forces into the city of Paris, a circumstance which put an end to the dispute. There were abundance of brave men killed on both sides; amongst the rest the cardinal lost his nephew. The princes claimed the victory as they remained in possession of Paris. The use they made of it was terrible; in order to bring all the inhabitants to a submission as absolute as under the league, a general assembly was held at the Hotel de Ville. When they were in the midst of their consultations they were attacked by an armed mob, who set fire to the gates, forced a passage, massacred some, and compelled many to pay largely for saving their lives^p. It was never known how this attack was brought about, or by whom; but it is very certain that the prince of Condé might have put a stop to it; that he was applied to for this purpose, and declined acting. However, on the 10th of July, the parliament declared the duke of Orleans lieutenant-general

° *Memoires de Duc de Navailles*, livr. ii. p. 142, 143. *Memoires de Gui Joly*, tom. ii. p. 15, 16. *Memoires de Tavannes*, p. 168, & suiv. *Histoire du Vicomte de Turenne*, tom. iv. p. 229. *Memoires d'Omer Talon*, tom. viii. par. ii. p. 25. ^p *Memoires de Tavannes*, p. 178, & suiv. *Memoires de Madame de Motteville*, tom. v. p. 150. *Memoires de Rochefoucault*.

of the kingdom, and the prince generalissimo of the forces for restoring the king to his liberty, who, they said, was deprived of it by cardinal Mazarine^a. On the last day of the month the king published an edict, transferring the parliament of Paris to Pontoise, where he then was. Most of the presidents, and twenty of the counsellors obeyed. The keeper of the seals, at the head of the new parliament, demanded, in very strong terms, of the king, the dismissal and departure of the cardinal. To this a long answer, containing a laboured apology for the minister, was given, concluding, however, with the king's assent. On the 19th of August^r he set out for Sedan, leaving the affairs of state in the hands of prince Thomas of Savoy, and the army to the command of the viscount de Turenne.

The last sedition had lost the princes the hearts of the citizens of Paris; they had only the dregs of the parliament left, and even what they did in their favour was done by force. But the court, notwithstanding, was under the greatest uneasiness, the Spanish army advancing directly towards Paris. Application was made to the duke of Longueville, to know whether the king's person might be safe in Normandy. The answer was far from being favourable; it was then debated, whether he should retire to Lyons. The army commanded by marshal Turenne consisted but of eight thousand men, and upon this small force depended the fate of the king and kingdom. The councils, in this extremity, were chiefly directed by the duke de Bouillon, who, with all his faults, was perhaps the ablest man of that time. He and his brother rejected these timid measures, as equally unsafe and dishonourable. The marshal, with his small army, advanced to Compeigne, a step, which, in another general, would have been deemed rash and imprudent^s. The peculiar talent of this great man was, that he hardly ever failed of judging what effect his motions would produce in the mind of an enemy. He had saved the royal family at Gergaut by a prudent temerity; at Blenau, by his vigilance, he saved them again, by foreseeing that the Spaniards, who had a very high opinion of his discretion, would immediately suspect some mystery. They did so; and the count de

*The king,
on the re-
treat of the
prince of
Conac, en-
ters the ca-
pital in
triumph.*

^a Memoires d'Omer Talon, tom. viii. par. ii. p. 54. ^r Memoires de Gui Joly, tom. ii. ^s Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. iii. p. 156, 157. Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. v. Memoires de Gui Joly, tom. ii.

Fuensaldagna marched back to cover Flanders, leaving the duke of Lorraine, with an army as strong as the marshal's, to assist the princes. The difficulties of the court did not end here; the duke of Lorraine advanced again towards Paris; the marshal encamped at St. Germain, near Cresly, where he received positive orders from the court to remain, because they were in treaty with the duke of Lorraine, who had promised not to move. Turenne chose rather to hazard his head than to trust to the duke's promises, or their orders; and, judging he would attempt to pass the Seine, marched directly to Villeneuve St. George^t, by which motion the duke was disappointed. There the marshal fortified himself, while the duke encamped about a league higher, and was joined there by the prince of Condé. They thought themselves so secure of either defeating or starving the marshal, that they began to talk of disposing of governments and the great charges of the crown. In this situation things continued for a month, when the duke and prince being gone to Paris to divert themselves with their mistresses, M. de Turenne took that opportunity to march to Corbeil, and thence to Meaux. By this time the royalists were grown so potent in Paris, that the prince of Condé grew weary of being there, and on the 14th of October quitted that city, to go and throw himself into the arms of the Spaniards. On the 21st the king, accompanied by Charles II. of England, entered in triumph into his capital, which the duke of Orleans quitted at the same time. He went directly to the Louvre, and sent an order to Broussel to deliver up the Bastile, on pain of being hanged at the gate, an order which he immediately obeyed. Next day the king held his bed of justice, where the parliament verified four declarations for their own re-union, a general amnesty, a prohibition of their meddling for the future with affairs of state; and the expulsion of three presidents and nine counsellors, amongst whom was old Broussell. The coadjutor, now become cardinal de Retz, by outwitting the minister at Rome, delayed paying his respects till the 19th of December, and, after a civil reception, was arrested, and sent prisoner to Vincennes^u. He was the head of the faction of the Frondeurs, and with him it ended. It may not be amiss, before we speak of the operations of the war, which still

^t Memoires du Cardinal de Retz, tom. iii. p. 234. ^u Memoires de Gui Joly, tom. i. p. 56, 57. Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. v. p. 163.

went on, to mention the fate of some of those busy men, who, by their ambition and avarice, excited these troubles. M. de Chateauneuf, exiled on the cardinal's first return, broke his heart in his own house at Montrouge; Chavigni died of rage and in despair, insulted by the prince of Condé in his last moments; the duke of Beaufort killed his brother-in-law the duke of Nemours by a pistol-shot in the streets of Paris; and the prince of Conti and the dukes of Longueville remained blocked up in Bourdeaux, where, some misunderstandings arising between them, they caballed against each other.

In Catalonia, the desertion of count Marfin, in order to carry his troops to the prince of Condé, lost all that had been acquired with so much blood and treasure. The marshal de la Mothe surrendered Barcelona by capitulation on the 23d of October, together with all that he held in that principality, except Roses; but he obtained honourable terms for the French troops, and the preservation of their privileges for the people. In Italy, Casal was also lost. It was with much difficulty that the duke of Mantua was prevailed upon to declare himself neuter; and the duke of Savoy hindered from putting himself under the protection of Spain *. In this situation the court offered the crown of Portugal to enter into engagements not to make peace with Spain, but in conjunction with her, provided, in this time of distress, she undertook to advance two millions of crowns in five years, of which eight hundred thousand was to be paid immediately. The Portuguese thought this proposition exorbitant, and complained loudly afterwards of what was the consequence of their hasty judgment †. On the side of Flanders, the Spaniards were at liberty to do what they could. France had no army to oppose, and consequently the governors of their fortresses had no succours to expect. They abandoned Mardyke in the middle of April. The archduke Leopold besieged Graveline with an army of thirty thousand men, which surrendered on the 18th of May, after sixty-nine days open trenches ‡. He next attacked Dunkirk, which was defended by the marshal d'Estades. The duke of Vendosme, in quality of high admiral, was ordered to equip a fleet for its relief, a service which he per-

The progress of the war in Catalonia, Italy, and in the Low Countries.

* Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. iii. p. 169.

† Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. i. livre xv. p. 216.

‡ Quincy. Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. iii. Memoires de Pufegur.

formed with infinite difficulty, and at a vast expence; but in the channel, by the command of Cromwell, he was attacked by the English fleet, and, except three, all the vessels of which it was composed were taken. At that time, it seems, he chose rather to have Dunkirk in the hands of the Spaniards than of the French; he afterwards changed his opinion; however, after thirty-nine days open trenches, the place surrendered on the 16th of September ^a.

The marshal Turenne, by his address, obliges the enemy to retire into Luxemburgh and Flanders.

The prince of Condé with his own and the troops of Lorrain, amounting in all to twenty-five thousand men, took Rhétel and Chateau Porcien towards the end of October; about the middle of November he reduced St Menchaud, which was a place of importance, and then marched to Bar le Duc, and in a little time made himself master of that strong place ^b. To these conquests he added Ligri, Voyd, and Commerci. Marshal Turenne was by this time arrived with the king's army, not above twelve thousand strong, at Stainville; he passed the Meuse as soon as possible, and pushed the prince of Condé from Voyd to Commerci, from thence to St. Michel, and in six days time to Luxemburgh. His highness had weakened his army by putting his infantry into so many places; the marshal knew this circumstance, and pushed him so hard, that he had not time to recover his force, or to entrench himself. When Turenne had carried his point, the marshal le Ferte, who commanded in Lorrain, recovered all the places with the troops of his province. At the siege of Bar le Duc, cardinal Mazarine arrived in the army, and brought with him a considerable reinforcement out of Picardy; the prince of Condé attempted its relief in vain. After it was reduced, the army marched into Champagne, and, though in the depth of winter, recovered Chateau Porcien and Vervin; by these conquests M. Turenne performed his undertaking ^c, that the enemy should take no quarters in France.

A D. 1652.

As long as cardinal Mazarine remained out of the kingdom, the queen could not apprehend the royal authority was thoroughly established; M. de Navailles, therefore, towards the middle of January, was sent with a strong escort to fetch him from Sedan ^d. When he drew

^a Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. ii. livre xv.

du Prince de Condé.

Memoires de Puysegur.

livre ii. p. 151, 152.

^b Histoire

^c Histoire du Vicomte de Turenne.

^d Memoires du Duc de Navailles,

near the capital, the king, and his brother the duke of Anjou, went to meet him; and he returned with them in the coach, not only without any emotion, but even with visible marks of satisfaction and joy^e. In order to make this as public as might be, he was invited to dine at the Hotel de Ville. The minister managed all this affair with great address; the parliament had mortgaged their own funds during the war; the rents of the Hotel de Ville were very ill paid; the cardinal brought a plan with him for regulating these, which was immediately executed. The keeper of the seals had hitherto executed that employment without quitting the post of first president; but this being attended with many inconveniencies, he disposed of the latter to the president Bellievre^f. The coadjutor, though in prison, could not be quiet, and his party still gave the court some apprehensions. Not that he was the hero which he appears in his own memoirs; so far from it, that, when his friends had employed fifty thousand crowns to purchase his liberty, he refused to go out, from a dread of being assassinated by the person who managed that design^g. He would even have accepted the offers that were made him for the resignation of his rights to the archbishoprick of Paris, if the remains of his party had not made him ashamed of his pusillanimity. The pope entered warmly into his quarrel, not purely out of respect to him, but out of pique to the court of France, or rather to Mazarine. His holiness was highly offended at the insults offered to a prince of the church, and threatened to send a legate to espouse his cause, and to carry things to extremities. The minister^h observed to the nuncio, that he himself was a cardinal as well as M. de Retz; and that the holy father was very calm and undisturbed when the parliament set a price upon his head, in defiance of the royal authority. That illustrious body, not much inclined to be in love with any authority but their own, protested against this measure of the court of Rome, and requested the king to forbid the legate's entering into his dominions.

Return of cardinal Mazarine, and his great application to the restoring regularity in the government.

The sparks of rebellion that still remained in different places were gradually extinguished; Bellegarde, the only place in Burgundy that held for the prince of Condé, had

^e Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. iii. p. 164, 165.

^f Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. ii. livre xv. p. 25.

^g Memoires de Gui Joly, tom. ii.

^h Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. iii. p. 165. 169.

The remains of rebellion extinguished in all parts of the kingdom by treaty, or by force.

for its governor the count de Bouteville, so famous afterwards under the title of the marshal de Luxembourg. He defended it gallantly against the duke de Espernon, governor of the province, who had his father's spirit. When the breach was practicable, and the count saw that they were about to make a general assault, he intimated, that perhaps he might listen to terms, if he was summoned. The duke answered, that the usage was, to summon enemies, but not rebels. He had, however, good terms given him, and the place surrendered on the 8th of July¹. Other places in different parts of the kingdom had the like fate; in some the people expelled their garrisons, and admitted the king's troops. The only places that held out were those in the government of the count de Oignon, and the city of Bourdeaux. In respect to the former, Brouage and Oleron were of such consequence, that the cardinal listened to his demands, and, upon the payment of four hundred thousand livres, and the delivery of the bâton of France, he admitted the king's forces. He was not ashamed to appear at court afterwards under the name of marshal Foucalt^k. The prince of Conti and the duchess of Longueville capitulated in Bourdeaux, and the count de Marlin was permitted to march with two thousand five hundred men to join the prince of Condé. The citizens also made the best terms they could^l. In order to fix the power of the monarchy on the firmest basis, and to procure an infantry that might be depended upon, the cardinal very prudently renewed the ancient alliance with the Swiss cantons: but we find no marks of gratitude or justice rendered to the reformed in France, who, in all these quarrels, adhered inviolably to the crown. They had dispossessed the rebels of Rochelle, and, notwithstanding their fortifications were demolished, had defended other places from a principle of duty; services which most of the French writers^m have been content to bury in silence, but which ought to be preserved in a work consecrated to truth.

Progress of the war in Italy and Catalonia, where the Spaniards were victorious this campaign.

In Italy the Spaniards had proposed to the duke of Savoy their assistance for the recovery of Pignerol, and the proposition was not absolutely refused. It was therefore at all events necessary to have an able general and a considerable army in that country: the marshal de Grancei was

¹ Quincy, *Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV.* Hist. de Louis XIV. tom. ii. livre xvi. p. 233. ^k Bardæus de Rebus Gallicis, p. 649.

^l Hist. de Louis XIV. tom. ii. livre xvi. ^m Marti. p. 240, 241.

sent thither with all the troops that could be spared, and he arrived time enough to prevent the effects of this negotiation. The marquis de Carracena, who commanded in the Milanese, was piqued at this disappointment; and, having received considerable reinforcements from Naples and Sicily, he passed the Tanaro, in hopes of surprising the French army; but the marshal, having good intelligence, quitted his camp as the Spaniards were passing, in expectation of gaining some advantage over them before they were thoroughly formed; but, when he arrived in sight of their army, he found them disposed in order of battle. This engagement, which happened on the 23d of September, is styled in history the battle of Roquetta. The marshal claimed the victory, because the enemy were obliged to repass the river. The French forces, in conjunction with the duke of Savoy, crossed the Sesia, took the castle of Carpignano, and went into winter quarters in the plentiful country of Navarre. The marquis du Plessis Belliere commanded in Catalonia, and delivered Roses from a kind of blockade. He afterwards besieged Gironne, having called the marshal d'Hocquincourt to his assistance; but they had the misfortune to be defeated by Don Juan of Austria, who came to the relief of the place, and who afterwards made himself master of the Ampourdau. The marshal, being reinforced by the troops from Guienne, made a fresh irruption into Catalonia, in December, and relieved Roses that was blocked up a second time; he also routed a corps of Spanish cavalry; and would have perhaps done more, but the severity of the weather obliged him to return into winter quarters.

The great stress of the war lay on the side of the Low Countries; the prince of Condé had the pompous title of generalissimo of his catholic majesty's armies, and it was stipulated by treaty, that he should have all he conquered in France, in order to form for himself a principality on that side. They had, without doubt, a superior force; but then part of the forces were in the county of Luxemburg with the princes and the duke of Lorraine, and part in Flanders, under the count de Fuenfaldagna. Marshal Turenne had about seventeen thousand men; he foresaw that the prince would assemble his army about Rhétel, in order to have all Champagne open before him. The mar-

The campaign in Champagne and Piccardy, in which the Spaniards take Rocroi, and lose Moulzon and St. Menhard.

ⁿ Quincy, *Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires de M. de Clermont Montglat, tom. vi.* ^o *Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. ii. livre xvii. p. 256—258.*

shal having, with incredible diligence, brought his troops into the field, took possession of the very camp the prince had marked for the Spaniards on the 1st of July, and on the 5th Rhetel surrendered^p. This event disconcerted the prince, who afterwards entered Picardy, and advanced as far as Roie; but, being continually followed by Turenne, he was not able to take any place of importance; and, as the season began to advance, he resolved to besiege Rocroi about the middle of September, with which enterprize the Spaniards were very little pleased. The marshals Turenne and la Ferte besieged Mouzon, which surrendered on the 26th, as Rocroi did to the prince on the 30th^q. The campaign was closed by the siege of St. Menchaud, which was as bravely defended by Montal as Mouzon had been by colonel Wolfe. The place was not surrendered till the 26th of November, after thirty-three days open trenches. It was one of those belonging to the prince of Condé, and the Spaniards were not very forward to succour it^r. The prince had indeed all possible respect paid to his person; but not to his advice, otherwise the campaign had been more to their advantage. The little time that monsieur Turenne had spent amongst the Spaniards, had rendered him so well acquainted with their dispositions and manner of acting, that he formed as just notions of what passed in their councils of war, as if he had been present at them, and took his measures accordingly. Besides the marshal before mentioned, there were two others made this year, monsieur de Miosans, who was styled the marshal d'Albret; the other, monsieur de Pulvau, called afterwards the marshal de Clerambaut.

A.D. 1653.

The cardinal's immense power, which makes all submit to him, and court his protection.

The new year was opened in a manner very agreeable to the minister; the prince of Conti, who, since the surrender of Bourdeaux, had retired to Pezenas, grew out of temper with himself, and with all the world. As he had good sense at bottom, and an excellent education, he took at last a short resolution of making himself easy both with respect to his public and private affairs. He had been intended for the church, and was possessed of benefices to a great value: he wrote to the minister, and offered to resign them all into his hands for a proper establishment with one of his nieces. It may be presumed that the cardinal did

^p Histoire du Prince de Condé, Memoires de Puysegur, p. 368. Histoire du Vicomte de Turenne. ^q Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires de Montglat, tom. iv. ^r Histoire du Prince de Condé, Memoires de Montglat, tom. iv.

not hesitate; he gave him the choice, and he fixed on madame Martinozzi, the best and the most beautiful of the three. The prince of Condé wrote to his brother in the bitterest terms, without considering that he had shewn the same complaisance for Richelieu as the prince of Conti had done for Mazarine. The marriage was celebrated in February^s. The prince and princess of Conti were esteemed the happiest couple in France, and sustained that character as long as they lived. This match did not hinder the making the process of the prince of Condé before the parliament, who, after assigning him a day to come in, condemned him to suffer death as a traitor, and to forfeit all his honours and estates. The like sentence was passed upon all his adherents^t. It was soon after discovered, that the prince had passed sentence of death, though in another way, on the cardinal minister; in short, a design was laid to assassinate him. One Ricoux, and two or three other persons, hired to perpetrate this action, were condemned and executed; but the cardinal, either from a natural mildness of temper, or that studied moderation which accompanied his actions, took no notice of some persons of higher rank, and particularly a lady^u of very great quality, who had dipped deeply in this and other intrigues. It is not impossible that this disposition of the cardinal, whether natural or feigned, encouraged the parliament to attempt several times the revival of the old spirit. Once, when they held an extraordinary assembly, at which the cardinal was extremely alarmed, the king went from Vincennes to Paris. Entering the hall in his hunting dress, with a long whip in his hand, he walked up directly to the first president's chair, in which having seated himself, he told them, they were not to assemble in an extraordinary manner but by his permission^w. This spirited behaviour did more than all the edicts and declarations hitherto had done; they forbore to assemble, and they forbore to remonstrate; but they did not forbear to grumble as much as ever, or to wish ardently for an opportunity of doing more: it was the business of the minister to prevent, as much as in him lay, their having such an opportunity.

^s *Memoires de Madame de Motteville*, tom. v. p. 163. *Mem. du Comte de Brienne*, tom. iii. p. 173. *Memoires de Gui Joly*, tom. ii.

^t *Memoires de Madame de Motteville*, tom. v. *Memoires de Madame de Montpensier*, tom. iii.

^u *Memoires de Madame de Motteville*, tom. v. p. 180. *Memoires de Madame de Montpensier*, tom. ii. *Histoire du Duchesse de Chastillon*.

^w *Auberi, Hist. du Cardinal Mazarin*, tom. ii. p. 438.

The cardinal de Retz, now become archbishop of Paris, makes his escape to Rome.

The affair of the cardinal de Retz grew every day more and more embarrassed; he was desirous of his liberty; and, in order to obtain it, had begun to treat for his resignation. In the mean time his uncle, the archbishop of Paris, dying on the 21st of March, the chapter, without acquainting the king, acknowledged the cardinal in that quality, and suffered him to take possession of the see by proxy. How much sorer this choice offended the ministry, the chapter remained firm; and, if the cardinal had done so, things might have come to great extremities; but his patience and fortitude were exhausted; he apprehended from Mazarine that treatment which Mazarine would have met with if he had been in his place; and this apprehension extinguished in his heart that heroism which dwelt upon his tongue, and which appears still in his writings. He consented to a resignation, provided he might be committed to the custody of the marshal de la Meillerai, to which condition the court consented^x. He was accordingly removed from Vincennes to the citadel of Nantes, from whence his party had pressed him to make his escape, though he had given his word to the marshal. It was afterwards proposed he should go to Paris, disown his resignation, and assume his archiepiscopal dignity; which if he had done, it might have kindled a flame not easy to be extinguished: but, in making his escape, he was in such terror and confusion, that he fell from his horse, and dislocated his shoulder^y; upon this accident he was carried to the house of the duke of Brillac, afterwards to that of the duke of Retz, and from thence he made his escape into Spain^z; but, notwithstanding the example given him by the prince of Condé, he refused to enter into any engagements with that crown, and only desired leave to continue his journey to Rome, where, on his arrival, he was treated with all the respect which his holiness thought due to the capital enemy of Mazarine^a. On the 7th of June the king^b was crowned at Rheims by the bishop of Soissons, the archbishop (duke of Nemours) not being in priests orders. The king, being informed, that, after all the services the duke of Lorraine had rendered the Spaniards, they had seized and sent

^x *Memoires de Gui Joly, tom. ii. Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. v. p. 173.* ^y Galeazzo Gualdo, troisieme partie, p. 207.

^z *Memoires du Cardinal de Retz, tom. iii. livre iv. p. 330. 334.* ^a *Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. iii. Mem. de Gui Joly, tom. ii.* ^b *Mem. de Gui Joly, tom. ii.*

him prisoner into Spain, he, by a solemn edict^c, commanded all the subjects of that prince to quit the service of Spain, and either to retire into his dominions, or to enter into the king's troops.

On the side of the Milanese, the marquis de Carracena, though he could not prevent the marshal de Grancei from penetrating into that duchy during the summer, yet managed the little force he had so well, as to put it out of his power to take quarters there during the winter, so that both sides in their^d turns prevailed. We have before mentioned the enterprize and the imprisonment of the duke of Guise, to whom the Spanish court had restored his liberty out of complaisance to the prince of Condé, and in hopes he would create some disturbances in France; but, on his arrival there, he either found things so altered, that he despaired of success, or found himself so well received by the king and his minister, that he had no inclination to reinvolve himself in fresh troubles: but being a person of much vanity, as well as of great courage and capacity, he could not help boasting of the great intelligence he still had in the kingdom of Naples; and as he was naturally eloquent, and the cardinal perfectly well knew the disposition of that nation, he at last either persuaded or persecuted him into consenting he should make an expedition. Accordingly, a fleet of forty sail of ships and gallees was equipped in autumn; with which, notwithstanding many obstacles, he at length arrived upon the coast, and on the 15th of November made himself master of Castelmere^e. After this exploit, he published his manifestoes, in which he promised much more than he was able to perform; but the inhabitants were so much changed in their temper, or so much frightened at the consequences of a revolt, that, instead of rising in his favour, they refused him so much as provisions, so that he was obliged to abandon his new conquest, and to return with his fleet into Provence.

The campaign in Italy, and the descent of the duke of Guise upon the kingdom of Naples.

The prince of Conti, to whom the king had offered all his brother's offices and governments, and who had generously refused them, commanded in Catalonia, where, though he had not a very numerous army, it was however

The campaign in Catalonia under the prince of Conti.

^c Memoires de Madame de Montpensier, tom. ii. p. 9. Mem. de Montglat, tom. iv. p. 55.

^d Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. i.

^e Histoire de Louis XIV. livre xviii. p. 302. Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques. Quincy, Hist. Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. i. p. 193. Galeazzo Gualdo, tom. iii. p. 431.

composed of good troops, commanded by some of the best officers in France; amongst these were the duke of Candale, the marquis de Merinville, and the count of Bussy Rabutin. He opened the campaign in the month of June, and on the 5th of July made himself master of Villafranca, the capital of the little county of Conflans, after four days open trenches. He afterwards took Castillon, and revictualled Roses^f. In the autumn campaign he attacked Puicerda, a place strong by situation, which had a good garrison. He had the misfortune, at the beginning of the siege, to lose his principal engineer; and this was so great a loss, that, in all probability, he would have been constrained to raise the siege, if the garrison had not had a greater, which was the loss of their governor. This dispirited them to such a degree, that they surrendered on the 22d of October, after fourteen days open trenches. This conquest made the prince master of Cerdagna, and, to cover that district, he took the castle of Belvere. The inhabitants of Urgel and Montcallier then took up arms, expelled the few Spanish troops that were in them, and admitted those of the prince of Conti^g.

The campaign in the Low Countries, recovery of Stenai, and relieving Arras.

On the side of the Low Countries, it was resolved to open the campaign with the siege of Stenai^h, a place belonging to the prince of Condé, which had been taken from the duchy of Lorraine in the late king's time, and torn from the court, by the prince, in the course of this war. The garrison was numerous, and commanded by the count de Chamilli, an excellent officer, and the place was strong and well provided. The project of the siege was formed by Mr. Fabert, governor of Sedan, to whom the cardinal had great obligations, as having received and protected him in his distress, and used great fidelity in respect to his family and treasures, which had been committed to his charge. It was invested towards the end of June, and the marshals Turenne and la Ferte commanded the army that covered it, consisting of about sixteen thousand men. The king made his first campaign here, and had an opportunity of seeing some of the great improvements that Fabert had made in the art of war. The prince of Condé was extremely uneasy, and desired to have

^f Memoires de Bussy Rabutin, tom. i. p. 407. Galeazzo Gualdo. tom. iii. p. 297.

^g Quincy. Memoires de Montglat, tom. iv. ^h Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. iii. p. 174. Memoires de Montglat, tom. iv. p. 57. Memoires de Puysegur, p. 381.

the troops of Lorraine added to his own, in order to relieve the place; but duke Francis, whom the Spaniards had sent for to command his brother's troops, absolutely refused to act, unless the place, when relieved, should be given back to Lorraineⁱ. The prince then proposed the siege of Arras, in hopes that this would oblige the French army to abandon Stenai. The siege of this great city was accordingly formed by the archduke Leopold, the prince of Condé, and the count of Fuenfaldagna, and pressed with all possible vigour. The marshals Turenne and la Ferte came and encamped in the neighbourhood of the Spaniards, who had twenty-five thousand men. Turenne tried every method to oblige the enemy to raise the siege without hazarding a battle, or forcing their lines, but without effect^k. At length Stenai surrendered on the 6th of August, after thirty-three days open trenches; and the best part of the troops employed in the siege were sent under marshal Hocquincourt, to join Turenne, who, against the advice, and contrary to the inclinations, of most of his officers, resolved to force the lines. This service he performed on the 25th of August, and made himself master of the baggage, artillery, and ammunition, of the Spaniards, though the prince of Condé gained as great reputation by his retreat as the marshal by his victory^l; for his catholic majesty, in a letter he wrote to him with his own hand, said, "That the archduke and the count de Fuenfaldagna had besieged Arras, but that Condé had saved the Spanish army." Mazarine's vanity induced him to assume all the glory of this enterprize. There could indeed be nothing more ridiculously insolent and supercilious than the conduct of the prime ministers of France and Spain, who governed those kingdoms with the most absolute sway, and sustained a bitter war merely to gratify their own animosity, to the ruin of the industry, commerce, and felicity of the people. Don Lewis de Haro had the same dominion over Philip the Fourth that Mazarine maintained over all the actions of Lewis the Fourteenth. Neither scarce ever mentioned the names of their sovereigns in any public transactions; and it must be acknowledged there was hardly a crowned head in Europe, at this period, that had any personal glory. Christina queen of Sweden alone kept up the dignity of her throne,

The insolence of the French and Spanish ministers.

ⁱ Vie de Condé, p. 451. Histoire du Vicomte de Turenne, tom. iv.
^k Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. iii. p. 175.
^l Memoires de Puysegur, p. 381—393, 394.

governed independent of haughty ministers, and assumed the real prerogatives of royalty; but this princess resigned her crown to Charles Gustavus, her cousin, and the nephew of the great Adolphus, and retired to Rome, where she was regarded only by the learned^m.

A.D. 1655.

*A treaty
concluded
between
France and
England.*

While France was torn with civil divisions, England was in the height of power and grandeur, and the usurper Cromwell feared and courted by all the states in Europe. Policy had obliged him to sign a peace with Holland, when the whole nation cried out for the continuance of the war, to revenge the insults committed in the East Indies, and oblige that insolent republic to pay the due respect to the British flag. All the satisfaction, however, which the protector obtained on this occasion, was an acknowledgement of the superiority of the English flag in the narrow seas; that the republic should never chuse a prince of the house of Orange for stadtholder or admiral; and that the interests of the Stuart family should be wholly renounced. Mazarine, on the other hand, suffered the commerce, marine, and finances of France, to decline. With the same power that Cromwell had in England, he wanted that elevation of soul which could turn the misfortunes of the kingdom to the good of the people. Don Lewis de Haro offered to assist the protector to besiege Calais: Mazarine hoped to gain him by an offer of putting Dunkirk into his hands, as soon as the Spanish garrison could be dispossessed: the prince of Condé used all his influence with him; but Cromwell was too politic to regard the solicitations of a prince without a party in France, or interest in Spain. In the end he embraced the proposals of Mazarine, and concluded a treaty with the king of France, but without making mention of Dunkirk. He treated his most Christian majesty upon a footing of equality, obliged him to acknowledge his title of protector, and give notice to the fugitive king of England to quit the French territories.

*Turenne
opens a
way into
the Spanish
Nether-
lands.*

In the mean time Turenne was pursuing his conquests. He had early in the campaign opened a way to the Spanish Netherlands, by obliging Landreci and Quesnoi to surrender. This was in fact paving a way for all the advantages gained by France the 18th of August, and St. Guillane was taken by the 25th, at which last siege the king, who had served the campaign, commanded in person. Quiers and Castillon surrendered some days before;

^m Siecle, tom. i. p. 74.

and the marquis de Heronville had forced the Spaniards to raise the siege of Solsona. But these were not the whole of the king's successes, for the duke de Vendosme, with an inferior force, defeated the Spanish fleet before Barcelona.

During the winter, several proposals of peace made by Spain were rejected by cardinal Mazarine, highly elated with the successes of the former campaign, and full of expectation from the alliance contracted with Cromwell, who had already effected the conquest of the island of Jamaica. Spain endeavoured to be revenged of the cardinal. Don Lewis de Haro dispersed writings at all the courts in Europe against Mazarine, accusing him of having violated all the laws human and divine, and sacrificed honour and religion by contracting an alliance with a murderer and usurper, and driving out of the French dominions king Charles the Second, and his brother the duke of York, the grand-children of Henry the Fourth, and cousins of Lewis the Fourteenth. But the cardinal answered the whole accusation, by shewing publicly the proposals made by Spain to the protector; though it must be acknowledged that Spain had not the same natural ties and obligations to countenance the fugitive princes.

The finances of both parties were now reduced so low, that, with the most eager inclinations to push the war with vigour, they wanted the ability. It was the month of July before any thing considerable was undertaken in the field; at length Turenne opened the campaign by laying siege to Valenciennes, where he experienced the same turn of fortune that Condé had felt the preceding year before Arras. The Spanish army not being yet assembled, he marched expeditiously to Tournay, hoping to surprise this fortress, at that time defended only by a slender garrison. Finding, however, that several regiments of the enemy were encamped in the neighbourhood, he altered his purpose, and marched straight to Valenciennes. This town was defended only by two thousand foot, and two hundred horse of regular troops; but the inhabitants, to the number of ten thousand men, were armed. The very evening of his arrival he invested the place, drove the enemy from two redoubts, and next morning began to draw lines of circumvallation. The marshal de la Ferte, who had joined him a few days before, was posted with his army on the eminence, to the

A.D. 1656.

*He is forced
to raise the
siege of Va-
lenciennes.*

^a Hainault, Hist. de France, tom. ii. p. 70, & seq.

right of the river towards St. Amand, while the viscount took post on the left of the river towards the plain. By the third day the lines were sufficiently advanced to prevent any succours from being thrown into the besieged. An attempt made by the enemy for that purpose was frustrated, and a great number of Spanish officers and soldiers were taken prisoners. On the sixth day the lines were completed, with a double ditch defended by pallisadoes; the men wrought first at the avenues most exposed, and afterwards at those places the least liable to an attack. But the Spaniards were not idle; they made use of several reservoirs near Bouchain to swell the river Scheld, which divides the town into two parts, and drown the country. The viscount's army was greatly incommoded by this expedient; but his indefatigable industry surmounted the difficulty. He caused the reservoirs to be drained, several channells to be dug, and turned the course of the water so as to drown one quarter of the city. The prince of Condé, now assisted by Don John of Austria, assembled his army with all expedition at Douai, and posted himself on an eminence, within half a cannon shot of the French lines. On his left he had the Scheld, over which he threw six bridges. The Spanish army amounted to twenty thousand men; and, as it was nearly as strong as the viscount's, this last foresaw, by their motions, they would attack him in his camp, and accordingly turned his chief thoughts to the defence of his lines. As the marshal de la Ferte's quarter was most exposed, it was fortified with double lines pallisadoed, one of which was new, and the other old; but the marshal, thinking the first sufficient, ordered the other to be levelled. On the 16th advice was brought that the enemy had sent away their baggage, and were drawn off in order of battle. As they were so near as to reach the intrenchments in half an hour, the viscount sent repeated messages to the marshal, exhorting him to be on the watch; but his advice was slighted. In the beginning of the night he was attacked, and his lines were forced with little difficulty. The marshal, finding the enemy had entered his quarters, flew with some squadrons to repulse them; but all was now in confusion, his personal bravery was excited to no purpose, and all his endeavours to retrieve his mistake were ineffectual. Condé, with the Spanish infantry, having filled up the ditches, marched directly to the town, while the cavalry were sent in pursuit of the fugitives. La Ferte was taken prisoner at the head of the gens d'armes, with more than four hundred officers,

officers, and near four thousand soldiers. Marfin had in the mean time attacked Turenne's quarters, who had weakened himself to succour la Ferte, but he was repulsed with great loss. However, the viscount's success could not prevent the fatal consequences of the marshal's defeat, for by day-break the shouts of joy in Valenciennes proclaimed that the town was relieved. It was now that Turenne stood in need of all his capacity to draw off the broken troops in the face of a victorious enemy. He sent immediately to the trenches, with orders for the troops to retire; but, they being about a league distant, his directions could not be executed without great loss. In a short time, however, he so retrieved matters, that, after dismounting the cannon, and levelling the lines, he marched off in so good order with his artillery and baggage, that the enemy durst not attack him. As his march was directed to Quesnoy, it was thought he would have retired to the frontiers of France; and it is probable indeed he would have retreated to Picardy, had he not been sensible that such a motion would have disturbed the court, and given new life to the king's enemies. He therefore halted at Quesnoy, and marched back with some regiments to meet the prince of Condé and Don John, who had come in pursuit of him. At the first approach of the enemy, the French began to move the baggage; but the viscount, firing a pistol at a soldier busied in loading a cart, commanded, on pain of death, that no one should quit his post. When the Spaniards came near enough to discover his camp, they were astonished at the air of resolution he maintained, with his tents standing, and camp unfortified. This intrepidity obliged Condé to change his design, at the same time that it removed the apprehensions and panic in the French army, by shewing so little precaution upon so pressing an occasion °.

*Turenne's
fine retreat.*

The enemy directed their march with intention to lay siege to Condé; and Turenne penetrating their design, sent a thousand horse, each with a sack of corn behind him, to victual the place. In a word, the conduct of the viscount during this whole unfortunate affair, drew upon him the admiration of all Europe, and was perhaps one of the most masterly strokes of his life. All the French writers speak of it as something supernatural; and the king was so ravished with the stand made at Quesnoy, that

° Hainault Hist. 707. Volt. p. 78. La Vie de Turenne, p. 290.

he ordered Tellier his secretary to return his thanks to the viscount for retrieving the reputation of his arms, after so unhappy a defeat. He could not, however, prevent the fate of the town of Condé; but he reduced Capelle while the enemy was in fight with a superior army. The prince of Condé and Don John, who had laid siege to St. Guillaîne, dropped that enterprize, and hastened to the relief of Capelle. They advanced within a league of the French entrenchments; but the infantry, being much fatigued with their march, and the heavy rains which had fallen for the whole day, they continued for two days in sight of Turenne's camp without offering battle, while he battered the town so vigorously, that it was obliged to surrender. Immediately he repaired the breaches, left a good garrison in the place, and, by his expedition, threw succours into St. Guillaîne, before the enemy had time to return. With this transaction the campaign ended, both armies contenting themselves with observing each other's motions, and frustrating all the attempts of either side by proper movements and dispositions.

*The Fronde
partly en-
tirely
quashed.*

During the recess of military affairs the duke of Orleans came to court, having accommodated differences with the cardinal. After staying eight days with his majesty and the minister at Compeigne, he retired to Blois, where he passed the remainder of his life in peace and tranquility, so that now not a shadow of the Fronde remained. The duke of Orleans, the prince of Conti, and the duchess of Longueville, had obtained the king's pardon; the prince of Condé might be considered as a Spanish general; and cardinal de Retz, having broke through his confinement, was wandering in Europe.

A.D. 1657.

*Treaty
with Eng-
land.*

Next year was opened by a closer connection with Oliver Cromwell, a treaty offensive and defensive against Spain being concluded between the court of France and the commonwealth of England. The cardinal was diligent to repair the losses of the former year, and laboured hard to put the king's forces in a condition to undertake something important. By the treaty, Cromwell engaged to send six thousand foot into Flanders, on condition that the French should attempt the reduction of Mardyke, Gravelin, or Dunkirk, and deliver into his hands whichever of these places should be soonest taken. By the month of May the viscount de Turenne was enabled to take the field; and perceiving the English were slow in their motions, and the Spaniards busied in securing their maritime towns, he formed the design of surprizing Cambray. To disguise

disguise his intention the king went to Montreuil, by which motion the enemy might be induced to think that his army would be chiefly employed about the sea-coasts; and the marshal la Ferte had instructions to march towards the frontiers, to prevent the Spanish troops quartered in the provinces of Luxemburgh, Guelderland, Juliers, and Brabant, from passing. Turenne set out with his cavalry from the neighbourhood of Bethune, and arrived in less than two days before Cambray, which he invested the next day, on being joined by the infantry. He relied on la Ferte's obstructing the prince of Condé, and was disappointed; for that general, crossing the Meuse, marched with all his cavalry to Valenciennes, and arrived at Bouchain on the very day the viscount had invested Cambray. About eleven o'clock at night he advanced towards the French camp with three thousand horse; but, however rapid and secret his motions were, Turenne had intelligence, though he could not prevent the prince from throwing himself, with all his troops, into the city. This was indeed so fine a manœuvre, that Turenne himself bestowed on it the highest encomiums, and declared it an action worthy of the great Condé, whose expedition was so extraordinary, that the garrison, not expecting it was possible he should so soon have foiled the viscount, kept the prince a long time at the counterescarp, before they could be persuaded that it was not a body of the enemy ^p.

The extraordinary march performed by Condé,

Turenne now thought it would be in vain to continue the siege; he therefore took the road to St. Quintin, in order to cover the frontiers. Here he was joined by the king, the cardinal, and the body of English auxiliaries. La Ferte had immediate orders to lay siege to Montmedi, by this diversion to prevent the enemy from attacking any place in Flanders that was unprovided; while Turenne undertook to cover the siege, and at the same time watch the motions of the Spanish army. The prince of Condé and Don John made several marches and countermarches to amuse him, with a view of falling suddenly upon Calais. Joining their forces near Charlemont, they made a feint, as if they intended to relieve Montmedi, and then suddenly detached the prince de Lignes to seize, when the tide was low, a suburb of the town joining the quay; the possession of which would infallibly have put Calais

Endeavour to surprise Calais.

into their hands: but the prince arrived too late, the tide was up to the walls, and the garrison apprized of his intention⁹.

After the surrender of Montmedi, Turenne marched to lay siege to St. Venant, a town upon the Lys, in the country of Artois. The enemy were fatigued with marches, and the viscount knew they could not succour the place; but Condé, however, found means to cut off a strong convoy going to the French camp. Instead of attempting the relief of St. Venant, which they foresaw must be attended with a battle, the Spanish generals laid siege to Ardres, contrary to the opinion of Condé, whose patience was quite spent with the unnecessary delays, the loss of opportunities, and the constant opposition of his colleagues. While the Spaniards were weakening themselves before Ardres, Turenne pressed the siege of St. Venant without intermission, distributing his own plate among the soldiers, to prevent their murmuring on account of the arrears due to them. Animated by his generosity, the troops forwarded the works with incredible diligence, and so punctually executed all the orders of their commander, that the garrison was forced to capitulate, without waiting to sign the articles of capitulation. He detached four thousand horse towards Ardres; which corps the Spanish generals mistaking for the whole French army coming to fall upon them, instantly struck their tents, and raised the siege. The campaign ended with the taking of Mardyke, which held out but a few days, and was, according to treaty, put into the hands of Oliver Cromwell^r.

In Catalonia matters were equally prosperous for the king, the marquis de St. Arbore having obliged the Spaniards to raise the siege of Urgel. In Italy the prince of Conti and the duke of Modena raised the siege of Alexandria de la Paglia, in the Milanese; but as the chief efforts of the French were made in Flanders, we shall confine ourselves to a minute relation only of these, as they wholly determine the fate of the war.

The death of the president Bellievre, which fell out this year, was matter of great satisfaction to the cardinal, who looked upon him as the only man able to obstruct his designs, and willing to clip the wings of his soaring ambition. We shall close the year with just mentioning a change made in the council of state, the number being

⁹ La Vie de Condé, p. 82.

^r Ibid.

*Turenne
takes St.
Venant.*

*Obliges the
enemy to
raise the
siege of
Ardres.*

*Civil
transac-
tions.*

now reduced to twenty-four; and a bull published by Alexander VII. confirming the bull of pope Innocent X. received in France by a registered declaration, condemning the five chief propositions of the Jansenists. Four prelates refusing to sign it, headed by Arnaud bishop of Angres, this business made a considerable noise, and might have been attended with the worst consequences, had not the grievances of the people, from the weight of taxes to support a tedious and bloody war, turned their hands to other concerns^s.

No sooner did the season admit of taking the field than the viscount Turenne made preparations to besiege Dunkirk; but his designs were for a time retarded by some untoward accidents. The marshal de Hocquincourt, whose treasonable practices in the year 1655 had been discovered and disconcerted by Turenne, and which treason had been pardoned by the king, now again renewed his engagements with the prince of Condé, gained over the town-mayor of Hedin, and prevailed on him to receive a Spanish garrison into the place. On the other hand, marshal d'Aumont suffered himself to be duped by the inhabitants of Ostend, who, pretending they would admit the French, seized upon a body of six hundred men sent by the marshal to take possession. Several commotions arose among the nobility in the different provinces of France, notwithstanding which, the cardinal, in compliance with Cromwell's pressing remonstrances, ordered Turenne to make the necessary dispositions for investing Dunkirk. The viscount foresaw the difficulties that would attend it; but his orders were peremptory. To attack Dunkirk while Furnes, Bergue, and Graveline were in the power of the enemy, was in a manner to be blocked up himself while he was investing Dunkirk. Besides, to begin his operations so early in the year, before there was forage for the cavalry, was to expose them to the danger of perishing with hunger. However, he complied with the order, relying upon his own genius to surmount every difficulty^t.

The inhabitants of Dunkirk were no sooner apprised of his intention, than, by opening the sluices, they laid the whole country under water as far as the lake of Bergue, formed by the overflowings of the Colme. By this expedient every passage, except by the dyke leading from Bergue to Dunkirk, was obstructed, and even this the late

A.D. 1658.

*Turenne
resolves to
besiege
Dunkirk.*

^s Hainault, p. 709.

^t La Vie de Turenne.

heavy rains had rendered almost impassable. On this dyke two strong forts were raised, each garrisoned by a thousand men; and the marquis de Lede, a consummate master in the defence of towns, was sent with two thousand foot to reinforce and take command of the garrison. Turenne was not discouraged by the difficulty of the enterprise; he knew the necessity of obedience, and persisted, unmoved by the remonstrances of his officers and friends, who dreaded the consequences to the army, and the viscount's reputation. With so inconsiderable an army as eight thousand men, he marched into Artois, passed the Lys, and advanced towards the Colme, where he surprised a redoubt raised to defend the passage of the river. On his arrival before Dunkirk he saw the town floating in a sea, and immediately set about filling up the ditches, laying bridges over the canals, and taking every measure that could render the passage by the dyke practicable. Every thing necessary for the siege and support of the troops was brought from Calais, and the men were set to work upon the lines, forming a curve round the town of the figure of a crescent. Twenty English men of war blocked up the port, so that Dunkirk was every where hemmed in by sea and land at flood; but as the sand was for six hours at ebb tide left dry, by which the garrison had an easy passage to Newport on the east, or Gravelin on the west, the viscount terminated each extremity of his line with a staccado reaching cross the sand quite to the lowest water-mark. These staccados were formed of vast piles fastened together by strong iron chains; behind the piles was a barricade of bomb-chests, which were drawn thence by horses as the tide came in, and replaced as it went out. Still farther back were ranged several barks with cannon, which defended the approach to the staccadoes; a part of the cavalry kept guard at night, so that now the pass was quite blockaded. Such were the works which drew the king, the cardinal, and the whole court, to be spectators of a siege that promised the highest military entertainment. Before the works were finished the English auxiliaries, to the number of six thousand men, landed and joined the viscount. They were immediately under the direction of major-general Morgan, a brave experienced officer, though Lockhart, Cromwell's ambassador, had the nominal direction. The trenches were opened by two approaches, one of which was carried on by the French, the other by the English, who seemed to rival and outvie each other in bold

bold actions, diligence, and conduct. At first the enemy made several vigorous sallies, but were always repulsed; and so impetuously did Turenne push his measures, that some of the palisades on the glacis were torn away, several traverses in the covered-way taken, and preparations making to effect a lodgment on the counterscarp, before the Spaniards thought of putting themselves in motion, or stopping the progress of the king's arms. They could scarce persuade themselves that Turenne would have ventured upon that enterprize, before he had possessed himself of the surrounding fortresses; but perceiving that he was actually engaged in the siege, they made the necessary preparations for attacking his lines. The prince of Condé *The battle of the Downs.* detached marshal Hocquincourt, with his own regiment, to reconnoitre the viscount's disposition. He came to an action with some out-parties, and was killed on the spot. Turenne had determined to go out of his lines, and attack the Spaniards; Condé suspected his design, and communicated his opinion to Don John and the other Spanish generals, who disregarding his admonition, he turned round to the duke of Gloucester, at that time in the Spanish army, and asked if he had ever seen a battle won? The duke answering that he had not, Condé replied, "In half an hour you will see in what manner we shall lose one." This intuitive spirit seized in a moment every object, and perceived at the first glance that Turenne's disposition must carry the day. The English led the attack, and behaved with great intrepidity. The marquis de Crequi charged the enemy with his right wing, and the marquis de Castlemere, marching along the strand with his left, wheeled suddenly to the right, and attacked the Spaniards in flank. General Morgan led his troops up the sand hills, so steep, that the soldiers supported each other with the butt ends of their muskets, and gained possession after a slight resistance; but the duke of York hastening thither with his guards, rallied the Spaniards, surrounded the English, and made several prisoners by force, all refusing to lay down their arms, or surrender. Their obstinacy maintained their ground till they were joined by some French battalions, when their attack became so furious, that the enemy were soon broke and put in confusion. The marquis de Castlemere was no less successful on the flank, where the Spaniards were entirely broke and dis-

The Spanish army is defeated.

perfed by the cavalry. Crequi had made a bold onset with the right wing, but, pushing in too far, he was attacked and repulfed by the prince of Condé, to the front of the right wing of the French army. No general poffeffed the art of purfuing every advantage like the prince; putting himfelf at the head of a corps of horfe, attended by the general officers and volunteers of fafhion in the Spanifh army, he charged with fuch aftonifhing intrepidity, as had well nigh forced his way through the French lines, and penetrated to Dunkirk; but the reft of the army being difperfed, and the viscount Turenne coming with frefh troops from the center, the prince was attacked on all hands, and obliged to cut his way back with terrible lofs, after having a horfe fhot under him, and expofing his perfon to the moft imminent perils. With this laft effort the enemy yielded the victory, after a refiftance which reflected honour upon Condé alone, who had now diftinguifhed the fire and vigour of his genius as much he had fignallized his talents for war upon other occafions. His retreat was equally bold and mafterly; for to him alone was it owing that the greater part of the Spanifh army was not made prifoners. He rallied the troops, and defended the rear of the army with a body of horfe; which fhewed fo good a countenance, that Turenne was forced to drop the purfuit where the prince commanded, though the reft of the defeated army was chafed to the gates of Furnes. About nine thoufand were taken prifoners, and a number more confiderable fell by the fword, but not without confiderable lofs on the fide of the conquerors.

Dunkirk furrenders.

Next day after the battle, Turenne refumed the operations of the fieve with redoubled vigour; and the garrifon, though now without hope of fuccour, made fo gallant a defence, that it was three days before the befiegers effected a lodgment on the counterfcarp, the foot of which they had reached before the defeat of the Spaniards. At length, all the outworks being taken, the town furrendered on the 24th of June, ten days after the battle, and eighteen days from the opening of the trenches. It would probably have held out longer, had not the marquis de Lede, the brave governor, been unfortunately killed. The garrifon, now reduced to one thoufand foot and feven hundred horfe, marched out with the honours of war; and his majefty, with all his court, came from Mardyke to make his triumphal entry.

Mazarine

Mazarine was fond of having the honour of the battle of the Downs, and the reduction of Dunkirk ascribed to him; whereas Turenne was above disputing what he did not rate so high, what he knew the world would wholly attribute to him, and what was no more than the result of that duty which he owed to his king, his country, and his own reputation. But he refused the request made to him by the cardinal, of writing a letter, in which he should ascribe to Mazarine the honour of having projected the siege, and formed the plan of the battle. Turenne smiled at the request, and answered, that his eminence might employ what means he thought proper to impress mankind with a high opinion of his military capacity; that he would never contradict it; but must beg to be excused, if he would not consent to authorize a falsehood under his hand-writing. As terms exceedingly alluring were proposed to the viscount, Mazarine, though greatly mortified, could not but admire the greatness of his soul, and that disinterestedness which characterised every action of his life *.

The extraordinary vanity of Mazarine.

Two days after the surrender of Dunkirk, the little fortress of Bergue yielded to the fortune of the conquerors, and admitted a French garrison. Furnes and Dixmude had the same fate; but the king's illness forced Turenne to stop the course of his conquests, which now would probably have been more rapid than ever, as the whole Spanish army was divided in garrison towns, and no enemy to oppose him in the field. Upon the king's recovery, Turenne again renewed his operations, after having been forced to loiter inactive while the fate of the kingdom hung in suspense during his majesty's illness, which was extremely dangerous. To finish a campaign begun so gloriously, Mazarine sent for la Ferte's army from Lorraine; the two generals waited on his eminence at Cassel, and there it was resolved that the marshal should lay siege to Gravelin, while the viscount covered the siege with his army. This last precaution was necessary, as the enemy had got together a considerable force, and would certainly attempt the relief of the town. They did so; but their endeavours were frustrated by the vigilance of Turenne, who disposed his army so happily, that the trenches were opened, and the siege carried on without impediment until the 30th of August, when the town surrendered. This event obliged the Spanish army to retire to Ypres; the

Furnes and Dixmude taken.

* Siecle, tom. i. p. 79.

*Turenne's
farther
conquests.*

cardinal returned to court, and la Ferte solicited leave of absence, so that the sole command of the army devolved on Turenne for the remainder of the campaign *.

The viscount, leaving count Schomberg with seven or eight régiments to cover his conquests, marched towards Thielt, thereby to persuade the enemy that he had a design upon some of the great cities, Ghent, Bruges, or Brussels, and by this feint gain the opportunity of besieging Oudenarde, Menin, and Ypres. His stratagem succeeded; he laid siege to Oudenarde, and took it, after a slight resistance. The want of heavy cannon and provisions were now the cause why he did not actually make an attempt on Brussels; a consideration which obliged him to content himself with staying in the neighbourhood of the maritime towns, the more easily to support his army, and seize the first occasion of falling upon Courtray, Menin, and Ypres. On his way thither he surprised and defeated the prince de Lignes, who proposed throwing himself with a considerable reinforcement into Tournay. Menin surrendered without a stroke; and Ypres stood but a short siege, the prince de Lignes being permitted to march out with all the honours of war. These advantages were succeeded by the réduction of Grammont and Ninove, places useful only to the viscount during his residence in that country. With this last transaction the campaign ended, after Turenne had dispersed and defeated the Spanish army, taken Dixmude, Dunkirk, Gravelin, and other important places, to the number of twelve towns and cities, and subdued the whole country between the Yper, the Lys, and the Scheld. Leaving one hundred troops of horse and five thousand foot in the conquered places, he led his army back to France, and returned to court, where he was highly caressed and distinguished.

In Italy the campaign had been pretty successful. The duke of Modena, having established quarters in the frontiers of Mantua, obliged that duke, who had declared for Spain, to embrace a neutrality. The marquis de Villa took the strong fortress of Trim, in Montferrat, on the 21st of July, and Mortara, in the Milanese, surrendered by the 25th of August. On the side of Portugal the war was not more fortunate for Spain; Don Lewis de Haro was constrained to raise the siege of Elvas, after being defeated and driven from his lines by the Portuguese and marshal Schomberg. We shall conclude the transactions of

* Rabutin, sub hoc anno, *La Vie de Tur.* p. 322.

the year with observing, that the death of Oliver Cromwell, connected in close alliance with France, afforded more satisfaction to the king and cardinal, than if it had pleased heaven to remove the bitterest of their enemies. They perfectly knew the protector's disposition, and that they could never expect his friendship but while he was pursuing his own interest. They eagerly wished to see a French garrison in Dunkirk, of which they might despair in his life-time.

*Death of
Oliver
Cromwell.*

The winter, as usual, introduced the subject of peace; his catholic majesty began to be alarmed at the rapid conquests of France, in the Netherlands; he apprehended that the viscount might possibly carry his victorious arms into the heart of his dominions, after having first subdued all Flanders. Accordingly, he made overtures for a peace, which were strongly seconded by the queen, who, looking upon the king's recovery as the peculiar blessing of heaven, thought herself obliged to shew her gratitude by stopping the effusion of Christian blood. She declared, with some warmth, to the cardinal, that she could not, without acting against all the sentiments of her heart, and neglecting the true interest of France, refuse equitable terms of accommodation. In both kingdoms she observed the cities were dispeopled, the provinces desolated, the few remaining inhabitants distressed, and treasures consumed; every thing seemed to call aloud for peace, as the only remedy for those miseries under which all Christendom laboured. But cardinal Mazarine was influenced by other motives. He had never entirely dropped the scheme of marrying the king to the infanta Maria Thefera, who might again be presumptive heiress of the crown by the death of the young prince her brother, born since Lyonne's negociation. To draw the court of Madrid into his measures, he pretended he was going to conclude a treaty of marriage between Lewis and the princess Marguerite of Savoy; he carried his majesty, in the depth of winter to Lyons, and prevailed on the duchess of Savoy to meet him there, accompanied by her two daughters. In the mean time he hinted to the Spanish minister, that the time was now come to prepare for the alliance between Lewis and the infanta, or for an irreconcilable war between the two nations. In consequence of this insinuation, Pimentel was dispatched to Lyons with advantageous proposals from the Spanish ministry. They were accepted by Mazarine; the duchess of Savoy was sent

*Spain
makes pro-
posals of
peace,
which are
accepted.*

back with her two daughters; and the court returned to Paris, where it was agreed with the Spanish ambassador that the cardinal and Don Lewis de Haro should have an interview on the frontiers, in the Isle of Pheasants, in the Pyrenees. To prevent all disputes about precedence, two lodges of the same fashion were built, and at an equal distance from both was a hall with two opposite doors, by which the ministers entered at the same time, and two chairs, of which they took possession, without ceremony, or possibility of altercation. The first conference was in the month of August, and in eight or nine meetings the whole treaty was adjusted.

*Treaty of
the Pyrenees.*

The first articles of the treaty of the Pyrenees related to commerce; it was next stipulated, that the most Christian king should marry the infanta, with a portion of five hundred thousand gold crowns. Afterwards followed the regulation concerning the restitution of the conquests on either side. His catholic majesty promised to pardon the rebellious Catalans, and to renounce his pretensions to Alsace. The treaty of Querasque was confirmed. Spain restored Verceil to the duke of Savoy; Reggio to the duke of Modena; his whole territories to the prince of Monaco; and to the duke of Newburg the city of Juliers, sequestered for several years past in the hands of the house of Austria. But the affair of the prince of Condé was the most difficult to accommodate; so many obstructions arose, and both ministers frequently grew so warm, that they were on the point of breaking off the conference. At last, however, the cardinal, reflecting on the importance of gaining back to his allegiance such a hero as Condé, yielded to the Spanish minister's remonstrance, but on condition that Avenne should be surrendered to France. The whole treaty consisted of one hundred and twenty-four articles; but we chose to omit those which did not immediately relate to our design².

In this manner ended a war between the crowns of France and Spain, which had raged for the space of twenty-one years, and been marked with scenes of blood and devastation that shewed the peculiar rancour of both nations. Alsace, Roussillon, Artois, and Flanders, became provinces of France. Thus the principal objects of Richelieu's politics, viz. the extension of the boundaries of the French monarch, were happily executed by the victories of Turenne, and the negociations of Mazarine. Mazarine, perhaps, never upon any other occasion displayed

² Daniel. Hist. de France, tom. v. Hainault, p. 715.

so much political foresight. The marriage between Lewis and the infantia was negotiated about four years before ; but then the cardinal would seem to have only certain advantages gained by the peace of Munster in view ; he was not apprised at that time of the prodigious changes which this alliance between the crowns of France and Spain would introduce into the politics of Europe (A). This was the last material transaction of the cardinal's administration ; and it is alone sufficient to prove, that he was penetrating and sagacious. His death which happened in the course of the following year, released Lewis from the bondage of rigid tutelage, suffered that prince at length to become a sovereign, and to wield the sceptre as well as to wear the diadem. Writers are greatly divided about the character of this minister, whom some think little inferior in capacity to Richelieu ; while others affirm, that all his notions consisted in chicane and artifice, and his success proceeded from good fortune and perseverance. But candour must own, that Mazarine was subtle, enterprising, indefatigable ; that he was vain, haughty, and avaricious. The eclat with which he returned from banishment, the treaty of the Pyrenees, the absolute dominion he gained at court, his triumph over all his competitors, his last testament, his immense wealth, and little arts to gain the reputation of a warrior, are proofs of our allegations^a. His good sense, rather than his genius, raised him to the highest pinnacle of fame and power ; the selfishness of his disposition prevented his using his authority for the good of the public, or leaving any vestiges of that elevation of soul which creates the true statesman.

A.D. 1661.

Mazarine's death and character.

^a Pellison, Hist. tom. i. p. 16.

(A) The king's marriage public entry into Paris on the 26th of August, with all possible magnificence and splendor ;
 was solemnized at St. John de Luz, on the 9th of June 1660 ;
 and their majesties made their

S E C T. XV.

History of France, from the Death of Cardinal Mazarine, to the Invasion and Evacuation of the Dutch Provinces by the French Forces.

*Lewis
XIV. takes
the reins
of govern-
ment into
his own
hands.*

AT the death of Mazarine, a variety of attempts were made to gain the same ascendance over the king, which that minister had so long maintained; but Lewis had felt too much restraint and controul, ever again to submit to the same authority. All imagined that a prince bred up in perfect ignorance of the art of government, would soon find himself oppressed with the weight of public affairs; but they were astonished when they saw him determined to try the strength of his own genius, and fix the several departments of his ministers, beyond which they were not permitted to act. They were still more amazed to see him give separate hours of audience to each; to see the finances put upon the best footing, discipline restored among the troops, and all the luxuries and pleasures of a court blended with a regular attention to the business of the nation.

On the 5th of September, M. Fouquet, superintendant of the finances, was arrested at Nantz, for some misdemeanours committed in the office of solicitor-general to the parliament of Paris. Of all his professed friends, M. Pellisson alone now adhered to him in his misfortune, and shewed, that his attachment was to the person, and not to the dignity, of the unhappy criminal, who was condemned first to perpetual banishment, and then, for reasons of state, to perpetual imprisonment. The place of superintendant was suppressed, but the chief direction of the finances was committed to Colbert, as comptroller-general; a person bred to business under Mazarine, and formed by nature for the very office to which he was promoted. Le Tellier held the post of secretary of state for domestic, and de Louvois for foreign affairs. Regular accounts were delivered to the king, of whatever was transacted in their several offices. They were applauded, reprimanded, and consulted, according to their defects, and the confidence reposed in them; but Colbert, from the nature of his office, and his own capacity, soon engrossed the greatest share of power and influence^a.

^a Pellisson, p. 23.

A dispute between the French and Spanish ambassadors at London, about precedence, had almost involved the two kingdoms in a fresh war. When the Swedish ambassador made his public entry, the count d'Estrade, ambassador from Lewis, demanded the place of honour, in the procession, of baron Watteville, ambassador from Philip. The Spaniard, having gained the populace on his side by the brilliancy of his train, and the liberality with which he threw money among them, cut the traces of the French ambassador's chariot, wounded several of his attendants, suffered his own servants to commit the grossest insults, and then marched at the head of his retinue with their swords drawn, and the most insulting expressions of triumph. Lewis, informed of the affront put on d'Estrade, recalled his ambassador from Madrid, ordered the Spanish minister immediately to quit France, broke off the conferences in Flanders about adjusting the frontier; and gave notice to his brother-in-law Philip IV. that unless he acknowledged the superiority of the French crown, and made proper satisfaction for the affront, he would immediately resume the war. Philip had no inclination again to plunge his people in those misfortunes out of which they had so lately emerged by the peace of the Pyrenees; he sent the count de Fuentes to declare to his majesty at Fontainebleau, in presence of all the foreign ministers at that time in France, "that the Spanish ministers would not henceforward treat about precedence with the French." This declaration did not absolutely acknowledge the pre-eminence of Lewis, but it certainly implied the weakness of Philip.

A dispute between the French and Spanish ambassadors in London.

Another affair of a similar nature happened in Italy, from which Lewis extricated himself with great honour. The insolence of the duke of Crequi's servants occasioned a tumult in the streets of Rome, in which some Italians were killed, and several wounded among the city guard. The populace, animated by Mario Chigi, the pope's brother, who hated Crequi, besieged the ambassador in his house, dragged his lady out of her coach as she was entering the house, killed a French page, and wounded several domestics. The duke immediately quitted Rome, and complained loudly to the king of the insult offered to his ambassador, not only by the populace of Rome, but by the pope's relations, and even by himself. Lewis demanded reparation; but the pope temporized, and endeavoured to put off what he durst not absolutely refuse. At length, after four months altercation, he sent two of

A.D. 1662.

The pope is forced to make concessions to Lewis.

the populace, and the governor supposed to have abetted the sedition, into France; but he was terrified to find that the king threatened to besiege Rome, had actually ordered troops to file off for Italy, and appointed the marshal Pleffis Prallin to command on that service. However, before he consented to make the humiliating concessions required, he implored the mediation of all the Catholic princes, and endeavoured to stir them up against Lewis; but the circumstances of Europe were unfavourable to his design, and his conduct served only to incense the king, without hurting him. At last his holiness found, that complying was his only resource; he banished his brother, sent his nephew cardinal Chigi in quality of legate to France, to make the king ample satisfaction, to promise the abolition of the town guards, and that a pyramid should be erected in Rome, to perpetuate the injury done to the ambassador, and the concessions made to his master^b.

*Lewis
purchases
Dunkirk
and Mar-
dyke from
the Eng-
lish.*

But while Lewis was thus employed in supporting the dignity, he did not neglect the necessary measures to augment the power of his crown. The finances were so well managed by Colbert, as to put him in a condition to treat with the English about the sale of Dunkirk and Mardyke: five million of livres were offered; a sum too great for the needy and prodigal Charles to refuse. Lewis immediately employed thirty thousand men in erecting works at Dunkirk; which were executed with such expedition, that in a little time the English, who had just quitted it, would scarce have known the town^c.

It was the maxim of Lewis to endeavour to augment and enlarge his dominions by negotiation, but to hold himself in constant readiness to make war, to keep his frontier in good condition, and his troops complete and well disciplined. It was the policy of the French kings, from the time of Francis the First, to keep a good correspondence with the Porte, and even to maintain an alliance with the grand Turk, for the benefit of trade, and in order to over-awe the house of Austria. But though it was the interest of France that the emperor should be kept in constant employment by the Turks, it was not convenient that Germany should be over-run by that ferocious people. To prevent Hungary from falling into the hands of the infidels, Lewis deviated from the policy of his ancestors, became the auxiliary of the house of

^b Pellisson, tom. i. p. 117.

^c Siecle, tom. i. p. 103.

Austria; and detached six thousand men under the count Coligni, to assist the emperor, and join Montecuculi, a general afterwards employed by the emperor to balance the fortune and rival the glory of the great Turenne ^d.

Though the crowns of France and Spain were at peace, yet Lewis did not fail to assist Portugal against his own father-in-law. Mazarine, finding he could not include the Portuguese in the peace of the Pyrenees, formally abandoned their interest; but as the Spaniards had been guilty of divers slight infractions of that treaty, Lewis thought himself at liberty privately to espouse the cause of Portugal. Marshal Schomberg, a foreigner and a protestant, was permitted to serve them with four thousand French soldiers paid with Lewis's money, but supposed to be hired by the king of Portugal. The French monarch could not think of the re-union of the crowns of Spain and Portugal, by the conquest of the latter kingdom. The French troops, joined to the Portuguese, obtained the signal victory of Villa Viciosa, which establishing the duke of Bragança on the throne of Portugal. Thus Lewis, upon his first taking the reins of government, obtained the reputation of a politic and even of a warlike prince, before he had even entered upon open war.

He assists the emperor against the Turks, and the Portuguese against the king of Spain.

It was deemed no slight proof of his genius for the cabinet, his having so artfully tampered with the duke of Lorraine, that enterprising and whimsical prince. From him he obtained the city of Marsol, and the reversion of the duchy of Lorraine at the death of Charles IV. on condition that a certain sum of money should be paid to himself, and the rights of princes of the blood of France conferred on his heirs. It was likewise no bad instance of his policy, that he improved the marine of France, from five or six frigates, to thirty ships of the line, during the war between England and Holland. When the Dutch demanded his aid in the beginning of that war, an old fire-ship was the only vessel of war in the harbour of Brest ^e (A).

The weak state of the marine of France.

The

^d Pellif. ut sup. Vie de Tur. p. 343.

^e Siecle, tom. i. p. 107.

(A) Lewis balanced a considerable time whether he should declare in favour of England or Holland; he was ashamed to discover the weak-

ness of his marine, and afraid to throw Charles II. into the arms of Spain. At last, however, he detached six thousand men to assist the Hollanders

*Lewis
forms pre-
tensions
upon the
Nether-
lands.*

The death of Philip IV. afforded Lewis the first opportunity of displaying his talents in casuistry for the purposes of his ambition. The artful pen of Louvois drew up that subtle manifesto, wherein Lewis, in right of his queen, claimed Cambresis, Burgundy, Luxemburgh, and the greatest part of the Spanish Netherlands, by virtue of the right of devolution that takes place in the Low Countries, by which the children of the first marriage, male or female, inherit before those of the second. Maria Theresa, queen of France, was the only remaining child of Philip IV. by the first marriage; so that the king's pretensions seemed to be founded not only on the constitution of the country, but the decrees of the council of Mechlin, which authorize this law of succession, and the acknowledgement of the dukes of Brabant and Charles V. who submitted to it. Unfortunately, however, for Lewis, he had renounced all pretensions to the Spanish succession before the solemnization of his marriage; but this difficulty was easily removed, by asserting, that it was out of his power to surrender the rights of his queen and her children^f.

*He invades
Flanders.*

Lewis wanted not specious arguments, and able heads about him to enforce them; but he relied more on the sword than the pen. His forces, he knew, would carry conviction, where his arguments might happen to fail; accordingly he marched to Flanders at the head of thirty-five thousand men, sending at the same time a corps of eight thousand, under marshal d'Aumont, towards Dunkirk; and another of four thousand, under the marquis de Crequi, unto Luxemburgh. The queen was appointed regent during his majesty's absence, and a council nominated to assist her, at which presided the chancellor Sequir, and the marshal d'Etrées. Colbert had so managed the finances, that the resources of the state were greatly multiplied, and the revenues put into the best or-

^f Volt. ut. supra. Hainault. p. 734.

against the bishop of Munster, that warlike and ambitious prelate, so long the scourge and terror of the republic. Before the peace concluded at Breda, a French squadron of thirty

ships, under the duke de Beaufort, had joined the Dutch; a circumstance which shews the vast increase of the marine, under the auspices of Colbert and Louvois (1).

(1) Hainault, p. 735.

der; while Louvois, the new minister placed in the department of war, had made prodigious preparations for the campaign, and distributed magazines of every kind along the frontier. Louvois had first introduced that custom, which the weakness of the government had till then rendered impracticable, of supporting vast armies by magazines. On whatever side the king turned his arms, necessities of every kind were ready, quarters for the troops marked out, and even the marches regulated. Turenne, now created a marshal of France, commanded under the king; his majesty declaring his intention to learn the art of war from this great general.

Nothing could withstand the efforts of an army so well provided, animated with the presence of a young ambitious king, and headed by the most experienced and renowned officer in Europe; but the frontier was quite defenceless, and Lewis entered Charleroi without opposition. Furnes, Armentiers, and Courtrai, were taken in two days; the king sat down before Douai, and took it next morning; and even Lille, the most beautiful and best fortified town in the Netherlands, garrisoned with six thousand men, stood a siege of no more than nine days. Lille was defended by fourteen royal bastions, the inhabitants able to carry arms amounted to twenty thousand; the governor was an officer of great experience, and the garrison was well provided with every necessary for sustaining a siege. Indeed the Spaniards seemed to have bestowed their whole care on this town, while they neglected almost every other. The place was invested, and lines of circumvallation were drawn with all possible expedition. After five vigorous sallies, in which nothing remarkable occurred, the count de Croni, the governor, capitulated, and marched out with his garrison to Ypres. The count de Marfin and prince de Lignes, not knowing that the city had capitulated, were advancing to throw succours into it. They were suddenly attacked and defeated by the marquis de Crequi and the marquis de Bellesfonds, who took fifteen hundred prisoners, eighteen standards, and five pair of kettle-drums.

After this victory, the king returned to Paris, without having once experienced the hardships or dangers of a campaign; for the army marched with such abundance, and over-ran the country with so much ease, that the court thought themselves upon a tour of pleasure.

Takes several towns; and

concludes the campaign with the reduction of Lille.

The rapidity of these conquests gave the alarm to Brussels; and the citizens removed all their best effects to Antwerp. It is probable that the reduction of the whole country would have been the work of no more than one campaign, had the king's forces been numerous enough to garrison the towns he had taken. Louvois advised the putting in them strong garrisons, and fortifying them.

A.D. 1668.

*Vauban
fortifies the
conquered
towns.*

His advice was followed; and the direction of the works committed to Vauban, one of those extraordinary geniuses which appear in a century for the honour of human nature. Men were now surprised to see towns fortified with works as level as the field, and high walls despised as food only for the artillery. It was matter of astonishment to behold places made strong in proportion as they appeared more naked and defenceless. The citadel of Lille was constructed on this principle, and it has been admired as a master-piece in the kind^b.

*The triple
alliance
formed.*

All the states of Europe were alarmed at these conquests. Lewis seemed to wait only for the death of the sickly Charles II. king of Spain, to grasp at the union of both crowns, and thence lay the foundation of universal empire. The Dutch were more immediately exposed to his designs, and wished for an opportunity of uniting with England in a confederacy that should be able to oppose a sufficient barrier to the ambition of Lewis. The king of England, willing to retrieve his declining popularity with his subjects, dispatched Sir William Temple, as ambassador extraordinary to the Hague, with full powers to conclude a treaty with the States-general, and stipulate the terms most promising to stop the career of Lewis. In five days the alliance was concluded, every difficulty yielding to the address of the English minister. The king of Sweden acceded to this alliance, as a principal; and thus was formed the triple alliance, by which the contracting powers assumed to themselves the office of arbiters in the differences between France and Spain in the Netherlands, as well as in the war between Spain and Portugal. Its object was, to support the Spanish monarchy, restrain the exorbitant power of France, and prevent a dreadful war in which all Europe would probably be involved. The scheme was well concerted; it was therefore applauded, and, with respect to England, seemed by far the wisest step entered upon during the reign of Charles IIⁱ.

^b Siecle. tom. i. p. 113.

ⁱ Hainault, tom. ii. p. 734.

The triple alliance was founded upon an alternative which Lewis had proposed to the court of Madrid. He offered to relinquish the rights of his queen, on condition the court of Spain would either consent to his keeping the conquests already made in the Low Countries, or, in their stead, cede to him Franche Comté, with the towns of Cambray, Aix, and St. Omer. The queen-regent of Spain kept aloof, in expectation of the happy effects of the triple alliance; and Lewis ordered his troops to file off towards Franche Comté, and gave the prince of Condé the command, having under him his friend Bouteville Montmorenci, who never forsook him in the midst of adversity. It was thought the prince was set up by Louvois to lessen the reputation of Turenne with his master, who consulted him not only as the general of his armies, but as a minister. Condé and Turenne had been old rivals; they could not but admire, while they continued to hate, each other. Turenne gave up the command, assuring the king, that he could not have bestowed his favour upon a general half so deserving as Condé; and the prince received it with a compliment to Turenne, that whoever succeeded him must appear to uncommon disadvantage. Condé felt his martial ardour return, when he saw himself at the head of an army, which at the same time intimated an oblivion of his past conduct. He assembled his troops, entered Franche Comté, made himself master of it in ten days, and obtained the government of his conquests for a reward^k.

The prince of Condé over-runs Franche Comté.

The queen-regent of Spain, finding that no benefit hitherto resulted from the triple alliance, and that the conquest of the whole Netherlands might be effected in almost as short a time as Condé employed in the reduction of Franche Comté, consented at length to the French king's keeping his conquests in the Low Countries, on the supposition that the Dutch would necessarily be obliged to oppose him, should he attempt to extend his acquisition in the Netherlands. The Dutch used all their influence to oppose a measure which threatened danger to themselves; but the court of Spain was not to be altered in their resolutions, especially as the king of France gave weight to the negotiation with an army of one hundred thousand men, great part of which he ordered to take the route towards Brussels. Aix la Chapelle was the place fixed upon for the meeting of the plenipotentiaries,

^k Vie de Condé, p. 204.

*A peace
concluded
at Aix la
Chapelle.*

who were immediately sent thither from France, Spain, England, Sweden, and Holland. The treaty was signed in May, after a very short negociation, and by it Lewis remained in possession of all the towns he had reduced in Flanders. He restored Franche Compté to the Spaniards, and the peace was guarantied by the powers composing the triple alliance. The vanity of the republic of the States-general broke out in an insolent and ridiculous medal struck by public order, with a pompous inscription, arrogating to herself the honour of having given peace to all Europe. Joshua Van Beuningen, the Dutch plenipotentiary at Aix la Chapelle, was weak enough to strike another, in which he compared himself to Joshua stopping the course of the sun, which was the device of the French monarch. These and other unseasonable marks of pride gave umbrage to Lewis, who seemed to remember them in the sequel, when he found an opportunity to punish the presumption of the republic¹.

*The king
studies the
arts of
peace.*

It was not long before the king took ample vengeance; but he first employed himself in the arts of peace, in beautifying, regulating, adorning, and embellishing his kingdom, with all the arts of taste and magnificence. His conduct proved, that an absolute king, with a disposition to do good, may easily accomplish every inclination. He had nothing to do but to direct, and the successes in the administration were as rapid as those in the field: every difficulty yielded to the genius and indefatigable industry of Colbert and Louvois, two ministers born to raise the French monarchy to the highest pitch of grandeur. Sea-ports, before naked and desolate, were surrounded with works, and filled with shipping. About sixty large men of war were equipped, and ready to put to sea at the shortest notice. New colonies flourished in Asia, Africa, and America, which reflected no less honour on the administration than they returned wealth to the nation. The arts were cultivated with the utmost assiduity, and the finest taste for painting and architecture broke forth in many magnificent monuments of the king's liberality. Learning in all its branches flourished, and reason and taste united to expel the remains of Gothic barbarism out of France. In this manner was the French monarch employed when the excessive pride and power of the republic of Holland drew upon her his jealousy, and that bloody war which had almost ended in the

¹ Volt. p. 121.

total annihilation of the States-general of the United Provinces^m.

This republic, by invariably pursuing the maxims of prudence, industry, and frugality, had attained the highest pitch of grandeur and glory. Amsterdam was become the emporium of Europe, and the richest city in the universe. Holland alone contained three millions of souls, and all the other provinces were proportionably populous. The States dispatched ministers and consuls to China, Siam, and Bengal, to the great mogul, the king of Persia, the khân of Tartary, the grand signior, the czar of Muscovy, and the princes of Africa. They were considered as an important weight in the scale of Europe, and no treaty was concluded without their ambassadors. The late triple alliance, into which they had entered, gave Lewis suspicion that they proposed to set bounds to his ambition, and clip those bold pinions which had so swiftly conveyed his conquests over the Low Countries. Van Beuningen's insolence at the late treaty, and since, during his residence at the French court, highly disgusted his majesty, who was shocked at the presumption and pride of a republic just started out of obscurity, and gained, in the space of a century, out of the ocean. But what was still more alarming to Lewis, was the probability that the Dutch would ruin the manufactures of France, and his new established commerce in the Indies. His jealousy discovered itself in divers instances; and the pensioner De Witt, his brother, and his party, did all in their power to remove these prejudices; but the unhappy differences which then prevailed in the United Provinces frustrated all their endeavours. The prince of Orange's family, the avowed enemies of France, and the impudent vanity of Van Beuningen, increased the king's distrust. Lewis watched every motion of prince William, and perceived that all his measures tended to oppose the ambition of France, establish the power of his own family, and augment the grandeur of a republic formed by his ancestors, and rescued out of slavery by their victorious courageⁿ.

Lewis now sought every opportunity of breaking with the Dutch, less perhaps from any dread of their power, or ability to injure him, than with a view to enlarge his dominions by the entire conquest of the Low Countries. He knew that the whole strength of the republic consisted in her marine; that her frontier was weak, her provinces

The state of Holland.

A.D. 1670.

Lewis's designs upon the United Provinces.

^m Siecle, tom. i. p. 128.

ⁿ Id. ibid. & sup.

divided,

*He seizes
on Lorrain.*

divided, and the chief power in the hands of men inveterately set against the family of Orange, the ancient captains of the republic. His first attempt was to dissolve the triple alliance, and disengage from it Charles II. king of Great Britain. In this business the duchess of Orleans was employed; she went to England, under pretence of visiting the king her brother: her negotiation was successful, and she returned triumphant to Paris. In the mean time Lewis possessed himself of Lorrain, of which he took possession, under pretence that duke Charles was forming alliances in the empire against France, and infringing every article of the treaty he had so lately concluded with his most Christian majesty. In this manner was this restless, turbulent, and suspicious prince, deprived a second time of his dominions, and forced to wander a vagabond, first to Cologne, and then to Frankfort, there to wait for better fortune, or a more favourable opportunity of embroiling the empire.

A.D. 1671.

*Designs of
the bishop
of Munster.*

Lewis spent the year following in negotiations with the emperor, Spain, and Sweden, with the electors of Cologne and Brandenburg, with the bishop of Munster, and other spiritual and temporal German princes. His design was to prevent their acceding to the triple alliance, from which he had already weaned one power, the most considerable of the whole. The ambitious, rapacious, and warlike, bishop of Munster, beheld with uneasiness the growing power of the United Provinces; he pretended, that they had made several attempts upon the counties of Stirum, Culemburg, Bentheim, and East Friesland; that they had seized on Ravestein on the Meuse, and several other places belonging to his bishoprick. In his own defence he concluded a treaty with France, and prevailed on the elector of Cologne to follow his example. By signing a treaty with these two princes, the king opened a way to Holland by the Meuse and the Rhine; he established by these means places of arms and magazines in a country distant from his own dominions, and secured a retreat in case his enterprize proved abortive. With respect to the emperor, every artifice was used to keep him neutral; and indeed his own inclinations co-operated but little in favour of the Dutch, whom he regarded as subjects revolted from the princes of his family, and in possession of several places belonging to the empire. In Sweden, Lewis's negotiations were equally successful; for here he prevailed so far with Charles XI. as to obtain a stipulation, that if the emperor, or any of the princes of the empire, joined

joined their forces to the Dutch, a Swedish army should then march into the very heart of Germany and join the French, in order to force those princes to observe the treaty of Westphalia.

Whatever the views of Lewis's allies might have been, it is but too probable his intention was not to curb, but to destroy the republic, and thereby to annex the United Provinces to his own dominions. At least he wanted to reduce all the towns and fortresses possessed by the Dutch on the Meuse, in Brabant, and in Flanders; while the bishop of Munster watched the opportunity of retaking all his towns in Overysse and Zutphen; the elector of Cologne, longed to become master of Rhinberg, and the places dependent on his electorate; and the king of Great Britain to possess himself of certain islands in the province of Zealand for the security of the British trade°.

Of all the Germanic body, the elector of Brandenburg alone interested himself for the safety of the States-general. The peace of Westphalia had prevented this enterprising prince from extending his dominions in Germany, and retaking Pomerania from the Swedes: he had long aspired at the stadtholdership of Holland; and though that office had been for six years suppressed, yet he flattered himself, that, in case of a war, he might obtain it, perpetuate it in his family, and in time reduce Holland by dint of force, intrigue, and stratagem. With this view he winked at the encroachments of the Dutch in the country of Cleves; he made no demands upon them for the large sums owing him by the republic; he suffered them quietly to possess several of his towns; he interested himself in their quarrels with their neighbours; he rejected the proposals of several princes of the empire, and even those of France, endeavouring by every possible method to insinuate himself into the friendship and confidence of the States. In the end he concluded a treaty with them, whereby it was stipulated that he should assist the republic with twenty-five thousand men. Beverning, the Dutch ambassador at Madrid, disconcerted all the schemes of France at that court, and engaged the queen of Spain to furnish money and troops for the defence of the United Provinces. Thus was the face of Europe wholly changed. France and England, who had contributed largely to the raising and aggrandizing the republic, were now incited to destroy her; while Spain, that for an age had been

The elector of Brandenburg espouses the cause of the Dutch.

° Hainault, 747.

endeavouring to suppress her, was arming for her support. Pierre de Groot, the Dutch minister at Paris, was employed to penetrate into Lewis's designs; he gave his constituents notice that he foresaw a terrible storm ready to fall upon them, which they might nevertheless break by seasonable submissions and proper acknowledgements. Upon this intimation, the States wrote to the king, endeavouring to appease his wrath; but finding him inexorable, they prepared for receiving him, and provided for the security of their provinces. But the long peace the republic had enjoyed, destroyed her standing forces, and little confidence could be reposed in new levied soldiers^p.

A.D. 1672.

*The king's
army begin
their
march.*

As soon as matters were ripe for execution, Lewis ordered an army of a hundred thousand men to file off towards the Rhine. Before the opening of the campaign, and previous to his declaration of war, he divided his army into four columns, commanding one in person, with the marshal Turenne under him; another was led by the prince of Condé, assisted by the marshals Humieres and Bellefonds; the third was headed by Crequi; and the fourth marched to Westphalia, under the conduct of the duke of Luxemburgh, to join the bishop of Munster. As the marshals Crequi, Bellefonds, and Humieres, refused to receive orders from Turenne, they were banished; but, after six months exile, were recalled, at the instance of the whole body of marshals in France, upon their making proper submissions.

Such an army drawing towards their frontiers could not but terrify the Dutch, now torn with civil factions. The partisans of the Orange family were for abolishing the perpetual edict, and raising William III. to the dignity enjoyed by his predecessors; but the De Witt faction opposed him violently, though they could not prevent the young prince from being chosen captain-general and high-admiral. Many persons hoped that William's new dignity would incline his uncle Charles II. to return to the triple alliance; but that hope was frustrated by the conduct of the English monarch, who, in conjunction with the most Christian king, declared war against the States-general on the 7th day of April. The elector of Cologne and bishop of Munster followed the example of the two kings. The Dutch put themselves in the best posture of defence that circumstances would admit. Mac-

*The Dutch
prepara-
tions.*

stricht was strongly garrisoned; the prince of Orange had assembled an army of twenty-five thousand men, with which he advanced to the banks of the Iffel, and the Dutch fleet cruised off the mouth of the Thames to prevent the junction of the naval forces of England and France, which amounted to a hundred and fifty ships. All Europe watched the first motions of two powerful kings, seconded by the greatest generals of the age.^p

His most Christian majesty set out from St. Germain en Laye about the end of April, and joined his army at Charleroy. It was composed of twenty-three companies of gens d'arms, life-guards, musqueteers, and light-horse, two regiments of the French and Swiss guards, fourteen regiments of foreign infantry, and sixty regiments of light horse or dragoons, composing in all an army of one hundred and ten thousand fighting men, under the command of marshal Turenne as captain-general. Holland could only be attacked by the Rhine or the Meuse, and the generals and ministers differed in opinion by which of these inlets they were to make the first impressions. The former were for laying siege to Maestricht, the latter thought the enterprize hazardous, and too expensive for any utility it could produce. They were for marching towards the Rhine to encourage the allies of France, then penetrating into the heart of Holland, and thereby facilitating the taking of towns upon the Meuse. At last, after several deliberations, it was determined to make both attacks at the same time, in order the more to divide the enemies forces and disconcert their councils. It is probable that Turenne always opposed the siege of Maestricht, for we find him immediately after the surrender of Maseick strongly dissuading the king from that enterprize, in opposition to the sentiments of the prince of Condé. At last he prevailed, and it was resolved in council to advance towards the Rhine, and besiege at the same time the towns of Rhinberg, Vessel, Orsoi, and Burick. These places were all well fortified, and deemed the keys of Holland; however, the Dutch did not appear disturbed at their being invested, as they were only under their protection, and did not immediately belong to the United Provinces. They were besides in hopes, that any attempts upon the territory of Cleves would hasten the preparations of the elector of Brandenburg,

*The king
begins the
campaign.*

and even rouse the emperor unto a sense of the danger he was in from the vast designs of Lewis. Nothing could oppose armies so well appointed, led by generals so skilful and so experienced. The four towns surrendered within a few days of each other, and Rhinberg, that held out longest, opened its gates on the 7th of June: A few days after the town and fort of Rhees and the town of Emerick opened their gates; upon which the king resolved to pass the Rhine by a ford, over which the cavalry were to swim. This bold enterprize was projected and conducted by Condé, who, in the face of two regiments of foot, and several squadrons of horse, under general Wartz, intrenched on the opposite side, effected the passage, in the same order, and with as much regularity, as if he had marched his troops on dry land. The enemy made a stout resistance; but were driven from their post, after having killed the duke de Longueville on the spot, and wounded the prince of Condé in the wrist, an accident which disabled him for some time from attending the service, and obliged him to resign the command of his army to Turenne^r.

The rapidity of his conquests.

It is almost incredible with what rapidity towns and fortresses yielded to the fortune of the French arms. The reduction of Betau, the most fruitful country of the United Provinces, and the surrender of Tolhus fort, obliged the prince of Orange to abandon the IJssel, lest he should be attacked in the rear, and retire to the very heart of the country, as far as Rhenen, in the province of Utrecht. By this retreat, the town of Arnheim, the forts of Knotsembourgh, Voorn, St. André, and Skenk, this last the strongest in the Netherlands, a variety of other towns and forts surrendered as soon as summoned; and at last Nimeguen, a strong town garrisoned by eight thousand fighting men, including the inhabitants, was invested. After the citizens had, for eight days, exhibited signal proofs of courage in defence of their liberties, they were forced to yield to the superior good fortune, skill, and experience, of Turenne^s.

In the mean time the bishop of Munster and elector of Cologne, having joined that body of troops under the command of the duke of Luxemburgh, the united army entered the province of Overysfel, and reduced the towns as soon as he appeared before them. The two prelates

^r Siecle, tom. i. p. 178. Pelliss. tom. ii. p. 219.
ibid.

^s Idem.

animated by that implacable rage that constantly attends religious wars, obliged the duke to exert a severity, by no means suited to his nature, against heretics and the rebellious subjects of the house of Austria. The king's forces penetrated into the province of Utrecht, where their conquests went on with the same rapidity, and put the capital of the province in the utmost danger. To retard its fate, the Dutch could imagine no other expedient than opening their sluices, and overflowing the country. The other towns, following the example of Utrecht, Holland, Brabant, and Dutch Flanders, exhibited one vast lake, the towns rising like islands in the midst of the waters. To stem the torrent of Lewis's conquests, the people were persuaded the only barrier was to lodge the supreme power in the hands of the prince of Orange. They accordingly obliged the states of Holland and West-Friezland to abrogate the perpetual edict, and unite the dignity of stadtholder to those of captain-general and high-admiral, with which the prince was already invested. They likewise sent remonstrances so pathetic to his Britannic majesty, that Charles, moved with the situation of the republic, and jealous of the designs of Lewis, dispatched the duke of Buckingham and earl of Arlington into Holland, to quiet the fears of the Dutch, and insist upon the king's penetrating no farther into that country. In case of Lewis's refusal, his Britannic majesty declared he would break the alliance, as he perceived, that, instead of securing Zealand to the English, agreeable to the treaty, the designs of France were to unite the whole republic to their own monarchy^t. His most Christian majesty had in fact no great regard to the menaces of an ally he despised; but as persisting obstinately to advance into a country, which the inundation rendered impassable, might terminate in blasting all the laurels he had acquired, he seemed, out of compliment to the king of England, to listen to terms of accommodation; which, after all his victories, could not fail of proving advantageous. In the space of three months he had conquered the provinces of Guelderland, Overysse, and Utrecht, taken above fifty towns and forts, and made twenty-four thousand prisoners. Condé and Turenne advised his majesty to send the prisoners to work upon the canal of Languedoc, and to leave all

*Prince of
Orange
raised to
the stadtholder-
ship, and the
king of
Great
Britain
threatens
to break
the alliance
with
France.*

^t Wicqf. Hist. 229. Sir W. Temp. Mem.

the places that were not essential to the preservation of his conquests; but, Louvois was of a different opinion, and his sentiments determined the king. The prisoners were released for a trifling ransom, and the king's army totally reduced and exhausted by the continual drains made to garrison the conquered places^u.

*Insolent
terms of-
fered by
Lewis re-
jected.*

A negotiation was set on foot at Boxtel, near Bois le Duc, whither the king repaired, attended by the English ambassadors and the Dutch deputies. What he chiefly insisted upon was a treaty of commerce, for regulating the rights of the French and Dutch East and West India companies; the public exercise of the Catholic religion in all the territories of the States-general; twenty millions of livres to reimburse his expences in the war, with a confirmation of his conquests on the Meuse, on the opposite side of the Rhine, and in the empire, in consideration of his restoring the three provinces. His Britannic majesty demanded the compliment of the flag wherever his ships appeared, a million sterling for his expences, a hundred thousand pounds sterling yearly for the right of fishing on the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland, a share in all the commerce of the Indies, and the perpetuity of the stadtholdership for his nephew the prince of Orange. These propositions were rejected with disdain by the Dutch, who, animated by their stadtholder, resolved to wait a change of fortune in the midst of the waters. They used every expedient to rouse the princes of Germany in their defence, and so successfully, that the elector of Brandenburg, prepared to take the field. The undaunted courage, the vigilance, and public spirit, of the prince of Orange, gained him the entire confidence and affection of the republic, and excited their resentment against the two De Witts, his implacable enemies, whom they accused of receiving pensions from Lewis. The suggestion was false; but possibly their love of liberty, and jealousy of the house of Orange, had carried these two great politicians too far in their pacific measures and complaisance to the power of the French monarch. The pensioner was attacked in the street by the populace, and by his personal bravery broke through the croud, and saved his life, though covered with wounds^w (B).

William

*Seditions in
Holland.*

^u Hainault, sub hoc an.

^w Mem. de De Witt, p. 209.

(B) Soon after the sedition broke out afresh, and the partisans of the house of Orange again stirred up the animosity of

William of Orange in the mean time daily ingratiated himself more and more with the states. He gave up his whole fortune for the safety of the state, and exerted himself with such prudence and ability, that all Europe began to unite against the two kings, by the month of July. Every prince in Germany was in motion to succour the Dutch. The emperor, the king of Denmark, the elector of Brandenburg, the duke of Brunfwick Lunenburgh, the landgrave of Hesse, immediately ordered their troops to join; several of the other princes were preparing to take the field. All were jealous, England began to waver; and there was not a power in Europe upon whom Lewis the Fourteenth could heartily rely.

*The emperor
or
the Dutch.*

The army of Brandenburg, commanded by the elector in person, and the forces of the empire, under the famous count Montecuculi, joined near Hildesheim, and composed a body of forty thousand men. Turenne, now appointed generalissimo of the king's army on his majesty's return to Paris, marched to oppose the enemy's passing the Rhine. For three whole months were the elector and Montecuculi employed in abortive attempts to effect a passage at Mentz, Coblenz, Strasburgh, and other places. This conduct answered the purpose of making a powerful diversion in favour of the Dutch, though they could not accomplish their design of joining the prince of Orange. After repeated disappointments, the Imperial army directed its march to Westphalia, and Turenne followed, in order to keep the bishop of Munster steady to his engagements. Here the viscount displayed the greatest talents for the cabinet and the field. For half the campaign he, with a body of sixteen thousand men, baffled every stratagem of the elector of Brandenburg and Montecuculi, the most renowned general of the empire, at the head of an army near triple his strength. He obliged them to go into winter quarters, in a country harassed and exhausted, and confirmed the bishop of Munster

A.D. 1673.

of the republic against the De Witts. Several crimes were laid to the pensioner's charge, but he cleared himself. Suborned witnesses accused his brother of an attempt to poison the prince of Orange. Cornelius was imprisoned, and treated with great barbarity. While

he was under the torture, he sung that ode of Horace, "Iustum & tenacem propositum virum." His brother took him out of prison after sentence of banishment was pronounced; the tumult rose high, and both the De Witts were cruelly torn in pieces in the streets.

*Turenne
baffles the
Imperial
army.*

in the alliance of France, at the very time he was upon terms with the emperor. He obliged the elector of Brandenburg, who took the chief command during Montecuculi's illness, to abandon the siege of Werle. He took Unna, Kamen, Altena, Berkembaum, and several other towns and fortresses. By continuing his operations, he forced the elector out of his winter quarters again into the field; chased him from post to post, until he obliged him to quit Westphalia, repass the Weser, and retire with precipitation into the bishoprick of Hildesheim. After taking possession of all the elector's towns in Westphalia, he pursued him into the bishopric of Hildesheim, and at length, by mere dint of superior genius, forced him to seek shelter in his hereditary dominions. All these exploits were performed after Louvois had appointed the marshal's army quarters in Alsace and Lorraine, amidst the rigours of a severe winter, opposed by a superior enemy, by the artifices of Louvois, and seconded only by his own prudence, and the affections of his troops. It was indeed supposed, that Montecuculi was prevented from giving Turenne battle by the remonstrances of prince Lobkowitz, the emperor's ambassador, influenced by the gold of Lewis. Certain it is, that Montecuculi's illness arose from his chagrin at seeing all his projects frustrated by the unsteady dilatory conduct of the court of Vienna. Lewis's negotiations disturbed Europe no less than his arms. His emissaries swarmed in every court. Leopold could not be prevented from declaring in favour of Holland; but his ministers were bought off from seconding the emperor's intentions. The whole English nation exclaimed against the alliance of their king with France; but Charles stood in need of French gold to supply his extravagance. The elector of Bavaria had indeed been compelled by Lewis to retire to his capital; but it was by dint of intrigue that he was forced from his alliance with Holland, and constrained to sign a peace with France*.

*Policy of
France.*

*Condé re-
tires be-
yond the
Meuse.*

While Turenne was thus employed on the Rhine, Condé, having recovered of his wounds, returned to the command of the army in Holland. He besieged and took Maestricht in thirteen days. Having repaired the fortifications, he proposed making himself master of several other towns; but the inundations every-where stopt his

* Siecle, p. 149, & seq. Vie de Tur. p. 100.

course. All his attempts to drain the waters were vain, and he was forced to content himself with preserving, without pretending to extend, the king's conquests.

Whatever glory the king might have acquired by land, certain it is that the conduct of his admirals deserved equal praise with that of his generals. In little more than twelve months the French were taught the art of naval war. Before they fought ship to ship; but understood nothing of those evolutions by which whole fleets imitate the movements of armies. The duke of York, afterwards James the Second, invented the method of giving all orders at sea by means of signals; this and every other part of the art the French borrowed from the English, and became so apt scholars, that they ventured to give battle to the Hollanders, the great rivals of the English on that element. Their fleet, amounting to forty sail, besides fireships, joined to the English, gave battle three different times to the Dutch. Ruyter gained additional glory in these engagements, and D'Estrees, the French admiral, acquired the esteem of De Ruyter. Valour and conduct were on both sides so great, that victory remained undecided.

Naval affairs.

In the mean time Spain declared in favour of the Dutch, and prevailed upon the emperor to act more heartily in the cause of Holland, and defence of the liberties of Europe. The prince of Orange was reinforced by ten thousand Spaniards, sent to him by the governor of the Low Countries. Philip had concluded a treaty with the States at the Hague, whereby he declared war against France, engaged the emperor to make a powerful diversion on the Rhine, stipulated not to accept of peace before the Dutch had retrieved all their losses, and obtained from them a promise to listen to no terms of accommodation before his Catholic majesty should be reinstated in all his possessions in the Low Countries, previous to the peace of the Pyrenees. Montecuculi was ordered to advance with thirty thousand men to Franconia; and Turenne, joining the troops of Cologne and Munster, passed the Main, and took post in the electorate of Mentz. The prince of Orange receiving no impediment from Condé, who was forced, on account of the inundations, to repass the Meuse, thought this a proper time for action, as the enemy had no considerable forces in the heart of the United Provinces. He ordered some troops to file off se-

Spain declares war against France.

cretly to Amsterdam and Muyden; lined with infantry the intrenchments which secured the passage to Holland; and to deceive the duke of Luxemburgh, who commanded in Utrecht, sent some forces by sea to attack Bowmel. The duke, not penetrating the prince's design, came to succour that place, then William, finding his stratagem succeed, marched to Naerden, and with twenty-five thousand men invested and took the place, before the duke could provide for its security. Encouraged by this success the Dutch took courage, fortune inclined in their favour, and in a short time all the horrors of war were removed from the interior parts of the United Provinces to the Spanish Netherlands. Neither the experience and consummate address of Turenne, the genius of Vauban, or the indefatigable vigilance of Louvois, could repair the error committed in ruining the army, to garrison the conquered towns. Even Condé's fire seemed extinguished in the waters with which the Dutch had drowned their country. Instead of penetrating farther he was obliged to retreat. Turenne could not prevent the junction of Montecuculi and the prince of Orange, nor the loss of Bonne. This junction, and the declaration of Spain, obliged the armies of France to abandon the three provinces with still more rapidity than they conquered them. The triumphal arch at St. Denis was hardly erected as a monument of Lewis's victories, before the fruits of those victories were relinquished. In a word, the parliament of England would no longer suffer Charles to be the mercenary tool of France; the late ill success cooled the elector of Cologne and bishop of Munster in their friendship; and Lewis, forsaken by all his allies, found himself under the necessity of maintaining singly a war against the empire, Spain, and the United Provinces².

*The French
evacuate
the Dutch
provinces.*

² Peliss. tom. iii. p. 224, & seq. Siecle, ut sup.

S E C T. XVI.

Containing Marshal Turenne's glorious Campaign and Death; the spirited Transactions of M. Crequi, the Battles of Mount Cassel and St. Denis, the Negotiations of Peace, and the Circumstances which at length gave Birth to the Treaty of Nimeguen.

THE Dutch owed the whole of their good fortune to the prudence, the courage, and the indefatigable perseverance of the prince of Orange. Their gratitude was proportioned to his merit. They determined to make the dignities of stadtholder, captain-general, and high-admiral, hereditary in his family; in a word, they bestowed every thing upon this house that a free people could give; they surrendered all besides their liberty, and conferred every honour but sovereignty. Raised to this pitch of power and glory, William exerted his utmost abilities to detach the elector of Cologne and bishop of Munster from the alliance of France; and he succeeded. His intrigues at Berlin prevailed on the elector to violate the treaty he had signed with France; and he engaged in a league with the Dutch, the electors of Triers and Palatine, the landgrave of Hesse, and the dukes of Brunswick. In a word, all the powers of Germany were engaged in treaty with the republic, except the elector of Bavaria, and the duke of Hanover, who remained neutral. Lewis, notwithstanding this formidable confederacy, relinquished none of his great designs. He knew his own power, and the capacity of his ministers and generals. Resolving to compensate himself for the loss of the United Provinces by the conquest of Franche Comté, he sent marshal Turenne with ten thousand men to defend the frontiers on the side of the Rhine; marshal Schomberg he detached with an army to the frontiers of Spain; Condé, at the head of a third, watched the prince of Orange in Flanders; and the king's own army, the most numerous, marched into Franche Comté.

A.D. 1674.

The stadtholdership rendered perpetual in the family of Orange.

This campaign was the most glorious to Turenne of his whole life, if we are to estimate reputation by the greatness of the difficulties surmounted, in which every faculty of the most consummate general was displayed. First he made a long march, passed the Rhine at Philipburgh, ad-

vanced

vanced in the night to Sintzheim, forced the town, attacked and defeated Caprara, the Imperial general, and the old duke of Lorraine, Charles the Fourth, that prince whose life was spent in levying troops and losing battles, who had now come with his little army to join the emperor. In the space of four hours this important affair was concluded, with an army fatigued, harrassed, and scarce half the number of the enemy, who left two thousand dead upon the field. Astonished at his boldness, they assembled all their forces, to the amount of seventy thousand men, which Turenne opposed with a body of twenty thousand, afterwards reinforced by a detachment of cavalry sent by Condé. But his genius was obliged to supply the want of numbers, and it effectually answered that purpose. With this little army he ravaged the Palatinate; pursued the enemy into Alsace, over mountains covered with snow; continued his operations in Alsace, contrary to the express orders of Louvois and the murmurs of the court, who dreaded the loss of Lorraine; obliged the enemy to fly every where before him, by dint of superior skill in encampments, and choice of situations; and finally, without fighting one decisive battle, dispersed and disordered the enemy's army, obliged the Imperialists to repass the Rhine, and preserved Alsace and Lorraine. Even Louvois was forced to confess his error; the court seemed abashed; and all united in admiring the extraordinary abilities of the marshal Turenne. It must be acknowledged, that the barbarities he was forced to commit in the course of his operations, diminish the lustre of his great actions. All his expeditions were marked with horror and desolation. After the battle of Sintzheim, the Palatinate, a fertile country, covered with towns and villages, was laid in ashes; and the unfortunate elector beheld from the citadel of Mannheim two cities and twenty-five villages in flames. These excesses might have been necessary to retard the progress of the enemy; but they must impress an idea no way favourable to the humanity of Turenne, who would seem to deserve the appellation of Father of his Soldiers, and Scourge of the Vanquished. Whatever pains the French historians in general, and his own biographers in particular, have taken to vindicate this conduct, we are of opinion it proceeded from a coldness of constitution that damped every emotion of pity, and sacrificed the principles of humanity to the rules of war and the duties of a general. What redounded chiefly to the marshal's honour was the cool determined resolution

tion he displayed in the action at Sintzheim, and the engagement at Mulhausen, with which last transaction he concluded the operations of the year.

While Turenne was gaining the most important advantages in Germany, without any signal action, Condé was fighting bloody useless battles in Flanders. *The campaign in Flanders.* As his genius was in nothing inferior to the marshal's, we must attribute his little success to the unfavourable circumstances of his situation, and the capacity of the general opposed to him. The prince of Orange commanded the united armies of the empire, Spain, and Holland, and meditated nothing less than the conquest of Picardy and Champagne; but there was a necessity first of all to defeat Condé, who had assembled a considerable army, by withdrawing the garrisons out of the conquered towns, which he ordered to be demolished. On the 11th of August he posted himself near Seneff; the enemy attempted to force him, a bloody conflict ensued, in which the French claimed the honour of the field, though neither side could pretend to a victory. Feuquieres blames the prince of Orange's disposition in the first part of the engagement; but he does justice to that admirable prudence and intrepidity with which he repaired the mistake, notwithstanding such a general as Condé pushed the advantage. After the allies had retreated to their entrenched camp they were attacked by Condé, who seems by this error to have balanced the mistake committed by the prince of Orange, and to have compensated it by the same astonishing valour and presence of mind. Both generals indeed, if we are to credit the French critic, appeared greater from their errors, and, of all the battles they ever fought, this in the most distinguishing manner tried all their powers and faculties. There were seven thousand slain and five thousand prisoners on the side of France; that of the enemy was nearly equal; and so much bloodshed answered no other purpose than rendering either army incapable of undertaking any considerable enterprize for the remainder of the campaign. The prince of Orange, to make the world imagine he had gained a victory, laid siege to Oudenarde; but Condé, to convince them he had not lost a battle, obliged him to relinquish the attempt^a.

Turenne, after the engagement at Mulhausen, gave no breathing to the enemy. Even the rigours of winter A.D. 1675.

^a Siecle, p. 160,

*Turenne
prosecutes
his advan-
tage.*

could not stop his operations. After several advantages obtained in consequence of the check the enemy lately received, he marched directly to Colmar, to give their united forces battle. From the town of Turkeim, flanking the enemy's right, this action has been called the battle of Turkeim. By the reinforcements received from Flanders, the marshal's army amounted to thirty thousand men, and that of the enemy to forty thousand. He drew up in a manner that incurred the censure of all his officers, who could, before the battle was over, discover the propriety and judgment of his disposition. In one respect only the action was decisive; it forced the enemy to repass the Rhine, and abandon all thoughts of quartering in the territories of France.

*Montecuculi
takes the
command of
the Imperialists.*

It was now that Turenne took a little respite, in order to return to the campaign with redoubled vigour. He went to court, and received the honours due to his extraordinary merit. The negotiations of peace set on foot during the winter proving abortive, all sides prepared for renewing the war. The Imperial army was quite chagrined and distracted with losses; to raise their drooping courage it was necessary to send Montecuculi once more to oppose Turenne. He was indeed the only general in the emperor's service worthy of the employment: as well as Turenne he had reduced the art of war into a system. Both generals indeed were so well persuaded of each other's merit, that they could not rely upon mistakes or blunders; every advantage must be fought by some stroke of superior genius. Each judged of the operations and designs of his antagonist, by what himself would have done in the same circumstances; and he was never deceived. Subtilty, penetration, patience, and activity, were opposed to the same qualities, and the world is not yet agreed which of them merited the greatest share of reputation in this famous campaign.

*Sweden de-
clares for
Lewis.*

In the preceding year Lewis singly maintained the war against the Spaniards, Imperialists, and Dutch. He conquered Franche Comté, defended his frontiers, and defeated the designs of the enemy to penetrate into his dominions. This year he gained an ally, and prevailed on the king of Sweden to declare war against the elector of Brandenburg. This event produced a favourable diversion, by employing the elector in his own quarrel. It likewise obliged the princes of Brunswick and Lunenburgh to retire from the banks of the Rhine, and with the troops of Munster enter the country of Bremen. Six great armies, led

led by generals of distinguished capacity, appeared then in action on the continent of Germany. Montecuculi opposed Turenne in Suabia; and Condé returned to fight the Spaniards and Dutch in Flanders, under the prince of Orange. The elector of Brandenburg put himself at the head of his troops to watch the motions of the Swedish general Wrangel ^b.

Montecuculi formed the design of passing the Rhine at Strasburgh, and reaping in the Higher Alsace those advantages, of which the multiplicity of councils, and the bad conduct of the generals, had hitherto deprived the Imperial army. He endeavoured to seduce the inhabitants of Strasburgh; but Turenne, though he could not prevent his passing the Rhine near Spires, kept the Strasburghers in their duty, and deprived Montecuculi of those advantages he proposed from this movement. Near three months were spent in feints, marches, countermarches, dark designs, and artful stratagems; the whole military science was exhausted, but no advantage was gained by either. At last the marshal determined to attack the enemy near Acheren; but in reconnoitring them he was killed by a cannon ball, and his death soon produced a change in the campaign. Instead of attacking the Imperialists, count de Lorges, who succeeded to the command, retired, and, after a slight defeat, suffered Montecuculi to penetrate into Alsace, in which attempt he had been so long foiled by Turenne. Lorges indeed displayed the talents of a great general. When his rear was attacked, he faced about with great intrepidity, drew up his troops with judgment, and fought such a battle as was not unworthy of the pupil of Turenne, though the fortune of Montecuculi prevailed ^c (B).

*Turenne
killed.*

Marshal Crequi was still more unfortunate. He was defeated in attempting to relieve Treves. Capable of the most daring enterprizes, he threw himself with a few at-

^b Pellis. tom. iii. p. 240.

^c Hainault, an. 1675. Siecle, 166.

(B) After this campaign, Montecuculi retired, saying, that the general who had opposed the vizier Cupriali, the prince of Condé and Turenne, ought not to risk his reputation against any other com-

mander. Condé was sent to succeed Turenne. After keeping Montecuculi at bay until the end of the campaign, he retired, not imagining any other competitor his equal (1.)

(1) Pellis. tom. iii. p. 241.

tendants into the city, which he defended with the most obstinate bravery. When the enemy were going to storm the breach, the townsmen revolted, and capitulated; but Crequi could not be brought to sign the capitulation. He retired to a church, defended himself for a while, and was taken prisoner, when he sought death. The prince of Condé said, that Crequi wanted nothing but this disgrace to deserve a place among the most illustrious generals of Europe. This year nothing considerable was undertaken in Flanders. Monteroy, governor of the Netherlands, would not suffer the prince of Orange to come to a battle, and the prince of Condé's weakness obliged him to keep on the defensive. In Catalonia count Schomberg gained considerable advantages. He reduced Figuera, Baschara, and Bellegarde, and obtained by his conduct the dignity of marshal^d.

*Campaign
in Flanders
and Catalo-
nia.*

A.D. 1676.

All the powers at war being tired of losses and disappointments, no party succeeding in the schemes they had formed the beginning of the campaign, they mutually agreed to send plenipotentiaries to Nimeguen; but the negotiations there being protracted long beyond the time expected, the armies took the field, and the operations of war went on with vigour. Every side hoped for some favourable blow that would turn the scale, and give weight to their claims. Early in the year de Ruyter quitted the coast of Holland with a large fleet, to assist the Spaniards, and to prevent the French admiral Duquesne from succouring Messina. The combined fleets of Spain and Holland amounted to forty-three ships of the line. Formerly the French and English fleets found it difficult to cope with de Ruyter: now Duquesne alone ventured to give him battle. This admiral, like de Ruyter, raised himself by dint of merit, and became the best naval officer in France, before he had ever commanded a fleet; but he now served under the duke de Vivonne. The fleets came to an engagement on the 8th of January, and the Dutch admiral found himself so roughly handled, that, rather than hazard a second engagement, he would have permitted Duquesne to relieve the city; but he received orders to the contrary. These brought on a second engagement on the 12th of March, in which, after an obstinate conflict, de Ruyter fell, and with him the hope of victory. Duquesne a third time attacked the enemy, sunk, burnt, and destroyed the greater part of the combined fleet,

*Naval af-
fairs.*

while all Europe was in astonishment at the rapid progress made by France in naval affairs.

In the very beginning of the campaign, the French arms were successful in Flanders; Condé, Bouchain, Valenciennes, and Cambray being reduced. The king commanded in person, having under him the marshals d'Humieres, Schomberg, Feuillade, Luxemburgh, and de Lorges, each taking the command in his turn, and Vauban directing the operations of the sieges. At the siege of Valenciennes, great disputes arose between Vauban and the other officers. Vauban insisted that the place *Siege of Valenciennes.* should be stormed at mid-day, to prevent confusion: Louvois and the five marshals were for surprising it by night, and mounting the breach while the enemy were unguarded. Both urged good arguments, but those of Vauban carried the most weight; the king preferred them, and the event justified his election. Perhaps the French never displayed more fire and intrepidity than in this attack, which is celebrated as a master-stroke by all their writers on the art of war. Marshal d'Humieres took Aire, while the prince of Orange was besieging Maestricht, defended by the brave Calvo, a Catalan, who told his engineers, that he did not understand the defence of places, but he would fight to the last drop of his blood. Calvo kept his word; he obliged William to raise the siege, after having spent forty days, and lost a great number of men before the walls*. To ballance those losses, the young duke of Lorraine, a prince that inherited all the virtues without the defects of his father, took Philippsburgh in the sight of the duke of Luxemburgh, who tried every stratagem of war to relieve the place. *The duke of Lorraine takes Philippsburgh.* It was defended for seventy days open trenches, by de Foy, after having before been blocked up for six months. At last it surrendered, through the blunders of marshal Rochefort, who permitted the enemy to take possession of all the passes, rendering it impossible for the duke of Luxemburgh to penetrate to the town. However, the duke of Lorraine was baffled in all his endeavours to pass the Rhine, and enter Franche Compté†.

The negotiations as usual went on during the winter. All the parties were tired of war, except the prince of Orange, yet none would grant or receive equitable terms of peace. Accordingly the armies took the field; and the French, commanded by Monsieur the king's brother, *A.D. 1677.*

* Hainault, an. 1679.

† Pellisson, tom. iii. p. 260.

*Battle of
Mount
Cassel.*

and the marshals Humieres and Luxemburgh, invested the strong fortrefs of St. Omer. Spain put the highest value on this place, and pressed the prince of Orange to hazard a battle for its relief. His majesty knowing that William would omit no expedient to oblige Monsieur to raise the siege, sent him a strong reinforcement, with orders to meet the combined army. He advanced to Mount Cassel, and had scarce arrived, when the enemy were perceived to advance in order of battle. As the armies were separated by a deep rivulet, both halted till next morning, and then joined battle, which continued with great fury for the space of three hours, when victory declared for the French. William sustained a very considerable loss in the field; but his retreat was so masterly, that the duke of Orleans did not venture to pursue: however, the surrender of St. Omer was the consequence. It held out but a few days after the battle, though the garrison made a brave defence, and obtained an honourable capitulation. The prince of Orange, to shew that his defeat was of little consequence, reassembled his forces, and invested Charleroy: but the excellent disposition made by Luxemburgh, so distressed his army, that he was forced to relinquish the enterprize, after the siege had been far advanced ^g. In the mean time the marshal Crequi confirmed the prognostic of the great Condé. Just released from prison, he was opposed with a small army to the duke of Lorraine, and soon retrieved his character by a series of the most spirited conduct. He defeated a corps of the enemy in the bushy skirmish at Kokersberg in Alsace: he harrassed and fatigued the main body of their army by the suddenness of his motions, and impetuosity of his attacks: he took Friburgh in sight of the duke's army; and soon after defeated another of his detachments at Rheinfeldt. In a word, he not only raised his character to the highest pinnacle of fame, by defeating the schemes of the duke of Lorraine; but he obliged that prince to lay aside all thoughts of repossessing his paternal dominions, which he so eagerly desired, that it was the chief object of all his projects. The campaign ended with the taking of St. Guilain by de Humieres, and the defeat of Montercy by the marshal de Noailles ^h.

*Crequi's
famous
campaign.*

During the winter the king of England renewed the negociations as mediator. The people in general were for his declaring war; but he considered the bulk of the

^g Idem *ibid.* etiam *Le Siècle*, p. 172.^h Pelisson, *ibid.*
nation

nation as an unruly, turbulent, factious people; the Dutch as a mean penurious set of merchants, from whom he could not expect large grants of money to supply his extravagancies; and Lewis as his affectionate kinsman, his warm friend, and generous benefactor. It could not therefore be expected that his mediation would be impartial. In fact, Charles inclined so much to the side of France, and Lewis gave law in so absolute a manner, that his terms were rejected, and a resolution was taken by the allies, once more to try their fortune in the field. Their success did not correspond with the spirit exerted to bring France to reasonable conditions of peace. Lewis's armies on the very same day invested Mons, Namur, Charlemont, Luxemburgh, and Ypres. Ghent likewise was besieged by d'Humieres, and taken on the 9th of March, having sustained a siege only of four days. The citadel capitulated on the 12th. Ypres, after a siege of seven days, capitulated on the 25th, notwithstanding the difficulties thrown in the way of the besiegers by the inundation of the country, and the brave defence of M. Conflans, who held the place for his Catholic majesty. Luxemburgh commanded the siege, and gave two assaults at the same time, with so much intrepidity, that Conflans beat a parley, and received honourable conditions. Upon this event his majesty returned to St. Germain, leaving the army in quarters of refreshment.

A.D. 1678.

Several towns surrendered to the French.

This campaign was still more glorious to marshal Crequi than the last. In every thing he foiled the duke of Lorraine, though that prince had the reputation of an expert general. From the marshal's operations on this occasion, the finest lessons in the military art may be drawn: His marches, countermarches, encampments, and attacks, all tended to harass and destroy the duke's army. They succeeded so happily, that the enemy were reduced to near an equality in strength; upon which he defeated them, having forced the duke, by his artful dispositions, to give battle¹.

Crequi's second campaign.

In Sicily matters went less successfully for Lewis. Nothing can be more fickle than the temper of the Sicilians, always rebelling, and always in a state of servitude; their seditions produced nothing but a change of fetters. France had delivered Messina out of the hands of the Spaniards, and was, in return, treated with ingratitude. The people conspired against the duke de Vivonne, who

¹ Hainault, an. 1678, p. 790.

treated

*The French
evacuate
Sicily.*

treated them with kindness; and every day produced new plots and cabals, which all his foresight and vigilance could neither prevent nor punish. As the Dutch fleet hovered round the coast, it was difficult to withdraw the French troops; yet the rebellious, turbulent humour of the people rendered it necessary. Accordingly Vivonne embarked them, and determined to run all hazards, rather than be exposed to the insults and ingratitude of a set of burghers, insensible of friendship. He set sail on the 8th of April, and arrived in France, without having once seen the enemy.

*The policy
of the
Dutch.*

The prince of Orange having espoused the princess Mary, daughter to the duke of York, obtained great credit with the English parliament, who determined to force the king to renounce the alliance of Lewis. William would have willingly continued the war; but the States deducing no solid advantage from all the efforts of Spain and the empire, entertained thoughts of concluding a separate peace. That politic republic found means to become auxiliaries in a war undertaken to save her from perdition, and to render Spain and the emperor principals in a quarrel, upon which they entered from motives of compassion. The plenipotentiaries of all the powers were met at Nimeguen, and the Dutch deputies were negotiating for themselves and the Catholic king. France insisted upon keeping Bouchain, Condé, Ypres, Valenciennes, Cambray, Maubeuge, Aire, St. Omer, Cassel, Charlemont, and a great part of Flanders; but consented to restore Charleroy, Courtray, Oudenarde, Ath, Ghent, and Limburg, to the Spaniards. The ministers of the Catholic king demanded of the French plenipotentiaries, to appoint a day for the restitution of those places; but they were given to understand, that the king would detain them until the allies should have restored all the places wrested from the crown of Sweden. By this declaration the treaty was retarded ^k.

Charles II. was incensed at the conduct of Lewis. He sent sir William Temple to the Hague, with ample powers to sign a mutual league with the republic, by which the contracting powers would oblige themselves to compel France to restore the six towns in Flanders. Had Charles firmly adhered to this resolution, the treaty would have met with no obstruction; but after sir William Temple had concluded the treaty, to the entire satisfac-

tion of all those states, who wished to curb the ambition and power of Lewis. The king wavered from his usual principle of timidity and inconstancy. Du Croix, the Swedish agent at London, was dispatched to sir William Temple, ordering him to declare to the Swedish plenipotentiaries, in the king's name, that if they would consent to the immediate evacuation of the six towns in Flanders, he would, after the conclusion of the peace, use all his interest in procuring justice to his Swedish majesty. The conduct of his Britannic majesty indicated his unsteadiness; sir William Temple was ashamed of it; and the States-general plainly discerned the king's meaning: however, they resolutely refused to sign the treaty, unless France immediately made the restitution demanded. Lewis agreed to restore to the emperor either Friburgh or Philipsburgh; the choice he left to him. He re-established in the bishoprick of Strasburgh, and their dominions; the two Furstembergs, stripped by the emperor, and one of them imprisoned. As to Lorrain, he offered to restore the young duke Charles V. provided his majesty should be put in possession of Nanci, and all the great roads. Lewis indeed prescribed with the air of a conqueror; the allies differed among themselves; each blamed the other, and complained, that the whole load of the war was left upon his shoulders; but they all, except the spirited duke of Lorrain, accepted the terms offered by France, with very little variation. The French ambassadors seemed inflexible with respect to the restitution of the six towns; nor did they yield before the very last day of the congress, when, all of a sudden, they desisted from their pretensions, as if they had a mind to make a compliment of the concessions. As for the duke of Lorrain, he preferred wandering a vagrant through the empire, to mean submission and the possession of dominions without honour or dignity¹.

Congress at Nimeguen.

Conditions granted by Lewis.

During the sitting of the congress, the duke of Luxembourg kept Mons blocked up, and Lewis endeavoured to protract the treaty, until that place should be reduced. While he was at dinner with the intendant, relying upon the faith of treaties, his quarters were suddenly attacked by the prince of Orange. A long and obstinate conflict ensued, in which, after much blood-shed, William remained master of the field. All writers exclaim against this attack, as a perfidious breach of faith. The treaty,

Battle of St. Denis.

¹ Voltaire Siecle, tom. i. p. 173.

*Reflections
on that
battle.*

say they, had been signed four days before; the prince was perfectly acquainted with that circumstance, though he had hitherto received no formal intimation of the peace. It was therefore inexcusable to shed the blood of so many brave men, and sacrifice to resentment so many innocent victims, after peace had spread her healing influence, and closed up those wounds; occasioned by a long and cruel war^m. But prejudice apart: William had certainly as much right to attempt the relief of Mons, as Luxemburgh had to keep it blockaded. He was sensible the design of Lewis in protracting the treaty, was to gain possession of that important fortress. If Luxemburgh knew that the treaty was signed, why did he not withdraw his forces, and give the prince of Orange notice of what had been done? From his conduct, it is almost certain that Lewis would have taken advantage of the surrender of the town, had that event happened before a regular intimation of the peace had been sent to both commanders. Disappointment made him exclaim against the prince's conduct. French writers have imbibed their sovereign's resentment; and the spirit of party and strong prejudices have occasioned English writers to close with their sentiments. The battle of St. Denis did not alter a single article in the treaty, which was signed by all parties, except the emperor, on the 1st of August, and peace once more restored to Europe. It was remarkable that Holland, against which the war was undertaken, that in the very beginning was reduced to the verge of destruction, lost nothing. The Dutch even gained a barrier; whereas all the other powers, who stood up in their defence, were losers. As to Lewis, he had the honour of supporting a war against the most formidable powers of the continent, of giving his own terms to Christendom, and of having extended his dominions by the conquest of Franche Compté, Dunkirk, and a great part of Flanders; though it must be acknowledged that he impoverished his people, and sacrificed real felicity to empty glory.

*Conclusion
of the treaty
of Nimègue.*

^m Auct. supra citat.

S E C T. XVII.

Lewis erects Courts of Judicature in the Empire; he augments his Marine, bombards Algiers and Genoa, and at length involves Europe in a general War, about the Spanish Succession. The Confederacy formed against France; and the Events of the first Campaigns related.

AS the emperor had not yet acceded to the treaty of Nimeguen, the war still continued. Nuits was besieged and taken, but restored to the elector of Cologne, as soon as the court of Vienna consented to sign the peace, which happened towards the end of the year. It was now that Lewis began to exert that despotism, and assume that superiority over other princes, which marked the intolerance of power more than all his conquests. Courts of jurisdiction were established at Metz and Brisac, to reunite to his crown all those territories which had been deemed appenages and dependencies on Alsace, notwithstanding they had, by several late treaties, been adjudged to other masters. The king of Spain, who claimed several bailliages in this district, the elector Palatine, and several princes of the empire, were cited before this tribunal, to do homage to Lewis, or be punished with the confiscation of their estates. The electors Palatine and Treves were stripped of several lordships; they carried their complaints to the diet of Ratisbon, and received the empty satisfaction of vain protests. The intrigues of France, and the dread of her power, which had opened the gates of so many other cities, gained the magistrates of Strasburg. The inhabitants, whose love of freedom for so many ages enabled them to preserve their liberties, saw themselves, in the midst of profound peace, the subjects of a despotic king, and their ramparts lined with twenty thousand men^m.

A.D. 1679.

The power which Lewis assumes in the empire,

While Lewis was thus extending his dominions by fraud and intrigue, he did not forget the internal security and interest of his kingdom. The harbour of Toulon was constructed at an immense expence, made capable of containing a hundred ships of war, and adorned with a fine

A.D. 1681.

His application to domestic affairs.

^m Hainault, sub. ann.

arsenal, and magnificent magazines. Brest, Dunkirk, and Havre de Grace, were filled with ships of war; and nature was forced, to convert Rochfort into a convenient sea-port. Lewis saw himself master of near a hundred ships of above forty guns, and many of them first rates.

A.D. 1682.

*He obliges
the piratical
states of
Africa to
make sub-
missions.*

The Mediterranean was covered with corsairs, and commerce interrupted. Duquesne was sent with a squadron to Algiers; he bombarded the city, and reduced the ferocious inhabitants to the necessity of making proper submission. On this occasion it was that France made the first trial of bomb ketches, the contrivance of one Bernard Renard, a man dragged from obscurity by the penetration of the great Colbert, who never omitted an opportunity of rendering genius useful to society. Tunis and Tripoli made the same acknowledgements as Algiers. The terror of seeing that city laid twice in ashes, by the new contrivance of bombs, struck with dread all the piratical states, who, in compliment to Lewis, released all

A.D. 1684.

*He bom-
bards Ge-
noa.*

their Christian slaves, except the English, whom Dumfreville, the French officer, sent to receive the prisoners, put again on shore, because they boasted that the dey set them free out of respect to the king of Englandⁿ (A). Lewis's indignation next fell upon the republic of Genoa. In the late war that city had assisted Spain with a small squadron; she had likewise sold ammunition to the Algerines, contrary to the express request of the king. Lewis demanded reparation by the mouth of M. Saint Olon; and the republic, relying on the protection of Spain, refused to make concessions. Incensed at her insolence, the French monarch determined to chastise Genoa. A fleet of fourteen ships of the line, twenty galleys, ten bomb-ketches, and a great number of frigates, put to sea, under Duquesne, and appeared before the city. Seignelay, who succeeded his father Colbert as secretary of the marine, was on board, and forwarded the expedition with all that vigour, fire, and activity, for which he was distinguish-

ⁿ Le Siecle, tom. i. p. 189.

(A) Soon after the bombardment of Tunis died Colbert, the greatest minister France ever produced, and the most faithful servant Lewis ever possessed. His vigilance, industry, and genius, had raised France to a formidable mari-

time power, and extended her commerce to every quarter of the globe. To his abilities Lewis owed the ability of sustaining those manifold and hazardous wars, in which Europe has since been engaged.

ed. Fourteen thousand shells were thrown into the city, and many of its superb edifices set on fire and reduced to ashes. Four thousand soldiers landed, and burnt the suburb of St. Peter d'Arena. Every thing tended to the ruin of the republic, and to prevent it, the senate was forced to alter their tone, and descend to the most mortifying concessions. It was demanded that the doge, and four principal senators, should implore the king's clemency at Versailles; and that the doge should be continued in his place, notwithstanding the perpetual law which divested him of all his authority, the moment he set foot out of the city. Necessity obliged the republic to grant every thing. The doge and senate appeared at the court of Versailles, made their apologies to Lewis, and were treated by him with great dignity, and a haughtiness of carriage, extremely mortifying to those republicans.

In the same style of despotic arrogance did Lewis treat the apostolic see; his ambassador Lavardin entering Rome in a hostile manner, at the head of some hundreds of armed guards. Innocent XI. in vain poured out the thunders of the Vatican upon Lavardin; his impotent endeavours were despised, and the head of Christ's church was mortified with the contempt shewn to his spiritual authority, because he could not support it with temporal power. The extensive privileges which foreign ambassadors enjoyed at Rome, extremely disturbed the police of the city. Innocent had a mind to retrench these privileges; Spain, and several other courts, consented to his resolution; but Lewis would hearken to no proposals, however reasonable, that could detract from the glory and dignity of his crown. This was the dispute which the pope was forced to compromise, in a way not very satisfactory to the pride of Christ's vicar.

A.D. 1687.

His quarrel with the apostolic see.

With the same haughtiness of conduct Lewis determined to raise his creature cardinal Furstemberg, to the see of Cologne, void by the death of the incumbent. The power of election was in the chapter; and Lewis's gold, distributed among the canons, had gained them to his interest: but as the immediate nomination was in the power of the pope, and the confirmation in that of the emperor, the most Christian king foresaw that he should meet with opposition, and therefore determined to support the election of the chapter by force of arms. He accordingly seized upon Avignon, as soon as pope Innocent declared his intention to espouse Clement of Bavaria, bro-

The origin of the war between France, the States-general, Spain, and Great Britain.

• Vid. supra citat. Auct.

ther of the late elector, and at the same time prepared an army to march into Germany, now exhausted by a long and bloody war with the grand seignior, in which Vienna, the capital, sustained a siege of six weeks. The infractions of the treaty of Nimeguen, the high hand assumed by Lewis with respect to the demesnes belonging to Alsace, the death of the queen of Spain, the prevalence of German counsels at the court of Madrid, the aspiring ambition of the French monarch, the rancorous animosity which the prince of Orange, now William III. of England, bore to that sovereign, the assistance lent by France to the unfortunate James II. Lewis's refusal to acknowledge the prince of Orange king of England, the jealousy of the surrounding states, their desire to retrench the power of France, and the apprehensions of the empire, England, and Holland, lest the crowns of France and Spain might be one day united to the house of Bourbon, with a variety of other circumstances, produced a war between the kings, the emperor, and the Dutch. Before the prince of Orange had left the Texel, to take possession of the crown of England, Lewis had armies advancing to the Rhine and the frontiers of Holland. The dauphin, a prince of a mild and amiable disposition, was sent to command an army of a hundred thousand men, with the marshals de Duras, Catinat, and Vauban, under him. But before we proceed to the military operations, it will be necessary we should concisely relate the confederacy formed to oppose Lewis^p.

The courage, vigilance, and conduct, which the prince of Orange had exerted in the last war, raised his reputation and influence to the highest pitch in Holland. Policy, prejudice, and disposition, all contributed to confirm him the inveterate enemy of France, before his accession to the throne of England, William had projected a confederacy to clip the soaring wings of the most Christian king. His influence had prevailed upon the princes of the empire, assembled in the diet, to exhort the emperor to avenge Lewis's infractions of the treaty of Nimeguen. They therefore besought his imperial majesty to make peace with the Turks, and come to an open rupture with the French monarch; in which case they promised to consider it as a war of the empire. Accordingly the emperor negotiated an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the States-general, binding the contracting parties to co-ope-

rate, with their whole power, against France and her allies; to engage in no separate treaty upon any pretence whatsoever; and to hearken to no terms of accommodation, until the treaties of Westphalia, Osnaburg, Munster, the Pyrenees, and Nimeguen, should be fully vindicated. It was agreed, that Spain and England should be invited to accede to this treaty; and in a separate article the parties stipulated, that in case his catholic majesty Charles II. of a puny and infirm constitution, should die without issue, the alliance should be exerted to the utmost to procure the Spanish monarchy for the house of Austria, and the dignity of king of the Romans for the emperor's son Joseph. William, while only prince of Orange, was the soul of this alliance; after his accession to the throne of Great Britain, he exerted his utmost abilities to bring the parliament to accede to the treaty, and he proved successful. A variety of reasons were easily suggested for coming to a rupture with France; and to cloak the real designs of William, several arguments were advanced in the declaration of war relative to Great Britain, though in fact the war was undertaken from views merely continental.

Fully to understand the reasons which drew Spain into this confederacy, we must go a little back. The catholic king's marriage with princess Mary Louisa, daughter of the duke of Orleans, seemed to confirm, in the strongest manner, the treaties between France and Spain. During the life-time of this princess, and in the year 1685, the emperor demanded of the king of Spain the sovereignty of the Low Countries, for the archduchess his daughter, lately married to the elector of Bavaria. Lewis, persuaded that if such a settlement took place, it would be a violation of the truce, gave orders to the marquis de Feuquieres, his ambassador at Madrid, to declare his sentiments to the catholic king. In consequence of this declaration the Spanish ministers, alarmed with the apprehensions of a rupture, gave Feuquieres the strongest assurances of their sincere intention to avoid every thing capable of offending the most Christian king. Baffled in this expectation, the court of Vienna tried, in 1687, whether they could not prevail on the king of Spain to suffer the archduke, second son to the emperor, to be educated at the court of Madrid, as heir presumptive to the Spanish monarchy. This negotiation was carried on with great secrecy, but it could not escape the penetration of Lewis, who immediately sent orders to his ambassador to

D d 4

demand

demand a private audience of the catholic king, and likewise to present into that prince's own hands a memorial, representing, "That if the king of Spain, influenced by evil counsellors, should subvert the order of succession, the king in that case could not avoid executing whatever he thought most effectual for maintaining the dauphin's rights, and must consider every thing done in favour of the archduke, as an infraction of the peace between the two crowns." Charles gave an answer in general terms; but he permitted the prince to assure the ambassador, that he would never nominate a successor until he was on his death-bed. In the year 1689, Mary Louisa of Orleans died, and with her sunk the influence of France at the court of Madrid. The emperor gained ground in proportion; and his counsels had an entire sway over the mind of Charles II. upon the marriage of that prince with the duke of Neuburgh's daughter, who was sister to her imperial majesty. These were the circumstances which brought his catholic majesty into the confederacy against Lewis, and obliged this last to declare war, first against the emperor and the States-general, next against Spain, afterwards against England, though in fact hostilities had been committed against this last crown previous to any declaration of war⁴.

In consequence of Lewis's declarations, the marquis de Castanaga, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, issued a counter declaration, couched in very bitter terms, accusing the French king of having erected arbitrary courts in the empire, of having laid waste the dominions of the house of Austria, without regard to the obligations of religion or humanity, or even to the laws of war; of having countenanced the most flagrant acts of tyranny and oppression; and of having intrigued with the enemies of Christ for the destruction of the empire. This last charge alluded to the good understanding which Lewis constantly maintained with the grand seignior.

A.D. 1688. Lewis had, previous to this declaration, come to blows with the Imperialists and Dutch. The grand army, commanded by the dauphin in person, invested Philipburgh about the middle of October, and Vauban directed the operations of the siege. It surrendered nineteen days after the trenches were opened. This event was succeeded by the reduction of a variety of other places. Mannheim was taken in two days; Frankendal in two; and Spire,

⁴ Ibid. etiam Memoires de Torci, tom. i. p. 3.

Treves, Worms, Oppenheim, Heidelberg, and Mentz surrendered before the king's armies approached the walls. The Palatinate, doomed to perdition whenever a war happens in the empire, was now laid desert, and its flourishing cities and villages reduced to ashes; to revenge that spirit and activity exerted by the elector palatine, in forming the league of Augsbuurg against France. Nothing could equal the inexpressible misery of that country: men, women, and children, driven, in the depth of winter, out of their habitations, to wander naked, and starved with cold and hunger, round the fields, while they saw their houses stripped and set on fire by the fury of the soldiers, who are always sure to exceed in barbarity the most rigid and cruel orders. This terrible persecution began at Mannheim, the seat of the electors. The tombs of those princes were opened to seek for hidden treasures, and their ashes scattered abroad. Such indeed was the savage rage and avarice shewn in executing Lewis's instructions, that it ever will remain an indelible stain on his memory. Some blamed Louvois, but unjustly, as Lewis certainly had it in his power to reject the minister's counsel. Nations, says Voltaire, who had hitherto only blamed his ambition while they admired his character, now exclaimed against the barbarity of a monarch, who, drowned in the pleasures of the most luxurious court in Europe, could give orders for the total destruction of a whole principality. Twice in the same reign had those cruelties been committed in this electorate; but the conflagration raised by Turenne, however dreadful, was but a mere spark of fire, when compared to those flames which universally reduced the Palatinate to a heap of ashes, and the inhabitants to a multitude of the most distressed beggars.

The ravaging of the Palatinate.

The emperor had three armies in the field against France, besides the army opposed to the Turks. One under the duke of Bavaria, acted on the Upper Rhine; another, being the main army, led by duke Charles of Lorraine, on the Middle Rhine; and a third, commanded by the elector of Brandenburg, with his own troops and those of Westphalia, on the Lower Rhine. Prince Waldec, in Flanders, was at the head of a body of thirty-three thousand Dutch, who were joined by ten thousand English auxiliaries under the earl of Marlborough, and a body of Spaniards detached by the governor of the Netherlands. Such were the forces opposed to France, to

A.D. 1689.

The operations of the allies.

check the rapidity of her conquests, which had already spread terror and desolation through the empire. Lewis wisely concluded, that the unanimity of the powers of Germany would be of no long duration. Instead therefore of facing the Imperial forces with armies capable of giving battle in the open fields, he threw strong garrisons into the principal towns, and detached several different corps, under the conduct of Sourdis, Boufflers, Monclarc, Choiseuil, the chief command of the whole being vested in the duke de Duras, who had orders to seize every opportunity of harrassing the enemy, by intercepting their convoys, surprising their parties, burning their towns, and ravaging the countries through which they must pass, to prevent the possibility of their subsisting. The first enterprize formed by the allies, was to drive the French out of the electorate of Cologne. Rhinberg submitted without the necessity of a siege. Keyserfwaert was next invested by the elector of Brandenburg: the governor capitulated three days after the trenches were opened. In the month of July the duke of Lorrain sat down before Mentz, and was joined by the duke of Bavaria; the siege was obstinate; the marquis de Uxelles making the best dispositions of defence within, while the duke de Duras, with his little army, was by every means harrassing and disturbing the enemy's operations without. Boufflers likewise attacked and defeated a detachment of Imperialists, most of whom were put to the sword, on their refusal to lay down their arms. Mentz, however, was forced to surrender by the 6th of September, after having cost the allies above five thousand men. Bonne had for some time been blocked up by the elector of Brandenburg, who was on the point of relinquishing the enterprize, when the news of the surrender of Mentz arrived. Soon afterwards he was joined by the duke of Lorrain; and the city was besieged in form. Baron Asfeld who commanded the garrison, being mortally wounded, the place surrendered on the 15th of October, after having sustained a siege of five weeks open trenches, and been blocked up for the space of three months. In Flanders the marshal d'Humieres received a check at Walcourt, where he engaged prince Waldec with a superior army. This affair proved of little advantage to the allies; but it hurt the reputation of the marshal, who was deprived of the command by Louvois his intimate friend, and succeeded by Luxemburgh, with whom that minister had always been at variance. In Catalonia the king's army had taken the field so early under the

M. de Humieres defeated by prince Waldec.

the command of the duke de Noailles, that several advantages were gained, before the Spaniards had assembled a force sufficient to oppose him. The campaign ended to the advantage of the allies, Noailles being defeated in his attempt to raise the siege of Campredon*.

Lewis was now under the necessity of sending an army to Italy. The duke of Savoy, either from a natural inconstancy of disposition, or the jealousies entertained by the French monarch, who demanded security for his conduct, acceded to the confederacy, and signed a treaty of alliance with the emperor and king of Spain, by which he was appointed captain-general of the forces in Italy. He was opposed by Catinat, who united the fire of a hero to the phlegm of a philosopher. Bred to the law, he quitted it in disgust, and rose to the highest rank in the army by dint of merit. Every where he shewed himself superior to the duke, who had acquired considerable military reputation, at the same time that he was esteemed the most artful and politic prince in Italy. Catinat gave battle to Victor Amadeus at Staffarda, and obtained a complete victory. The consequences of this victory were important. All Savoy, except the fortrefs of Montmélian, was soon reduced. His highness retired every where before the French general, without daring to attempt the relief of the most important towns in his dominions. Indeed, the whole of this campaign was a series of fortunate events, that gained Catinat a reputation little inferior to that of Condé and Turenne†.

A D. 1690.

The duke of Savoy joins the confederates.

The face of affairs in Flanders was wholly altered by the arrival of the duke of Luxemburgh, the pupil and friend of Condé, whom he greatly resembled in many of the lineaments of his character. His genius was vast, his judgment correct, and his imagination fertile. Every quality of a hero was united in Luxemburgh, and he improved his natural talents by indefatigable application and long experience under the greatest commanders. He admired Turenne, but he imitated Condé, possessing, like him, that noble ardor, and quick intuitive apprehension, which seemed to form him a general from his birth. Luxemburgh, to retrieve the spirit of his troops, and prove himself worthy of the preference given him, determined to make prodigious efforts before the allied army was formed. His various movements produced the famous battle of Fleuris, in which he obtained a complete victory over

Duke of Luxemburgh retrieves affairs in Flanders.

* Vide Auct. supra citat.

† Le Siecle, tom. i. p. 218.

the allied army commanded by prince Waldec. That general had shewn his superiority over de Humieres in the last campaign; he was now forced to yield the palm to Luxemburgh. Of the confederate army six thousand were left dead on the field, eight thousand were taken prisoners, together with their artillery, baggage, and two hundred pair of colours and standards. In this battle the Dutch infantry acquired immortal honour, the duke of Luxemburgh acknowledging that their firmness and intrepidity exceeded the bravery of the Spanish infantry at Rocroi. The allies took such effectual measures to repair the loss sustained at Fleuris, that prince Waldec was soon greatly superior to Luxemburgh, who now was forced to act defensively, until the severity of the winter obliged both armies to retire into winter quarters".

*Death of
Seignelay.
Naval
affairs.*

On the Upper Rhine nothing extraordinary occurred. Here the dauphin opposed the elector of Bavaria, and frustrated all the schemes of that prince, to open a way into the French dominions, by gaining possession of the strong fortrefs of Hunningen. The year concluded with the loss of St. Christopher's, a valuable sugar island, which has ever since remained in the hands of the English, and the death of that able and faithful minister Seignelay, secretary of the marine, who was succeeded in his office by M. Pontchartrain, comptroller-general. At sea the king's squadrons had been twice victorious over the combined fleets of England and Holland. The preceding year Lewis sent Chateau Renaud, with a strong squadron, to make a diversion in favour of king James on the coast of Ireland. King William had notice of the destination of Renaud, and ordered admiral Herbert, with twelve ships of the line, to intercept the French admiral. Strefs of weather having prevented Herbert from meeting his enemy at sea, he steered directly for Bantry Bay, and there found Renaud, who immediately stood out to give him battle. The skill and artifice of this officer baffled the attempts of Herbert to gain the windward. An obstinate action for two hours was maintained with equal valour, but fortune declared in favour of the French. The English squadron stood off, keeping up a running fight for some hours, when Renard, satisfied with the honour he had gained, tacked about, dropt the pursuit, and returned to the bay. The naval transactions of the present year redounded still more to the honour of Lewis. Tourville having joined Renaud,

and taken the chief command, set sail from Brest to insult the coasts of Great Britain. His fleet was the most formidable that France had ever put to sea; it amounted to seventy-eight ships of war, and twenty-two fireships. So powerful a fleet could not fail to alarm Mary, queen-regent of England, in the king's absence. She sent orders to lord Torrington to put to sea with all possible expedition and join the Dutch squadron. The combined fleet did not exceed fifty-five ships of war; but as Torrington had express orders to intercept the enemy, he came to an engagement off Beachy Head. The Dutch squadron, which composed the van, bore down on Tourville about nine o'clock: in half an hour the rear of the French was close engaged with the blue division of the English squadron. The action was exceedingly warm, and both the English and Dutch ships that were engaged behaved with the utmost intrepidity; but not being seconded by Torrington, who led the center, they were almost surrounded by Tourville. Night happily interfered, and prevented the total destruction of the Dutch, who were pursued to Rye, where a ship of sixty guns was drove on shore, and narrowly escaped being burnt by the French frigates. Six Dutch and two English ships of the line were destroyed. Dick and Brackel, the Dutch rear-admirals, were slain, together with a multitude of inferior officers and seamen. In a word, the victory was complete, and the English nation so incensed at their disgrace, that Torrington was committed prisoner to the Tower. Tourville pursued his blow, and insulted the enemies coast by a descent on Tintmouth, where, according to the French writers, d'Etrees burnt four men of war and several merchantmen^w. All English writers however assert, that only a few small craft fell into the hands of the enemy: be this as it may, certain we are, that this victory gained immortal honour to the marine of France, and threw the whole English nation into the greatest panic and consternation.

*The allies
worsted in
two en-
gagements.*

William III. having settled the affairs of his kingdom, passed over to Holland in the depth of winter, presided at a congress of the confederate princes at the Hague, and took the most vigorous measures for retrieving the affairs of the allies in Flanders and Italy. He agreed to support the alliance with twenty thousand men, and so liberally supplied the duke of Savoy, that his affairs soon assumed a more promising aspect. Lewis was no less diligent to op-

A.D. 1697.

*King Wil-
liam held a
congress at
the Hague.*

^w Hainault, p. 799. Smollett's Hist. vol. iv.

pose a proper force to the mighty armies assembling to blast his glory. The siege of Mons was formed by the king in person, before the allies imagined the French had quitted their winter quarters. Luxemburgh directed the operations, and the dauphin, with the dukes of Orleans and Chartres, were present. The garrison consisted of six thousand men; but the besiegers, encouraged by the presence of their monarch and the princes of the blood, carried on the works with such rapidity, that the prince of Berguë, governor of Mons, was forced to surrender before prince Waldec could assemble an army sufficient to attempt raising the siege. Lewis made his triumphant entry, and then returned to Versailles, leaving Luxemburgh to finish the campaign. The superiority of the enemy obliged him to act with caution; however, while the prince was encamped at Leuze, he seized the opportunity of a thick fog to attack him unprepared. The combat was obstinate, but in the end prince Waldec was forced to retreat with loss, notwithstanding his army was double the number of the enemy^x.

In Italy the king's troops, after a short intermission of success, resumed their former superiority. The maritime powers paid their proportions of money; but the emperor and king of Spain, who had undertaken to furnish troops, were dilatory. Catinat seized the opportunity, and pushed his advantage with the utmost vigour. He made himself master of Villa Franca, Nice, Villana, and Carmagnola. The marquis Feuquieres was sent to invest Coni; the passes of the valley of Aoste were forced by la Houquette, and free admission granted to the Milanese and Vercellois. Turin was threatened with a bombardment; the people became clamorous, and the duke of Savoy was reduced to the brink of ruin. Prince Eugene, however, changed the scale of fortune: he approached Coni with intention to relieve it; and Bulonde, who commanded the operations, no sooner was informed of his design than he precipitately raised the siege. In consequence of this event Catinat was under the necessity of retiring with his army towards Villa Nova d'Aeste. The miscarriage before Coni, and the retreat of the French army out of Piedmont, so deeply affected Louvois, that he could not help shedding tears when he communicated this event to the king, who told him with great composure that he was spoiled by good fortune^y.

*The French
retreat out
of Pied-
mont.*

^x Le Siecle, p. 220.

^y Hainault, sub. ann. 1691.

Lewis laboured with indefatigable diligence to fill the vacancy in the papal throne; but the retreat of his army out of Piedmont had such an influence on the conclave, that all the power and intrigue of the French faction could not prevent the election of the cardinal Pignatelli, a Neapolitan, supported by the interest of the emperor and king of Spain. The new pontiff assumed the name of Innocent, in honour of the last pope known by that appellation, and adopted all the prejudices of Alexander VIII. against Lewis and the French government. Catinat, though greatly inferior to the confederates, after the arrival of the elector of Bavaria, found means, however, to undertake the conquest of Montmelian, which he effected after an obstinate resistance. Louvois did not live to see this change of affairs in Italy. He died in the month of July, with the reputation of an intelligent, active, enterprising, and faithful minister. With his death we may date the decline of Lewis's glory, which owed its rise to the abilities of Colbert, and progress to the vast talents of Louvois. *Louvois's death.*

On the Rhine the king's army attempted to surprise Mentz: they maintained a correspondence with one of the Imperial commissioners, but a timely discovery frustrated their designs. However, all the schemes projected by the emperor were rendered abortive by the death of his general the elector of Saxony, while the French army crossing the Rhine, took possession of Portzdeim. As to the affairs in Catalonia, though not very important, they were favourable to the king. The duke de Noailles besieged and took Urgel in Catalonia, while the count d'Etrees, with a squadron of men of war, bombarded Barcelona and Alicant^z.

The next year was ushered in by an obstinate engagement between the king's squadron, commanded by M. de Tourville, and the combined fleets of France and Holland, under the conduct of the admirals Ruffel, Delaval, Carter, Allemande, Callemberg, and Vandergoes. Tourville's force did not exceed sixty-three men of war, while that of the enemy consisted of ninety-nine ships of the line. He had received a positive order to fight, on the supposition that the English and Dutch had not joined; and notwithstanding circumstances were altered, he determined to obey. On the 19th of May the two fleets met in the Channel by three o'clock in the morning. The enemy *A.D. 1692. Naval affairs.*

threw out the signal, and Tourville immediately forming his squadron, bore down along side of Ruffel's own ship, which he closely engaged. He fought him for five hours with great fury, until his ship, the *Rising Sun*, a first rate, was so much damaged, that, shifting his flag, he ordered her to be towed out of the line. At three in the afternoon the two fleets were parted by a thick fog. Tourville took this opportunity of getting clear; but the blue squadron of the English came up and engaged part of his fleet for half an hour, in which time the French admiral lost four ships. The *Royal Sun* and *Admirable*, first rates, and the *Conquerant* a second rate, were driven ashore near Cherbourg, and burnt by admiral Delaval. Eighteen ships more run into La Hogue, where they were destroyed by sir George Rooke. This was the first signal blow the marine of France received, and it was too severe to be easily recovered by an infant maritime power^a.

Lewis determined to avenge this disgrace by the utmost efforts in Flanders. At the head of a hundred thousand men he invested Namur, one of the strongest fortresses in the Netherlands, the citadel fortified by a new work, contrived by the famous Coehorn, who defended it in person. However, the duke of Luxemburgh carried on his works with so much spirit, that the town capitulated in seven days after the trenches were opened, and the garrison retired to the citadel. The king of England, who commanded the allied army in person, and the elector of Bavaria, determined, if possible, to raise the siege of the citadel; but Luxemburgh took his measures so judiciously, that all their attempts were baffled. It was a noble spectacle to behold the two greatest engineers Europe ever bred, exhaust the whole science of attack and defence. Vauban made his approaches against Coehorn fort, commanded by Coehorn. Several sallies and assaults were made; the besieged performed wonders, but the fortune of the besiegers prevailed, and the citadel surrendered in sight of king William's army. Lewis retired in triumph to Versailles; and Luxemburgh having secured a strong garrison in Namur, detached monsieur Boufflers with a body of forces to la Bouffiere, and encamped with the rest of his army at Soignies. William, who was posted at Genap, resolved to seize the first opportunity of repairing the shock his

^a Ralph, tom. ii. anno 1692.

reputation sustained by the loss of Namur. He passed the Senne to prevent the enemy seizing the post between Steenkirk and Enghien; but he was anticipated by the activity of Luxembourg. Here William attacked his enemy with such impetuosity, as it required the utmost courage and intrepidity to resist. The whole camp was a scene of tumult and confusion; without the vast abilities of Luxembourg all must have been lost. He had been deceived by false intelligence, and it required an excess of heroism to repair the consequences of his error. At this critical moment he forgot a severe indisposition under which he happened to labour; he changed his ground, rallied his broken battalions, drew up his forces in order of battle, and led them three times in person to the charge. In the French army were the duke of Chartres, then in the fifteenth year of his age, Lewis de Bourbon, grand nephew of the great Condé, and Arnaud, prince of Conti, all princes of the blood, and rivals in reputation. They put themselves at the head of the household troops, and a number of volunteers of quality, and charged the English with such irresistible fury, that the king retreated. The event of the battle, however, appeared doubtful, until Boufflers rejoined the army with his detachment. The strength of the allies sunk under the additional pressure of this reinforcement; but the good conduct of William enabled him to make a regular retreat. His disposition was the same as when he attacked, and he appeared formidable even when vanquished. The young princes, to whose bravery this victory was attributed, were received in France amidst the acclamations of the people, who every where crowded the roads as they passed. The ladies of the court contrived new fashions of dress, which they called Steenkirks; and the men, ever ready to copy the follies of the fair-sex, wore cravats of the same appellation. In this action the allies were computed to lose seven thousand men, in which were included the earl of Angus, general Mackay, sir John Lanier, sir Robert Douglas, with many other officers of rank and merit; and the French purchased the advantage dear, as, besides three thousand private men, the prince of Turenne, the marquis de Bellefonds, Fermaçon, Tilladet, and many other gallant officers, lost their lives. Luxembourg indeed acknowledged, that the misbehaviour of count Solmes, who refused to support the prince of Wirtemberg, contributed more to his good fortune than all his own endeavours,

*The battle
of Steen-
kirk.*

vours, and that if that officer had discharged his duty, it would have been impossible to escape a total defeat ^b.

*Affairs on
the Rhine,
in Italy and
Spain.*

In Germany Lewis was equally successful as in Flanders. The duke de Lorges surprised, defeated, and took prisoner the duke of Wirtemberg, posted with four thousand horse near Spirebach, and the dauphin took possession a second time of Heidelberg, which the enemy had retaken; afterwards he was forced to act on the defensive^c.

In Italy the king's affairs bore a less favourable aspect. Lewis, indeed, had persuaded the pope to an accommodation; but the terms proposed to the duke of Savoy being rejected, that prince invaded Dauphiné, took Ombreville after a siege of nine days, overwhelmed the whole country with consternation, and then evacuated the province, without any apparent reason. In Catalonia the duke de Noailles performed nothing of consideration, and the Spaniards were equally inactive.

A.D. 1693.

The ensuing campaign in Flanders was a series of successes and victories. The designs formed by king William on Brabant were defeated by the vigilance of Luxemburg. The count de Tilly, posted near the king with a strong detachment, was dislodged, and three squadrons were taken prisoners. Huy was invested by marshal Villeroy; Luxemburg covered the siege, and secured himself by lines of contravallation. William advanced to relieve the place; but the garrison capitulated before his approach. The duke next resolved to attack the allies in their camp at Neerlanden, while they were weakened by the different detachments made from the army. A feint he made deceived William, and orders were immediately given to begin the attack in three different quarters. The French were repulsed three several times; but the duke in person, the prince of Conti, and the count de Marfin, renewing the charge with the flower of the French infantry, penetrated to the heart of the allied camp, where the English infantry and cavalry sustained all their efforts with incredible valour, until the arrival of the marshal de Harcourt with twenty fresh squadrons from Huy. This reinforcement produced a total rout of the allied forces, who were driven in great confusion off the field, with the loss of eight thousand men, sixty pieces of cannon, and such a number of standards and ensigns, as made the prince of

*Battle of
Landen.*

^b Le Siecle, tom. i. p. 221.

^c Hainault, sub. an. 1692.

Conti call Luxemburg the upholsterer of Notre Dame, a church in which those trophies were displayed. Nothing was talked off in France but victories; however, the address of king William prevented their drawing any important advantage from these successes. Luxemburg was forced to remain a fortnight inactive at Worms, while the king, recalling all his detachments, was in a condition to hazard another engagement, and to suspend the designs of the French general, to lay siege to Brussels. At last, being joined by Boufflers towards the end of the campaign, he invested Charleroy, and took his measures with such caution and dexterity, that the enemy could not retard his operations, without attacking his lines to great disadvantage. In a month, the garrison, despairing of relief, capitulated, after having made a glorious defence. Thus ended the campaign in this quarter, during which Lewis reaped nothing but empty glory. He gained three successive victories, but could not penetrate the frontiers of Holland, though he had before, without a battle, conquered half the United Provinces, Flanders, and Franche Comte.

Again the miserable Palatinate was made a scene of desolation by de Lorges, which he ravaged, without sparing, what ought to have been sacred, the tombs of the dead, and places of publick worship. Heidelberg was pillaged and reduced to ashes. De Lorges was twice repulsed by the prince of Baden in attempting to cross the Neckar; but being joined by the dauphin, the French army, amounting to seventy thousand men, crossed the river, found the prince of Baden advantageously posted, repassed the river, put a garrison into Stugard, and finished the campaign.^d

*Palatinate
a third
time laid
waste.*

Lewis's armies in Italy had better fortune. The allies blocked up Casal, and invested Pignerol, which last place the duke of Savoy bombarded. Catinat receiving a reinforcement from the Palatinate, descended into the plains of Marsaglia, and struck such terror into the duke by his approach, that he abandoned the siege with precipitation. On the 4th of October the two armies came to an engagement; and both sides fought with incredible obstinacy and courage. The French were once repulsed; but Catinat rallied, and led them with such impetuosity to the charge, that the enemy's cavalry were put in confusion; and they falling back upon the foot, threw the whole wing into dis-

*Campaign
in Italy.*

^d Hainault, sub. ann. 1693.

order. In vain their second line was brought up to sustain the first; in vain did the duke of Schomberg, at the head of the British forces, exert every duty of a great general and valiant soldier. Nothing could retrieve the day; all was a scene of tumult. Schomberg was wounded in the thigh, and taken prisoner, the allied army defeated, and a fruitless victory gained at an immense expence of blood. Catinat displayed all the virtues of a great commander in this battle; but the obstinate resistance of the enemy so weakened his army, that he was forced to repass the mountains, after reinforcing the garrisons of Casal, Suza, and Pignerol^e.

The intrigues of Lewis had been for some time successful at Rome and Constantinople. The grand vizier, a pensionary of the king's, was now deposed, to appease the clamours of the people: the English and Dutch envoys renewed their endeavours to effect an accommodation betwixt the emperor and grand signior, but all their proposals were rejected. Lewis was labouring, by means of the pope, to detach the duke of Savoy from the confederacy; a variety of means were tried, but as the right method had hitherto escaped both Lewis and the pope, his highness was deaf to all their remonstrances.

*In Catalo-
nia.*

In Catalonia the duke de Noailles invested Roses, which capitulated in a few days. The fortress of Ampurias had the same fate; and the power of Spain was reduced so low, that Noailles might have proceeded to any length with his conquests, had not his army been greatly diminished by large detachments sent to reinforce Catinat.

*Naval
trans-
actions.*

The power of Lewis was now at the height of grandeur. He maintained a war against all the powerful states of Europe, and four vast armies in as many different parts of Europe. His navy was formidable, and generally triumphant over those powers who assumed to themselves the sovereignty of the ocean; and nothing could be more glorious than the naval transactions at this juncture. After the late defeat of Tourville's Squadron, astonishing efforts were made to repair the heavy blow the French marine had sustained. Several large ships were bought and fitted up for the purposes of war. An embargo was laid upon all the shipping of the kingdom, until the king's fleets were manned; and the channel was covered with privateers, to the great detriment of the English commerce. Extraordinary promotions were made in the navy, to ex-

cite a spirit of emulation among the officers and seamen ; and in the month of May a fleet of seventy capital ships, besides bomb-ketches, fireships, frigates, and tenders, sailed to the Mediterranean, under the command of Tourville. Here he discovered Sir George Rooke on the 16th day of June, with a squadron of twenty-three ships of war, conveying a fleet of four hundred English, Dutch, Danish, Swedish, and other merchantmen. Immediately he plied up to the enemy, burnt, took, and sunk three men of war, and about eighty merchant-ships. Tourville was censured for not making the proper use of his superiority ; and he cleared himself by fixing the blame on M. Gabaret. Before his return he bombarded Gibraltar, made an unsuccessful attempt on Cadiz, and destroyed a great number of English and Dutch vessels at Alicant and Malaga. To avenge this disgrace, the English admiral Bembow bombarded St. Maloes for three days successively ; but the town sustained no considerable damage. England was discontented with defeats, and France was miserable by victories. The prodigious armies set on foot drained the country of inhabitants, and produced a famine. All the diligence and providence of the ministry, their care in importing corn, regulating the markets, and relieving the indigent, could not prevent multitudes from perishing with hunger. The kingdom pined under the pressure of want, while every church in Paris rung with thanksgivings ; and Lewis, amidst the grandeur of power, and all the luxury of pomp, was ready to sink under misfortune, poverty, and distress. It is actually affirmed, that, hedged round with victory, and adored as a divinity, he would have purchased peace by extraordinary concessions : but all terms were rejected by the king of England, who had not yet gratified his revenge ^f.

The miserable state of France.

The transactions of this year began with a descent made by the English on the coast of France. Lord Berkeley, who commanded the enemies fleet, entered Carnarel bay, landed a body of forces, but was so warmly received, that he was forced to withdraw with precipitation. Afterwards the English fleet bombarded Dieppe, and reduced the greatest part of the town to ashes. Havre met with the same fate, and the whole coast was overwhelmed with terror and consternation. These attempts were made with a view to draw the king's forces out of Catalonia, where Lewis had resolved to act vigorously, but they pro-

^f Volt. p. 226.

*Campaign
in Catalo-
nia.*

duced no effect. The duke de Noailles passed the Ter in the face of the Spanish army, and attacked the viceroy of Catalonia with such impetuosity, that he was totally defeated. Noailles then undertook the siege of Palamos, while the fleet blocked it up by sea. The garrison made a good defence; but the town being stormed, the inhabitants were put to the sword, without distinction of age, sex, or condition. Giron and Astalicc surrendered, after a short resistance, and measures were taken for investing Barcelona, which were frustrated by the English admiral Ruffel: however, Noailles's success obtained him the viceroyalty of Catalonia &c.

*In Flan-
ders.*

Luxemburgh, who commanded in Flanders under the dauphin, was obliged, on account of his inferiority of troops, to act defensively; but he took his measures with so much caution and address, as raised his reputation above his victories. His conduct here has been called a perfect copy of that fine campaign of Turenne's against Montecuculi: every scheme of the enemies was discovered by dint of penetration, and every attempt baffled by force of activity, and that promptitude in action, for which Luxemburgh was celebrated. That fine march, by which he prevented the king of England's taking possession of Courtray, and establishing winter-quarters in that territory, obtained the thanks of Lewis, in a letter wrote by his own hand, and is mentioned as a master-piece in war by all the writers on the military art. He could not, however, save Huy, which William attacked with so much vigour, that in ten days it capitulated. Upon the Rhine no memorable action was performed: De Lorges gained a slight advantage over the prince of Baden; after which both armies, afraid of each other, retired into winter quarters. A secret negotiation, carrying on between the king and the duke of Saxony, made the war languish in Italy, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the other confederates, and especially of the earl of Galway, who succeeded Schomberg in the command of the English forces. The Dutch took Pondicherry in the East Indies, by which means a heavy blow was sustained by the infant East India company, cherished with so much care by Colbert and his successors.

*Upon the
Rhine.*

The decline of Lewis's glory became every day more apparent. His most able ministers were gone, and Luxemburgh, who till now had kept up the credit of his arms in

A.D. 1695.

*The decline
of Lewis's
glory.*

*Namur
taken by
king Wil-
liam.*

Flanders, was no more. He heard the clamours of his people, which he could not appease; he saw his propositions of peace rejected with disdain. Francis de Montmorency, duke of Luxemburg, died at Versailles in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and Lewis lamented him as the support of his crown, and the only general, except Catinat, in whom he could confide. He was forced to appoint Villeroy, an officer of far inferior reputation, to command in Flanders, while Boufflers led a separate army, but subject to Villeroy's directions. The change of generals became soon apparent. Villeroy was forced to secure himself behind lines, though Luxemburg, with an inferior army, stood in such a manner on the defensive, that he awed and intimidated the enemy. King William ventured to invest Namur, deemed almost impregnable by late additional works, defended by a marshal of France, distinguished by his valour and conduct, with a garrison of fifteen thousand men, and protected by Villeroy's army. On the 11th day of July, the trenches were opened, and the batteries began to play with incredible fury. Several assaults were made; the garrison behaved with great intrepidity, disputed every inch of ground; but the conduct of the assailants, and particularly of the British forces, was altogether unprecedented. On the 4th of August, count Guiscard capitulated for the town, and marshal Boufflers, with the garrison, retired to the citadel; against which twelve batteries, erected under the direction of Coehorn, played by the 13th. The marshal exerted amazing diligence and intrepidity; but the annoyance becoming so dreadful, from an unremitting shower of bombs and ignited balls, that, in despair, he formed a scheme for forcing a passage through the confederate lines. Villeroy, after having taken Dixmude and Deynse, bombarded Brussels; and being reinforced with draughts from all the garrisons, advanced with ninety thousand men to relieve the citadel of Namur. However, upon viewing the position of the allied army, he retired without noise in the night toward the Mahaigne. Boufflers still refused to capitulate; he expected Villeroy would exert his utmost ability for his relief; he sustained another grand assault, and at length capitulated on the 1st of September, upon honourable conditions. As he was marching out of the citadel, he was arrested in the name of his Britannic majesty, by way of reprisal for the garrisons of Dixmude and Deynse, which had been detained by Villeroy contrary to the cartel. While he remained prisoner at Hanover, he was

treated with the utmost respect. At his return to Versailles on his parole, Lewis embraced him in public with the warmest expressions of regard, created him a peer of France, and presented him with a very large sum of money, in acknowledgement of his signal services (A). This was the only transaction that merits notice in the Netherlands; the affairs upon the Rhine deserve still less attention, as both armies employed themselves wholly in ruining and laying waste the country. In Italy the conduct of the duke of Savoy was so equivocal, that all operations seemed suspended, except the siege of Casal, which he undertook, contrary to the advice of the allied generals, and took, it is supposed, with the connivance of Lewis; this being the sacrifice made to the inconstancy of that prince^b.

*Affairs of
Catalonia.*

Vendosme succeeded the duke de Noailles in Catalonia. He made the utmost efforts to maintain the reputation of the king's arms; but was foiled in all his attempts by the vigilance and conduct of Ruffel, the English admiral. Upon the whole, Lewis appeared enfeebled in every quarter. In Flanders he lost ground; upon the Rhine he gained nothing; Italy was a scene of intrigue and negotiations; and Catalonia, of vain attempts and fruitless efforts. The coast of France was insulted by the combined fleets of England and Holland, and the king's settlements in the West Indies lived in perpetual terror from the English squadrons hovering round the islands. Such was the state of France at the close of the year 1695ⁱ.

A.D. 1696.

In the winter the allies destroyed the vast magazine erected for the use of the French army at Givet. Lewis was forced to act defensively this campaign in the Netherlands; but king William was disabled by the want of money to prosecute the advantage. All the wealth and patience of the French nation being now exhausted, Lewis at length perceived he was not invincible; he now, for the first time, entertained a diffidence of his arms, and perceived the emptiness of that adoration paid by his subjects, while their eyes were dazzled by the glare of victory from

^b Hainault, sub. an. Ralph's Hist. Eng. sub. an. supra.

ⁱ Vide

(A) Notwithstanding this public approbation of Boufflers' conduct, the marquis de Feuquieres, that severe critic on the art of war, taxes the marshal with numberless blunders,

committed both in the defence of the town and citadel of Namur. He is equally severe upon his defence of Lifle, which gained Boufflers so much honour. Mem. p. 198.

seeing the real misery of the kingdom. He had recourse to all the arts of intrigue and negociation. He treated privately with the States-general, with Spain, and the duke of Savoy; indeed with this last prince a treaty had been upon the carpet the whole preceding year. Callieres was dispatched to Holland with proposals for settling preliminaries. To give weight to his negociations with Spain, the king pursued active measures in Catalonia. Vendosme attacked the Spaniards in their camp at Astalric; and gained an advantage, but it was not decisive. With the duke of Savoy the long agitated treaty took effect: his highness closed with the offers of Lewis, and signed a peace at Loretto, to which he repaired on a pretended pilgrimage. France, upon the whole, got nothing by this peace. Four millions of livres were given to repair the damages sustained by the duke, with a promise to assist him against all his enemies; and a marriage was set on foot between his daughter, the princess of Piedmont, and the duke of Burgundy. The republic of Venice and the apostolic see guarantied this treaty, from a hearty desire of seeing the Imperialists driven out of Italy. Amadeus wrote to all the courts engaged in the confederacy, except that of London, apologizing for his conduct; and, after having solicited their concurrence, and met with a refusal, publicly owned the treaty. One of the conditions of this peace was, that, if the allies did not, at the expiration of a certain time, evacuate the duke's dominions, he should join the king to compel them by force of arms. A neutrality was offered to the confederates; but they rejecting it with disdain, the contracting parties proposed to attack the Milanese. The duke, in quality of the king's generalissimo, entered that duchy, and laid siege to Valence. This he prosecuted for thirteen days with uncommon vigour, and would have carried the city, had not Spain put a stop to his operations, by accepting the neutrality for Italy. A suspension of arms ensued, and the confederate troops returned to their respective countries. We need only mention, that the coast of France was likewise this year insulted, and kept in continual alarm, by Berkeley, the English admiral. Several places were bombarded; but, as no extraordinary damage was sustained, these exploits only shewed, that England had again resumed her ancient naval superiority. We shall conclude the occurrences of this year with observing, that Europe, at the close of a long war, was nearly again embroiled by the death of the brave John Sobieski, king of Poland, for whose crown the prince

Lewis concludes a peace with the duke of Savoy.

Duke of Savoy, in conjunction with France, reduces Valentia.

of Conti was a competitor. However, as this transaction will more properly fall under the occurrences of the ensuing year, we shall defer it until we have finished the negotiations set on foot for a general peace^k.

A.D. 1697.

Negotiations of peace at Ryfwick.

Callieres, the French ambassador, had conducted his negotiations with the States with so much address, that, before king William's arrival at the Hague, preliminaries were adjusted, and the Swedish minister's mediation accepted. After various altercations, it was agreed by all parties, that a congress should sit at Newbourg House, a palace belonging to king William, near Ryfwick. Lewis, besides the fatigues of a tedious ruinous war, was actuated by other motives for desiring peace. He had an eye to the succession of the Spanish monarchy; but his aim could not be accomplished while the confederacy subsisted. The emperor had the same designs, and therefore laboured to continue the alliance. The English wished to see the end of a burdensome fruitless war, and king William only required that Lewis should acknowledge his title. As to the States, they wanted only to secure to themselves a sufficient barrier. Lewis consented that the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen should be the basis of the present negotiation; that restitution should be made of Lorraine, and William acknowledged king of Great Britain, without reserve; that Strasburg should be delivered to the emperor, and Luxemburg, Charleroy, Mons, and all his conquests in Catalonia, to the king of Spain; that the courts erected at Mentz and Brisac should be abolished; that Fort Lewis, Trierbach, Montroyal, and other places, in fortifying which, Vauban had exhausted his great talents, should be demolished; in a word, Lewis received terms as if he had been vanquished, and all that air of authority and despotism which he assumed at Nimeguen, was vanished at Ryfwick^l.

Lewis makes farther efforts by arms, and is successful.

While the negotiations were on the carpet, he resolved to make his last efforts in Catalonia and the Netherlands, in hopes of obtaining better conditions. Catinat, Villeroy, and Boufflers, were in the field with a numerous army before the confederates had assembled, and opened the campaign with the siege of Ath. The town surrendered in a few days, and William was forced to content himself with protecting Brussels. The duke of Vendosme gained a more considerable and glorious advantage in Catalonia. He invested Barcelona, and carried on his works

^k Hainault, sub an. 1696.

^l Le Siecle, p. 236.

with such impetuosity, that though the prince of Hesse Darmstadt, with ten thousand men, made a gallant defence, he was obliged to accept a capitulation. The court of Madrid had sent an express order to this purpose to prevent the ruin of the city, upon receiving advice that the army under the viceroy, intended for the relief of Barcelona, was defeated. Spain now became eager for peace, and her impatience was more inflamed by the success of Pontis, the king's admiral in America. This officer had taken Carthagena, pillaged the town, razed the fortifications, and arrived safe in France with a booty of eight millions of crowns^m.

The spirits of the French nation were highly elated by these successes, and Lewis would probably have again given law to the confederates, had he been as fortunate in Poland as in Flanders, Catalonia, and America. The popular qualities of the prince of Conti, and the insinuating address of the elegant Polignac, afterwards cardinal of that name, obtained him a majority in the Polish diet. *The prince of Conti's pretensions to the crown of Poland.* The prince was elected king of Poland, and proclaimed by the primate of the kingdom; but he was supported only by his own talents and reputation. On the contrary, Augustus, elector of Saxony, was proclaimed two hours after by his party, assisted by large resources of money, and numerous forces. The other competitors united their interests with his; he was espoused by the late king's son, and had gained over many of the prince of Conti's friends by a generous distribution of money. Lewis persisted in maintaining the pretensions of Conti, and equipped a fleet at Dunkirk to convey him to Dantzic; but the magistrates of that city refusing to admit his troops, he was forced to return to France, highly chagrined and disappointedⁿ.

His imperial majesty, who had taken part with the elector of Saxony, balanced the advantage gained in Poland against the king's late successes. He receded nothing from his first demands, and insisted that France should restore all her acquisitions from the empire since the peace of Munster. Spain followed the example, and demanded the confirmation or renewal of the treaties of the Pyrenees and Nimeguen, and called upon the mediator and Dutch to support her pretensions. While this affair was debating, the duke of Portland and Marshal Boufflers held five successive conferences in sight of both armies, and at last

^m Hainault, an. 1697.

ⁿ Id. Ibid.

*The peace
of Ryf-
wick.*

signed a paper, whereby the peace between England and France was adjusted. This agreement alarmed the confederates, and obliged all the allies, except the emperor, to sign the proposals presented by the French plenipotentiaries. The Imperial ambassadors exclaimed against this transaction as perfidious, and protested against it as unjust to their master; but in the end, they were forced to accede. Accordingly a treaty was signed between the emperor and Lewis; whereby the king agreed to restore Treves, the Palatinate, and Lorrain, to their respective owners; to confirm Francis Lewis Palatine in the electorate of Cologne; to refer the claim of the dukes of Orleans on the Palatinate to arbitration; to cede the county of Spanheim to the king of Sweden; in a word, to give up some of the chief points for which the war was undertaken, though they were different from what the emperor required. This treaty was signed on the 30th day of October °.

The treaty with England imported, that Lewis should, on no account, dispute William's pretensions to the crown of Great Britain, or in any shape assist the claim of James II. his competitor, and father-in-law. By the treaty with Spain, the king made restitution of all his conquests in Catalonia, of Luxemburg, Charleroy, Mons, and all his acquisitions in the provinces of Luxemburg, Brabant, Flanders, and Hainault. With respect to the States-general, a general armistice, a perpetual amity, a reciprocal renunciation of all pretensions on each other, and a mutual restitution of all acquisitions, took place. The Dutch had besides concluded a treaty of commerce with France, which was immediately put in execution. Such was the issue of a long and bloody war, so little to the credit of Lewis, and so destructive to France. Her blood, her treasure, were exhausted, her lands left uncultivated, her commerce ruined, domestic industry lost, her glory faded, her arms in disgrace, and that spirit of enterprize, which had spurred her sons to the boldest undertakings, extinguished. The ministers, who had signed the peace, never dared appear at court, or at Paris; they were loaded with reproach and ridicule, as if they had not received orders from the sovereign.

• Auct. ut supra.

S E C T. XVIII.

Containing the various Negotiations about the Succession to the Spanish Monarchy; the Intrigues at Madrid; the Origin of the War that ensued, and the Operations of the Campaign.

FRANCE no sooner obtained a short respite from war than it was probable the disputes about the Spanish succession would again involve her in difficulties, and embroil all Europe. The pretensions which the two most ambitious and powerful families in Christendom formed to that crown, after the decease of the reigning prince, could not, it was apprehended, be adjusted by negotiation. The sword alone must untie those knots which had puzzled the civilians. Lewis and Leopold were both grand-children of Philip III. of Spain; both had married daughters of Philip IV. Thus the dauphin and Joseph king of the Romans, the fruits of those marriages, were doubly allied in the same degree to the catholic king. The right of inheritance was undoubtedly in the house of Bourbon. Queen Maria Theresa, the eldest daughter of Philip IV. was mother to the dauphin; but this princess was excluded from the succession, as well by her own renunciation at her marriage with Lewis XIV. as by the testamentary disposition of her father. In consequence of this exclusion, the immediate right was vested in the second daughter, Margaret, the fruits of a second marriage, and the wife of the emperor Leopold. From this marriage issued an only daughter, who was married to the elector of Bavaria; so that this princess, and after her the electoral prince her son, were the legitimate heirs to the whole Spanish monarchy, in default of male issue by Charles II. the present sovereign, had the testament of Philip IV. been valid: but the emperor, who wanted to preserve the Spanish monarchy entire in his own family, and procure the crown for his second son the archduke, as great-grandson of Philip III, disputed the pretended right of his daughter the electress, founded upon the will of her grandfather Philip, and the renunciation of her aunt Maria Theresa.

The treaty of partition signed by the kings of France and England, and the States-general.

It was generally believed, that the intrigues of Lewis at the Spanish court had obtained from the sickly king Charles II. a will in favour of the dauphin the year before his death; but this opinion is expressly contradicted by the marquis

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de Torcy; and indeed the whole conduct of the marquis de Harcourt, the French ambassador at Madrid, demonstrates, how badly this suggestion was founded. Lewis was well apprised of the influence the queen of Spain, sister to the empress, had over the mind of the king her husband. He knew that the bulk of the Spanish nation favoured the claim of the Bourbon family; but he was sensible, that the court in general was in the emperor's interest, and that the king was hedged round with the creatures of the court of Vienna. Emasculated in mind and body, equally infirm in his person and understanding, that prince had no will of his own. Every thing was dictated by the queen, her minion the admiral, and count Harrache, the Imperial ambassador. He scarce gave expression to one passion, except that he always shewed an utter aversion to the appointing a successor: this subject always threw him into fits of rage or of melancholy; it was therefore with the greatest delicacy it was mentioned; and count Harrache incurred his hatred, by once pressing him to invite the archduke into Spain. Lewis was perfectly aware, that supporting his family in their claims to the succession of the whole Spanish monarchy would be opposed by all the powers in Europe. He was sensible of the difficulty of preserving the several dominions of that monarchy from being dismembered. Exhausted of money, and destitute of fleets and armies, Spain alone could not maintain those dominions: she was a lifeless body, which France must animate and support at her own expence, while the French dominions, already drained and exhausted, would be wholly emaciated by infusing life into, and cherishing this inert carcase. Necessity probably, and not the desire of maintaining the repose of Europe, dictated the scheme of a partition of the Spanish monarchy, which indeed was not a new project; for something of this nature had been devised as early as the year 1668, in case king Charles had died without issue. The public imagined, that this subject formed part of the agreement between marshal Boufflers and the earl of Portland at the congress of Ryswick; but the public were mistaken. The privileges of the city of Orange, and the security demanded by William, with respect to his unfortunate father-in-law, were the points deliberated in all the meetings of these two ministers^a.

^a Negociat. Marq. De Torcy, pass. *Le Siècle*, p. 241, & seq.

Lewis, taking all circumstances into consideration, determined, as the most adviseable measure, to propose a partition of the Spanish monarchy to king William, nearly on the same plan as that concluded with the emperor Leopold in the year 1688. It was mentioned to the earl of Portland, then the English minister at Versailles; and in the month of March, 1698, count Tallard set out for London with similar proposals. For the whole summer the treaty was in agitation, and at length concluded at the Hague, and signed by the plenipotentiaries of France, Great Britain, and the States-general. Agreeable to this partition, Naples and Sicily, the sea-ports of the Tuscan coast, the marquisate of Final, and the province of Guipuscoa, were assigned to the dauphin. To the electoral prince of Bavaria were adjudged the kingdom of Spain, the empire of the Indies, and the sovereignty of the Netherlands, while the dukedom of Milan formed the portion of the archduke, second son of the emperor. The treaty guarded against the death of the electoral prince; and, in case of this event, substituted the elector his father. The same was done with respect to the archduke, at whose death the duchy of Milan should be sequestered, and governed by the prince of Vaudemont. This must be acknowledged one of the most flagrant schemes of encroachment that tyranny ever planned. Three powerful states, engaged in a project for dismembering a kingdom, in despite of the sovereign and people, and in direct violation of every law human or divine.

The treaty was to have been communicated to the emperor and elector of Bavaria, but kept a profound secret from the court of Madrid. However, it was impossible to conceal a transaction to which so many nations were privy, and it is probable that the emperor, who was displeased with the partition, gave notice of it to the court of Madrid. Torcy says, that the first account reached the Spanish ministry by the way of Holland. The whole court took fire at the indignity; an extraordinary council was immediately assembled, and the result was the king's making a will, by which the electoral prince of Bavaria was instituted sole heir to the Spanish monarchy. Lewis and William complained at the court of Madrid of the injustice done to the other competitors; and fresh disputes were rising, when the electoral prince died suddenly at Brussels, on the 9th of January, 1699, not without violent suspicions of treachery.^b As this event changed the

Death of the electoral prince of Bavaria, left sole heir of the Spanish monarchy.

^b Torcy, p. 54.

whole face of affairs, Lewis dispatched count Tollard a second time to the court of London, with propositions for a new convention. The court of Spain imagined, that such a measure would ensue : the people were exasperated at the insolence of three foreign powers, who assumed the right of parcelling out their dominions ; their pride was alarmed at this second attempt to dismember their monarchy ; and the nobility, fired at the thoughts of losing the lucrative governments. But the king's life was in imminent danger, the ministry weak and divided, the grantees were factious, and the whole nation discontented. They were disgusted with the house of Austria by the insolent carriage, the rapacity, of queen Mariana, and the contempt she shewed for the Spanish nation. How to avoid the impending blow that threatened the dissolution of the monarchy, was a task surrounded with a thousand difficulties. Should a disposition in favour of the archduke take place, they foresaw Spain would be oppressed by German favourites, the nobility deprived of all offices of profit and honour, and a bloody war, supported by France, England, and Holland, entailed upon the succession. On the contrary, by preferring the claim of the house of Bourbon, they lost the revenge they owed to Lewis for having projected the partition-treaty ; at the same time Spain must become a province of France, and they must incur the resentment of the emperor, the king of Great Britain, and the States-general, who would never tamely submit to the union of the two crowns^c.

The mean while the marquis de Harcourt conducted himself with so much address, that he gained over to the interest of his master, the cardinal Portocarrero, the marquis de Monteney, with many other persons of influence and distinction. Lewis, though he had projected the second treaty of partition, kept aloof, in order to observe the change which the civil commotions at Madrid might produce. Portocarrero, and the French faction, perceiving the sentiments of the people so averse to the house of Austria, employed their emissaries to propagate a notion, that Lewis alone was in a condition to preserve the Spanish monarchy entire ; that the house of Austria was feeble and exhausted ; and that any prince of that line must owe his support to detestable heretics. The cardinal used spiritual weapons, and tampered with the weakness of his sovereign. He advised him to consult the holy see on the

^c Siccle, p. 244.

important business of appointing a successor, knowing well that the pontiff was a creature of Lewis. The catholic king obeyed the primate; a college of cardinals was assembled by Innocent XII. and the renunciation of Maria Theresa declared void, as founded upon compulsion, contrary to the laws of God and man, and in direct violation of the principles of the Spanish monarchy. His holiness pressed the king to make a new will, in favour of a grandson of the French monarch: he made it a case of conscience, and said, that the repose of Christendom depended on his resolution. When the king was in extremity, Portocarrero touched this string with great address. Charles believed the salvation of his soul depended on this transaction; he yielded, framed a will, appointing the duke of Anjou sole heir to all his dominions, and soon after expired. Lewis pretended ignorance of the means used to bring his catholic majesty to this determination. All this time his ambassador count Tallard was negotiating with William and the States-general about a second convention; but the uncertainty of the emperor's resolution had served as a pretext to retard the execution of the treaty. At last, hearing it was signed, most of the powers in Europe were displeased with the new partition-treaty; many of them were willing to side with the emperor to dispute it; and this was all they could do, now that France was strengthened by the whole power of the Spanish monarchy, and Lewis's cause rendered popular, by an absolute testament of the late king of Spain in favour of his grandson^d.

A second partition-treaty signed.

When the king's death and last will were notified to the court of Versailles, Lewis seemed to hesitate between his inclination and engagements to his allies. The ministry were divided: the dauphin, madam de Maintenon, and certain persons of the ministry, persuaded the king to accept the will; a greater number declared for the treaty of partition. Lewis affected a kind of neutrality; but the dauphin spoke with such an air of resolution, and advanced such arguments as gained the whole ministry, and convinced Lewis. As soon as the will was accepted, Lewis clapped the duke of Anjou on the shoulder, and told him, in the presence of the marquis de Rios, "Sir, the king of Spain has made you a king; the grandees demand you; the people wish for you; and I give my consent. Remember, you are a prince of France. Love your people,

Duke of Anjou left sole heir to the Spanish dominions by the will of Charles II.

^d Torcy, p. 60. Hainault, sub an. 1700.

*He sets out
for Spain.*

gain their affection by the lenity of your government, and render yourself worthy of the throne you are going to ascend." The young monarch was congratulated on his elevation, and he set out on the 4th day of December for his new dominions.

*Lewis apologizes for
his breach
of the partition
treaty.*

It was now Lewis's chief care to apologize for this measure to his allies, and excuse his breach of an engagement so lately contracted. This business was left to the marquis de Torcy, who plied the earl of Manchester, the English minister at Versailles, with all the arguments that eloquence, artifice, and refinement in politics could suggest. He concluded with affirming, that the partition-treaty would have been more agreeable to his master than the will, which the king accepted purely from a desire of preserving the peace of Europe. The States-general, who had presented a memorial to Lewis, expressing their astonishment at his breach of the treaty, were answered with the same apologies used to the earl of Manchester. He replied to their memorial, and dispersed his answer through all the courts in Europe; declaring, that what he chiefly considered was the ultimate intention of the treaty, the preservation of the repose of Europe; and that, true to this principle, he departed only from the words, the better to adhere to the spirit of the treaty.

It was now king William's turn to dissemble: he artfully concealed his resentment, and behaved with such apparent indifference, that it was universally imagined he had been privy to the transaction. His aim was to sound how the other powers of Europe stood affected before he unbosomed himself. Some time after his envoy was empowered to treat with the French and Spanish ambassadors about maintaining the tranquility of Europe, for which he demanded security, insisting that the French troops should evacuate the Spanish Netherlands; that the cities of Ostend and Newport should be put into the hands of his Britannic majesty; that the subjects of Great Britain should retain all the privileges, rights, and immunities, they ever enjoyed in their commerce with Spain; and the same as France or any other state possessed; that all treaties between England and Spain be renewed; that no part of the Spanish dominions should ever, upon any account, be transferred to France; and that a treaty, formed on these demands, should be guaranteed by the powers in friendship with the contracting parties. The States-general demanded the same conditions, and all the strong fortresses of the Netherlands as cautionary towns. Lewis's ambaf-
fador

fador was so astonished at the propofals, that he said they could not have been more exorbitant, had his master lost four fucceffive battles. The king was filled with indignation at the insolent ftain of these demands; he forefaw the war would be renewed, and made the fuitable preparations. He formed a treaty with the king of Portugal, the dukes of Savoy and Mantua, the latter of whom received a French garrison into his capital. In Germany he contracted an alliance with the dukes of Wolfembutte and Saxe Gotha, and the bishop of Munster. The elector of Saxony likewise was on the point of acceding to the same alliance, when the fituation of affairs obliged him to keep aloof. The elector of Bavaria, at that time governor of the Netherlands, declared his resolution to fupport the duke of Anjou. Reasonable concessions were made to secure so powerful an ally, and the elector was put into so good humour, that he prevailed with his brother the elector of Cologne to embrace the same engagements. They were both the uncles of Philip V. they resolved to maintain the rights of their nephew, and they steadily adhered to his cause after the loss of their estates and dignities ^f.

Lewis refuses the exorbitant demands of the confederates.

In the mean time the emperor was exerting every expedient to hasten the measures of the king of Great Britain and the States-general. He was determined to support the archduke; but, force having gained several princes of the empire, he was too weak alone to maintain a war against the powerful united monarchies. King William had the same intentions as the emperor, but he was thwarted by the Tory party, and indeed the general aversion of the English nation to accumulate their debts, and enter upon a fresh quarrel. He received a letter from the new king of Spain, notifying his accession to that throne, and expressing his desire of cultivating the friendship of the king and crown of England. William was at this time in treaty with the emperor and States-general; but the new ministry importuned him so strongly, not only to return a civil answer, but to acknowledge Philip, that he was obliged to comply. This was an alarming incident to the emperor, who had ordered his army to march into Italy, to take possession of the duchy of Milan. He renewed his instances to the States-general, and they so powerfully solicited the king and parliament of Great Britain, that the grand alliance took place, and a treaty was signed at the Hague, on the 7th of September, between

A.D. 1701

^f Smollett, tom. iv. b. 8.

the ministers of the emperor, the king of England, and the States-general. The objects proposed by the confederates were to procure the emperor satisfaction in the Spanish succession, and sufficient security for the dominions, navigation, and commerce of the allies; indeed, to restrain the power of Lewis, effect a partition of the Spanish monarchy, or wrest the whole out of the hands of the Bourbon family.

The Imperial forces march to Italy.

Battle of Chiari.

Lewis, apprised of the march of the Imperial forces, ordered a powerful army to move towards Italy. The prince Vaudemont, governor of Milan, obeyed the last will of Charles II. and his example was followed by all the other governors of the several dominions that compose the Spanish monarchy. The duke of Savoy was appointed generalissimo of the French forces, and, had his sincerity been equal to his valour, France and Spain would have had reason to promise themselves success in Italy. However, before the arrival of this army, prince Eugene, the Imperial general, had entered Italy by the Venetian territories, forced the strong post of Carpi, defended by M. Saint Fremont, reduced the whole country between the Adige and the Adda, and obliged Catinat to retire behind the Oglio, the better to cover the Milanese. Catinat acknowledged the ability of prince Eugene; but, suspecting some secret cause of the misfortunes of the campaign, he requested to be recalled: the king granted his request. M. Villeroy was sent to relieve him; but before his departure from the army, the unfortunate battle of Chiari was fought on the 1st of September. Nothing could be more extraordinary than the conduct of the duke of Savoy in this action. He fought with the utmost bravery, exposed his person to the most imminent danger, and seemed to be actuated by a spirit of resentment against that very enemy with whom he had a secret correspondence. It was by his persuasion, that the enemy were attacked in their intrenched camp, and to his obstinacy was owing the general loss sustained, which exceeded five thousand men. To the coldness and backwardness of the duke of Savoy the French writers attribute all the future success of the Imperial general during the campaign, the loss of all the Mantuan territories, the towns on the Oglio, and the enterprize on Cremona, in which M. Villeroy was made prisoner. Still, however, Lewis entertained no suspicion of his ally. He attributed the whole to the activity and military genius of prince Eu-

gene, and therefore sent the duke of Vendosme, a general of the highest reputation, to oppose him. He pressed the duke of Savoy effectually to perform his engagements, and soon discovered the reality of Catinat's suspicions^b.

William was the avowed enemy of Lewis: he passed over to Holland to adjust the operations of the campaign, and the proportion of troops which each of the allies was to supply. Had all the confederates performed their engagements, the alliance would even have proved too powerful for France, exhausted by the late war, and now rather incumbered than reinforced by the inanimate weight of the Spanish monarchy; but England alone acted up to the spirit of the confederacy, and, instead of an auxiliary, became the principal in the quarrel. Before the time for action arrived, William was no more; but queen Anne, who succeeded to the crown, resolved, by the advice of her people, to pursue the measures he had planned. The transports, which the court of France could hardly restrain when the news of king William's death arrived, proved what a dangerous enemy he was esteemed. The Parisians made public rejoicings at the event; and such indecent raptures did it produce in France, that cardinal Grimani complained of them to the pope, as an insult on his master the emperor, connected to William by the ties of friendship and alliance. Lewis set all engines to work to detach the Dutch from the confederacy; but the earl of Marlborough, ambassador extraordinary from the new queen of England, kept their councils steady, animated them to a full exertion of their power, concerted the plan of operations, and agreed with the Imperial and Dutch ministers, that war should be declared against France, on the same day at Vienna, London, and the Hagueⁱ.

The triple alliance formed.

Lewis was now upon the eve of a war, the most important of his life, without councils to direct, or generals to execute the operations. Chamillard, the creature of M. Maintenon, was at the head of the administration, with no other talent than honesty, perhaps not the most essential to a minister. Unfortunately, he thought himself able to sustain the whole weight of that vast government, which had often proved too heavy for the united shoulders of the great Colbert and Louvois. Lewis was now old; but he imagined that his experience would enable him to direct his ministers and generals. The latter were tied down like ambassadors to certain instructions, from which they

State of France.

^b Siecle, tom. i. p. 255.

ⁱ Idem. ibid.

were not to deviate. The operations of the field were planned by Lewis and his minister, in the cabinet of madame de Maintenon. The spirit of enterprize was extinguished, and that promptitude in seizing opportunities, that forms the military art, lost, while couriers were detached to obtain a latitude in the orders. Besides, Chamillard had the disposal of all military preferments: regiments were given to boys, which used to be the reward of long distinguished services: discipline, so strictly maintained by Louvois, relaxed under Chamillard: all the corps were incomplete, and Lewis had frequently no more than the name and expence of large armies. Such was the situation of France when war was declared against her monarch by the formidable confederacy we have mentioned, when the duke of Savoy dropt off from his alliance, and the whole kingdom of Portugal, joined with his enemies, and declared for the archduke; when even many parts of the Spanish dominions began to express a dislike to the government of the house of Bourbon, and an open revolt had appeared in the kingdom of Naples. Lewis received the first checks in Italy from the great abilities of prince Eugene, the powerful combination raised out of jealousy against Catinat, and the desertion of the duke of Savoy. His armies in Germany had received little repulses; he had lost some towns, and several of his lesser allies were crushed before they could perform any service; but it was not before England and Holland exerted their vigour, that he perceived the sad reverse of fortune which he had to experience^k.

A.D. 1702.

*Campaign
in the Ne-
therlands.*

In the month of July, the earl of Marlborough took the command of the confederate army in Flanders. He had learned the art of war from Turenne, whose discernment soon discovered in him all the qualities of a hero; that he was cool, patient, penetrating, and persevering; that his genius was vast, and his application indefatigable. Lewis, to oppose this general, sent the duke of Burgundy, his grandson, and marshal Boufflers, in whose valour and experience he reposed great confidence. The judicious marches and encampments of the British general obliged the French every-where to retire. In the space of a month all Spanish Guelderland was evacuated, several towns were taken, and the duke of Burgundy, to save his reputation, was forced to return to Versailles. After Venlo, Ruremonde, and other places, had surrendered,

^k Siecle, *ibid.* & seq.

Boufflers, confounded at the rapidity of Marlborough's conquests, determined to cover Liege; but, on the approach of the allied army, he retired to Brabant, leaving the earl to pursue his success. In a word, Liege was taken, the French were driven back to their own dominions, Marlborough's character was established, and Boufflers sunk in the esteem of his master, who judged of merit by success, and of actions by the event¹.

In Germany, the allies took Keyserfwaert in the month of June; but this loss was balanced by the elector of Bavaria's seizing upon Ulm. Lewis had two armies on the Rhine, commanded by the marquis de Villars and count de Guiscard. After reducing Newburgh, they were frustrated in a design of surrounding prince Lewis of Baden, who made a masterly retreat. Villars, however, crossed the Rhine, and attacked him at Friedlingen. The conflict was obstinate; victory had already declared for the king; but an unaccountable panic seized the French troops, which had almost produced a defeat. The intrepidity of Villars alone retrieved the day, inspired the forces with fresh courage, and secured that victory which he had already gained by his conduct. This event obtained him the dignity of marshal, and so won the confidence of his master, that he resolved to oppose him in Flanders to the earl of Marlborough. To the victory of Friedlingen it was owing, that the allied army was obliged to finish the campaign after the reduction of a few inconsiderable places, and that the French were in a capacity to balance their losses by the conquest of Triers and Traerbach.

The intrigues of the French court at Vienna weaned the attention of the imperial court entirely from the affairs of Italy. Prince Eugene was neglected, and forced to act defensively. Indeed his forces were so much reduced, that it required the whole strength of his genius to keep any footing in the country he had over-run the preceding year. It was supposed, on good authority, that count Mansfield, president of the council of war at Vienna, was bribed to withhold supplies from prince Eugene; and it is certain, that the grand vizier fell a sacrifice to the inclination he expressed of obliging the French king, by renewing the war in Germany. Eugene had nearly triumphed over all difficulties; but a fine scheme he had formed to surprise the French at Luzzara was disconcerted by mere accident. Even the vigilant, cautious Vendosme had almost

¹ Hainault sub an. Torcy, p. 169.

been caught napping, and the new king of Spain defeated on his first arrival in Italy. After all, the battle was fought with such equal fortune, that both sides claimed the victory, though indeed the consequences seemed to determine it in favour of the French general. Luzzara and Guastalla surrendered to the catholic king, and Philip, proud of this conquest, returned triumphant to Spain ^m.

*Naval
transac-
tions.*

The transactions at sea were no way favourable to the most Christian king. After the attempt on Cadiz had miscarried, sir George Rooke, the English admiral, entered the harbour of Vigo, forced the strong booms and chains laid across the entrance, defeated Chateau Renaud, drove eight ships of war on shore, took ten ships of the line and eleven rich galleons, and set sail for England with a booty of four millions of pieces of eight, having destroyed near double that sum in six galleons that perished. In the West Indies, a fifty-gun ship was drove ashore by the brave English admiral Bembow, and destroyed. M. Du Cassé likewise narrowly escaped being defeated: with ten sail of the line he engaged the English admiral with an equal number of ships. The fight was maintained for the whole day by Bembow, who renewed it next morning, though deserted by almost all his captains; but his force was too small; he returned to Jamaica with the loss of a leg, granted a commission for trying several of his officers, had two shot for cowardice, and received this honourable testimony of his valour from Du Cassé: "Sir, I had little hope on Monday last, but to have supped in your cabin; but it pleased God to order it otherwise. I am thankful for it. As for those cowardly captains, who deserted you, hang them up; for by God they deserve it."

A D 1703.

*Campaign
on the
Rhine.*

The confederates had made considerable progress in a treaty with the king of Portugal, and the emperor was trying many expedients to detach the elector of Bavaria from the king's alliance. Lewis regarded that prince as the most faithful and able of his allies, and took vigorous measures to support him. The dilatory measures of the Imperial court enabled him to defeat all their projects for shaking the elector's fidelity. It was resolved to continue Villars upon the Rhine, and powerfully to reinforce the elector; by which means the emperor would be under the necessity of detaining the troops destined to join the confederates in Flanders. Villars took the fortress of Kehl: the elector, dividing the Imperialists by a feint, defeated

^m Volt. tom. i. p. 265.

ⁿ Smoll. Hist. Eng. vol. iv. sec. 25.

general Schilk near Passau, attacked the Saxon troops that guarded the artillery with such impetuosity, as entirely routed and dispersed them, reduced Newburgh on the Inn, and obtained a complete victory over another body of Imperialists, near Burgenfeldt; in which action the young prince of Brandenburg Anspach was killed. Pursuing his good fortune, he advanced to Ratibon, where the diet was sitting, took possession of the city, joined M. de Villars, who had penetrated the Black Forest at Offingen. Villars was unsuccessful in his attempt to force the Imperial lines at Stollhoffen; but, after his junction with the troops of Bavaria, he obtained a victory over count Stürm, who commanded a body of twenty thousand Imperialists at Donawert^e. In the mean time the duke of Burgundy, assisted by count Tallard, laid siege to Old Brisac, which, after a brave defence, surrendered in fourteen days. The army was now left to the sole command of Tallard, who had express orders to invest Landau. His lines were not quite finished, when he received advice that the prince of Hesse resolved to attack him, and raise the siege. Tallard suddenly quitting his lines, fell unexpectedly on the prince near Spirebach, and obliged him, after incredible efforts, and the noblest proofs of courage, to yield the victory, and relinquish his design, with the loss of three thousand men left upon the field of battle. In this action Lewis lost the brave Pracontal, one of his best officers; but the siege was resumed, and Landau surrendered by capitulation. Some retribution was made by the enemy; but the elector of Bavaria concluded the campaign with the reduction of Augsburg^p.

*Battle of
Spirebach.*

All these advantages were more than counterbalanced by the repeated losses and disgraces on the Lower Rhine. Villeroy and Boufflers took possession of Tongeren, with design to relieve Bonne, besieged by the duke of Marlborough. This strong city surrendered within sight of the French generals, who retreated with precipitation at Marlborough's approach, blew up the works of Tongeren, took shelter behind their lines, and were forced by generals Coehorn and Spaar in two different places. Boufflers, however, gained some advantage over Opdam, in the neighbourhood of Antwerp. Te Deum was sung at Paris, but the victory remained so doubtful, that Boufflers was soon after disgraced by Lewis, and Opdam deprived of his

*Campaign
on the
Lower
Rhine.*

^p Le Seicle, p. 276. Hainault, an. 1703. ^p Tindal's Contin. p. 622. vol. i.

command by the States-general. Villeroy gave some intimations that he would wait for the confederate army in his camp at St. Job ; but on the approach of the duke of Marlborough, he set fire to his camp, and retired within his lines with precipitation. In consequence of this retreat, Huy, Limburgh, and Gueldres, were successively besieged and taken by the confederates.

Italy afforded a happier prospect : there the ill management of the court of Vienna obliged the Imperialists to act defensively. The king's troops, after reducing the fortresses of Barfillo, took possession of the duke of Modena's territories ; and Vendosme having discovered a secret treaty between the emperor and the duke of Savoy, disarmed all the forces of the latter. Exasperated at this insult, the duke put the French ambassador under arrest ; upon which Lewis sent him a menacing letter, giving him to understand, that as neither religion, honour, interest, or the most solemn obligations, had been able to influence his conduct, the duke of Vendosme would acquaint him with certain propositions, to which he must, in the space of twenty-four hours, put in his definitive answer. This peremptory letter widened the breach : the duke concluded a treaty with the court of Vienna, acknowledged the archduke Charles king of Spain, and sent envoys to England and Holland, intimating his inclinations of acceding to the confederacy. Soon after the duke was joined by a body of Imperial horse under Visconti, and afterwards by count Staremberg with fifteen thousand men, who effected this junction in despite of all the difficulties consequent on a march through an enemy's country, secured by an officer of Vendosme's ability.

*Lewis is
successful
in Italy.*

*The king
of Portugal
declares
for the
confederates.*

The year concluded with the open declaration of a new enemy to Lewis. The Portuguese ministry, reflecting on the danger that would result to the kingdom from the union of the crowns of Spain and France, over-awed by the power of the combined fleets, which hovered upon their coasts, and flattered by the splendour of a match between the infanta and the archduke Charles, the competitor for the Spanish monarchy, embraced the confederacy, signed a treaty with the emperor, the queen of Great Britain, and the States-general. Here it was stipulated, that king Charles should be conveyed by the combined fleet into Portugal ; that he should be attended by twelve thousand land forces, with a strong supply of money, arms, and ammunition ; and that he should, immediately on his landing, be joined by an army of twenty-eight thousand

thousand Portuguese. Accordingly the emperor declared his son, the archduke, king of Spain; and that prince, after a conference with the duke of Marlborough, at Dusseldorp, set out for England, from whence he was to be conveyed to Portugal. On his arrival at Lisbon, he found that court overwhelmed with sorrow for the death of the infanta, the intended spouse of king Charles.

Lewis balanced the loss of his Portuguese majesty's alliance with the lucky incident of the revolt in Hungary, artfully fomented by the court of Versailles, and now grown to such a pitch, as to endanger the safety of the house of Austria. Had the Hungarian malecontents acted concert with the elector of Bavaria, Vienna must have been infallibly lost, and the emperor driven out of his hereditary dominions. The elector was master of all the places on the Danube as far as Passau. Thirty thousand French, under count Marfin, who succeeded Villars, sent to quell the rebellious Cevennois, menaced the Imperial capital on the other side the Danube. Ragotzki, at the head of the Hungarians, supported by Lewis and the grand-seignior, was fighting for liberty, and threatening the invasion of Austria. In a word, the emperor's affairs were on the brink of destruction, when the duke of Marlborough formed that bold military stroke, which will be the admiration of all ages, of marching to the relief of the empire with an army of no more than ten thousand British infantry, and twenty-three squadrons⁹. While Villeroy was preparing to frustrate the design of the confederates to penetrate by the Moselle into France, Marlborough was hastening, by forced marches, to the heart of the empire, and had actually fought the battle of Schellenberg, before the French general was apprised of his intentions. The expedition with which he arrived before the elector of Bavaria's lines at Donawert, the impetuosity with which he forced those lines, and the advantage he drew from his victory, are scarce credible. He quitted Maestricht on the 8th of May, and had restored the security of the empire by the 2d day of June, after overthrowing the combined armies of France and Bavaria, taking the town of Donawert, and driving the elector of Bavaria to seek shelter under the cannon of Augsburg. Pity it is that such heroic actions should be stained with brutal inhumanity, and the fine electorate of Bavaria reduced to a desert, out of resentment for the noble spirit that prince had

A D. 1704.

The duke of Marlborough marches to the relief of the empire.

⁹ Hainault, ann. 1704.

*Battle of
Blenheim.*

shewn in refusing terms of accommodation, and remaining firm to his engagements^r.

Marshal Tallard crossing the Black Forest with the utmost expedition, joined the elector at Biberach, and crossed the Danube at Lawingen, with intention to attack prince Eugene, who commanded a separate army at Hochstedt. The duke of Marlborough joined prince Eugene; but the elector and Tallard, having still a superiority, maintained their first resolution of fighting the confederate army. Their forces amounted to eighty-two battalions and one hundred and sixty squadrons; those of the enemy did not exceed sixty-four battalions, and one hundred and fifty two squadrons. Tallard commanded the right wing, the elector and count Marfin were on the left. * Tallard was esteemed an active penetrating officer, fertile in expedients and resources; Marfin, a general of experience and application, rather than of genius. In the village of Blenheim were posted twenty battalions, and twelve squadrons, from a presumption that there the confederates would push their chief attack. At noon the village was furiously attacked by a body of English, supported by a corps of Hessians; the French performed wonders, and repulsed the enemy in three successive attempts. Part of the enemies center and right wing crossing the rivulet, were charged so impetuously by the French horse, and so miserably galled in the flank by the troops posted in the village of Blenheim, that they fell in disorder, and retreated with precipitation. In the mean time, the left wing of the confederates charged the cavalry in the right, and were vigorously opposed by Tallard in person, who rallied his troops three several times as he retreated. Feuquieres indeed affirms, that he was made prisoner before the left wing of the enemy engaged; but Voltaire with good reason asserts, that he is mistaken, as the marshal was wounded, and his son killed, in this retreat. The infantry were disordered by the falling back of the cavalry, and being unsupported, gave way to the vigorous efforts of the enemy. Marlborough pushed between the battalions placed in Blenheim and the wing of the army commanded by Tallard. Thus the army was separated, and almost surrounded; for prince Eugene, in the fourth attempt, had succeeded, and drove the electoral and French troops before him. All was in confusion; and Tallard, who had mistaken a squadron of the enemy for his own, taken prisoner, as he was endeavouring to draw off the troops from

^r Volt. p. 279.

the village of Blenheim, who were now forced to capitulate, lay down their arms, and surrender prisoners of war. The remaining part of the army fled in consternation: the officers and soldiers threw themselves into the Danube, and lost their lives to escape the disgrace of captivity. The greater part of thirty squadrons perished in the river, ten thousand men were left dead in the field, thirteen thousand were made prisoners; one hundred pieces of cannon, twenty-two mortars, above one hundred pair of colours, near two hundred standards, seventeen pair of kettledrums, upwards of three thousand tents, thirty-four coaches, three hundred laden mules, two bridges of boats, fifteen pontoons, all the French baggage, and the military chest, fell into the hands of the enemy. This, indeed, was the most disgraceful and decisive blow Lewis ever sustained; and Feuquieres attributes it to a variety of errors committed by the king's generals. Tallard is blamed for weakening the center, by detaching such a number of troops to Blenheim, in consequence of which disposition, Marlborough pierced the center, and divided the two wings of the army. In this manner ended the celebrated battle of Blenheim, or Hochstedt, by which the German empire was relieved, and all France thrown into the utmost consternation. Accustomed to a rapid course of victories, the whole court sunk into the deepest abyss of despondency on the news of this signal defeat. Every one dreaded acquainting the king with the melancholy truth; but at last M. de Maintenon undertook the disagreeable task, and told him that Lewis was not invincible. He bore the tidings with great fortitude. He determined to retrieve the face of affairs by the most vigorous efforts; sent orders to marshal Villeroy to march to the relief of Landau, invested by the confederates, and recalled Villars from the Cevennes to command his forces on the Rhine. Villeroy obeyed his orders, but found Marlborough and Eugene posted so advantageously, that he was obliged to retire without coming to an action. Landau capitulated, and Trierbach was soon after reduced; but Lewis owed his safety more to the jealousy of prince Lewis of Baden, than to all his own endeavours. It was even supposed that the prince was the king's pensioner, since nothing could be more inconsistent with his acknowledged abilities, than the obstinacy with which he opposed the most salutary, and pursued the most pernicious measures. It was justly condemned as a most impolitic step to lose time in besieging towns, when the enemy were seized with universal

*The French defeated.**Reflections on the defeat.*

versal consternation: yet were Eugene and Marlborough forced to comply with the insurmountable obstinacy of the prince of Baden^s.

*The king
successful
in Italy and
Portugal.*

Lewis's disgraces in Germany were, in some measure, retrieved by the active and prudent conduct of Vendôme, who reduced the duke of Savoy to extreme difficulties. He drove him out of the field, forced his highness to take shelter in Chivas, there to remain an inactive spectator of the reduction of his cities, and ruin of his country. Vercelli, Ivrea, Verac, and other strong fortresses, were taken. In a word, the whole territories of the duke, except a few cities, were over-run before the end of the campaign. Nor was Philip V. less successful in Spain and Portugal. His general, the duke of Berwick, entering Portugal, surprised the town of Segura, reduced Cerebras without much opposition, had Zebrodo surrendered to him on the first summons, and took the town of Ilhana la Viella by assault. Two Dutch battalions were surrounded and made prisoners at Soldreira Formosa. Portalegro was invested by king Philip in person, and an English regiment, commanded by colonel Stanhope, taken prisoners of war; and Castle David met with the same fortune. These advantages were not gained without some retribution on the side of the enemy. The marquis Las Minas entering Castile at the head of fifteen thousand men, took Fuente Grimaldo by assault, defeated a body of French and Spaniards, under the conduct of Don Ronquillo, and made himself master of Manseinto. King Charles and his Portuguese majesty repaired to the earl of Galway's camp at Almeyda, with intention to penetrate Castile with the main army; but finding the Agueda well guarded by the duke of Berwick, and winter approaching, he returned, and put the army into quarters. In the Mediterranean the combined crowns were so unfortunate as to lose Gibraltar, a fortress deemed impregnable; but the count de Thoulouse, high admiral of France, had the glory of engaging for several hours a superior fleet of the enemy, commanded by Sir George Rooke, without sustaining a defeat. It redounds indeed but little to the honour of the French king that he publicly claimed the victory, and published such an account of the action, as proves that he was re-

^s Quincy's Military Memoirs, p. 194. Volt. *ibid.* Smollett, Tindal, *ibid.* Hainault, an. 1704.

duced to the mean necessity of deceiving his subjects by false and partial representations^t.

Before we close the transactions of the year, it will be necessary we touch upon the rebellion in the Cevennes, a mountainous country in the south of France. *The war in the Cevennes.* The inhabitants of the Cevennes met with protection during the administration of Colbert. He cherished them as bold, industrious, and useful subjects, whose enthusiasm gave no disturbance to the states, while it was suffered to discharge itself freely, and was not repressed by harsh and severe edicts, that laid restraint on conscience and opinion. He was sensible that the strength of kingdoms consisted in the number of people, and observed with what harmony a variety of sects in England and Holland co-operated for the good of the public, merely because every man was allowed to think after his own manner. At the death of Colbert, the clergy, the court of Rome, the chancellor Tellier, and his son Louvois, both enemies to the memory of that great and faithful minister, were continually animating the king against the Protestants. In consequence of their insinuations, gradual encroachments were made on their liberties, and Lewis was brought to consider them as a mob of rebels, who would seize the first opportunity of throwing off the yoke of government, and were now only restrained by the dread of power. Basville, intendant of Languedoc, and Broglio, commander of the troops in that province, excited by Louvois, harassed them by the most cruel extortions and military executions. They were prohibited the public exercise of their religion: they fled to the woods to perform their devotions: their persecutors posted troops in certain places, with orders to fire upon every little assembly they found employed in divine worship, and to burn, pillage, and destroy, the houses of all they could not seize. The Cevennes was in a short time laid waste; the Cevennois rendered desperate, and their zeal inflamed in proportion to the cruelty with which they were persecuted. The abbot Cheilat, subdelegate of the intendant, had under his care a number of protestant prisoners, upon whom he committed the most inhuman barbarities. M. Esprit, a calvinist preacher, determined on revenge. Marching at the head of sixty men to the abbot's house, he demanded the prisoners; was refused, and fired at by the guard, by which two of his people were killed; up-

^t Vide Aust, supra citat.

on this provocation he forced the house, released the prisoners, seized the subdelegate, gave him an hour to prepare for death, and then executed military justice on the tyrant. The intendant endeavoured to punish the rioters; but they stood in their defence, run through the towns and villages brandishing their swords, crying Liberty! and multiplied daily. At last they became so formidable, as to draw the attention of the court. They were often defeated, but not suppressed. The best generals in France were employed against them without success: marshal Villars was under the necessity of coming to a treaty with Cavaliere, a journeyman baker; and Lewis was fain to send hostages to him, to grant him a colonel's commission, and receive a visit at Versailles from the military tradesman. This Cavaliere afterwards passed over to England, was formally received by the administration, and appointed governor of Guernsey^u. The revolt of the Camisars continued for some years; they were countenanced by the court of England, and took refuge in mountains and inaccessible places, out of which they could not be forced by the whole power of Lewis. We chose, however, to give this general sketch of that event, to avoid interrupting our narrative.

A.D. 1705.

*The fine
campaign
of Villars.*

The defeat at Blenheim, and its consequences, required the presence of marshal Villars on the Moselle. His arrival soon produced a happy change. Joining the army at Treves, he resolved to try his fortune in battle against Marlborough. The English general did not decline the offer; but the conduct of the prince of Baden obliged him to retreat. He soon found himself under the necessity of apologizing to Villars for this conduct, the blame of which he threw on the Imperial general^w. Such at least is the account of the French writers; in which they differ widely from the English. All agree, indeed, that Villars distinguished himself in this campaign, and shewed he was worthy of being opposed to Marlborough, whom he obliged to decamp on the 16th of June, relinquish all his magazines, and retire to Flanders.

*The cam-
paign in the
Nether-
lands.*

Before the arrival of the confederate forces in the Netherlands, Villeroy had besieged and taken Huy, and was preparing to besiege Liege, when the approach of the duke of Marlborough obliged him to abandon the enterprise, and retire behind his lines at Tongeren. By this

^u Voltaire, tom. ii. p. 191.
ault, an. 1709, tom. ii. p. 845.

^w Volt, tom. i. 287. Hain-

retreat Huy again fell into the hands of the enemy, and Villeroy's lines were soon after forced. The body of forces commanded by M. d'Alegre, was totally routed, and the elector of Bavaria and Villeroy were compelled to repass the Geete and the Dyle with precipitation. It was certainly, however, a masterly stroke in the king's generals, and an oversight in the allies, that the French should gain possession of the camp at Park, by which event the operations of the enemy were greatly obstructed. A few inconsiderable places fell into their hands; but Villeroy amply compensated the losses sustained at Tongeren by the reduction of Diest, and some other advantages gained over the allies.

Marlborough's return to the Netherlands left an open field to Villars. The prince of Baden lay inactive with a fine army, while the marshal took possession of Triers, after the enemy had destroyed their magazines, boats, and fortifications. He next joined Marfin, and drove the Imperialists from the lines of Croon Wissenberg. General Thungen even found it difficult for him to maintain himself in the lines of Lauterburg. Villars having taken the garrison of Croon Wissenberg prisoners, demolished the fortifications, consumed the forage between Lauterburg and Laudon; and, by a detachment, besieged and took Honerburg. On the 6th of August he crossed the Rhine, and obliged general Thungen to repass that river; but having now greatly weakened his army by detachments, he was forced to retire before the prince of Baden, who had orders to advance with a superior army. In consequence of this retreat, Drussenheim and Haguenau fell into the hands of the confederates: but Villars obtained great honour by preventing the numerous armies of the empire from gaining any considerable advantage, or undertaking any important enterprize during the whole campaign.

*Villars's
farther
operations*

The transactions in Italy furnished an astonishing proof of the fortitude of the duke of Savoy, and the constancy with which he adhered to the confederacy, in despite of the natural fickleness of his disposition, and the distressed state of his country. Vendosme pushed prince Eugene so vigorously, as to produce the undecisive battle of Cassano, for which both sides chanted Te Deum, though in fact it answered no other purpose than the destruction of the human species. The duke de Feuillade, however, reduced Chivas and Nice, after they had made an obstinate defence. Coni and Turin were the only places of consider-

*The French
successful
in Italy.*

ration that remained to the duke; his army was reduced to twelve thousand men, whom he could hardly maintain; his capital was threatened with a siege; his dukes, his clergy, and his subjects in general, urged the necessity of his making the best terms in his power: he withstood their importunities, excluded the clergy from his councils, and adhered to his engagements, unshaken by adversity, and firm under the pressure of the heaviest misfortunes.

*Barcelona
taken by the
allies.*

With respect to the campaign on the frontiers of Spain, it began to the advantage of the two kings, but ended greatly in favour of the confederates. Nothing could withstand the impetuosity, the address, and the astonishing rapidity of the earl of Peterborough, who laid siege to Barcelona, hardly superior in number to the garrison, and reduced it by mere dint of activity and courage. In consequence of this exploit, all Catalonia submitted to king Charles, and the finest province in Spain was, by a military stroke, torn from king Philip. Previous to this transaction, which produced an entire change in favour of the confederates, marshal Tessé was obliged to raise the siege of Gibraltar, after having wasted much valuable time before that fortress; and the Portuguese general Las Minas reduced Salvaterra, Valencia d'Alcantara, and Albuquerque. In the bloody action at St. Estevan de Litera, count de Asfeldt justly claimed the victory; and Lewis was so successful at sea, as to have the whole English Baltic fleet brought into the harbour of Dunkirk, with their convoy of three men of war. The count de St. Paul, the best naval officer in France, lost his life on this service, and was so highly regretted by the king, that he replied with a sigh, when he was informed of the news, "I wish the ships were safe in an English port, provided the count de St. Paul could be restored to life*."

A.D. 1706.

*Battle of
Ramillies.*

The successes of the confederates in Spain determined the king to make the most vigorous efforts on the Rhine, and in the Netherlands. He laboured to enable his generals to act offensively; to put Villars in a capacity for pushing the advantages he had gained the preceding year over the prince of Baden, and Villeroy in a condition to stop the rapidity of Marlborough's conquests. Some writers allege, that while the marshal was encamped at Ramillies, he received orders from court to attack the confederate forces, before they should be joined by the

*. Volt. p. 290. Smollett's Hist. p. 307.

Danes and Prussians. Voltaire attributes all the consequent misfortunes to the ardour of Villeroy. He might have declined an engagement, but he fought it, under all disadvantages of ground and disposition. The fire and impatience of his genius, his eager pursuit of glory, would seem to have blinded his judgment. An imperious morass secured the left wing, extending along the Mehaigne to Little Gette; but Villeroy did not avail himself of this circumstance. While Marlborough was filing off troops to supply the left, Villeroy permitted his right to be attacked by the whole strength of the enemy. His new raised troops were in the center, and the baggage of the whole army placed between the lines. Marlborough, like an experienced general, took advantage of every blunder committed by Villeroy, who was repeatedly admonished by M. Gassion to support his right. The attack was made on the village of Ramillies with so much fury, that the French were soon defeated in the center; but the bravery of the household troops on the right, defeated the Dutch and Danish horse on the enemies left, and would have totally routed them, had not Marlborough come seasonably to their support, with a body of reserve of twenty squadrons. The household troops now gave way to the additional weight of this reinforcement; they were broke and disordered; the troops in Ramillies were all taken or killed; the rout became general, and the elector of Bavaria and Villeroy saved themselves with difficulty. The baggage obstructed the retreat of the fugitives; the enemies horse pressed upon them; multitudes were crushed to death; eight thousand slain in the field; six thousand taken prisoners; the glory of France was ruined; and the finest army that Lewis had sent into the field for several campaigns; an army raised as the last effort of despair. All the Spanish Netherlands fell into the hands of the enemy; France was overwhelmed with shame and consternation; no military transactions were ever mentioned but in whispers; the court was wrapt up in sullen silence and profound melancholy, while Lewis alone supported adversity like a philosopher. He received Villeroy with tokens of respect, set every engine at work to repair his losses, and seemed even resolved to stem the torrent of misfortune by perseverance and activity.

*The French
are defeat-
ed.*

Vendosme was recalled from Italy, and placed at the head of the army in the Netherlands, while the duke of

Orleans and count Marlin were left to pursue the conquests of the duke of Piedmont, and to give the finishing blow to the destruction of the duke of Savoy, by the reduction of his capital. Had fortune been propitious to his spirited efforts, the glory of France might have been retrieved; but a kind of fatality obstructed all his attempts, and frustrated every endeavour.

Preparations for besieging Turin.

As soon as the duke of Savoy had rejected every proposition for a separate peace, vast preparations were made for laying siege to Turin. The operations of the siege were committed to the duke de Feuillade, son to the marshal of that name, and son-in-law to the minister Chamillard. He inherited the courage of his father, possessed the affections of the public, was stimulated to the undertaking by the promise of the dignity of marshal, and supported in it by the utmost efforts of Chamillard to procure success. Four hundred pieces of cannon, many of them of prodigious magnitude, and vast quantities of ammunition were prepared; in a word, the greatest abundance of every thing, requisite for carrying on a siege, was provided: the nation, says Voltaire, was put to an expence that would have established and raised the most flourishing colonies. Feuillade, full of activity and valour, pressed the siege, contrary to all the rules of the military art. Vauban offered to serve as a volunteer to assist with his advice, but the pride of Feuillade rejected the proposal; he declared he would have the whole merit of taking Turin from Coehorn, the best engineer in Europe, except Vauban. When the lines of circumvallation and contravallation were finished, Feuillade sent a trumpet, offering passports and a guard for the removal of the duchess of Savoy and her children; but the duke replied, that he did not intend to remove his family. Immediately the batteries began to play with uncommon fury, and red-hot balls were poured into the city so thick, that his highness was forced to send his family to Quirasco, from whence they were conducted, through a variety of dangers, to the territories of the republic of Genoa. Soon after the duke sallied out, to put himself at the head of a body of cavalry, in order to annoy the besiegers; but he was pursued by a superior detachment from place to place, and obliged to place his security in his knowledge of the country. The siege went on with vigour, but little progress was made in the reduction of Turin. Immense quantities of ammunition were expended in vain: and the officers of the army began to attribute Feuillade's want of success not to the

the unskilfulness of his measures, but to his passion for the duchess of Burgundy, to whom he had made declarations that he would respect the capital of her father; a popular mistake, that gained credit for many years, and was first refuted by Voltaire. Fourteen thousand French perished before the walls of Turin; but as the garrison was likewise diminished, as their ammunition was expended, and all hopes of relief cut off, except the faint hopes derived from the ability of prince Eugene, it was concluded it must fall into the hands of Feuillade. Vendosme, before his departure, had secured all the passes, by which the prince could have access to the capital, and had formed such lines and entrenchments, as he imagined would baffle all the endeavours of Eugene; but that prince surmounted all opposition, removed every obstruction by dint of genius and perseverance, passed four great rivers in the face of the enemies batteries, and reached the neighbourhood of Turin on the 13th day of August. There never was a finer march than this, or a transaction that more fully displayed the happy union of the finest talents, the most ardent courage, and indefatigable patience. He joined the duke of Savoy at Asti, and threw the enemy into as much consternation as if they had been defeated. The duke of Orleans joined Feuillade at his camp; a council of war was held, and it was debated whether they should march out of their lines to attack the enemy, or defend themselves within their entrenchments. The duke of Orleans, and the lieutenant-generals Feuillade, Albergotti, and St. Fremont, were of the former opinion; but count Marfin was for remaining within the lines, and he pulled out the king's order, whereby, in case of any difference of opinion, they were to be directed by his sentiments. On the right was the Stura, on the left the Doria, and the convent of Notre Dame de la Maria was in the centre of the French army. Prince Eugene marched up to the entrenchments, and, by his disposition in eight columns, greatly perplexed the king's generals, who imagined he would make his attack in several quarters. The duke of Orleans was of one opinion, Marfin and Feuillade of another; they disputed, but concluded upon nothing. Albergotti refused to part with the reinforcement required to support the first furious onset of the enemy: he had a body of twenty thousand men, was opposed only by militia, but gave specious reasons for his refusal. Amidst a terrible fire from forty pieces of cannon, prince Eugene formed within a short space from the

*Prince Eugene de-
seats the
French be-
fore Turin.*

entrenchments. His attack was impetuous, but he was repulsed; upon which he put himself at the head of the battalions on the left, and forced the lines at the first charge. The duke of Savoy was equally successful on the right and in the center. The French were broke, and the whole army defeated in less than two hours. The duke of Orleans was wounded; Marfin having his thigh-bone shattered, was taken prisoner, five thousand men perished in the field, and seven thousand fell into the hands of the conquerors; the lines and trenches were abandoned, the whole army dispersed, and the enemy were permitted to enter triumphant into that city, which, but a few days before, was reduced to extreme necessity. The booty was immense; the vast military stores, all the cannon, ten thousand horses, and the mules of the commissary-general, so richly laden that they were estimated at three millions of livres, were taken. Marfin died a few hours after he had lost his liberty: Methuen, the English envoy, visited him; and Voltaire asserts, that the count told that gentleman, it was contrary to his opinion the French waited in their lines to be attacked; a declaration opposite to what has been asserted by all former writers².

*The French
driven out
of Italy.*

Lewis had hitherto supported all his misfortunes with astonishing fortitude; but it was feared this last shock would overthrow his magnanimity. It happened at the most critical juncture, and was too decisive not to prove fatal to his affairs. M. de Maintenon only ventured to tell him, that the duke of Orleans had raised the siege of Turin on the approach of prince Eugene; and even this disappointment the qualified, by making the king at the same time acquainted with the victory obtained by Medavy Grancy over the prince of Hesse in Mantua; a victory which, though complete, produced no advantage: it was wholly absorbed in the more important battle of Turin, in consequence of which the French and Spaniards were driven out of the duchies of Mantua and Milan, Piedmont, and the kingdom of Naples. The pride of the ambitious Lewis was now so humbled, as might excite the compassion of his most implacable enemies. His vast armies were swept away by the sword, his conquests on both sides the Danube wrested from him, his forces driven out of Flanders and Italy, and his grandson king Philip forced to yield his capital to a competitor, who might easily have subdued all Spain had he known how to pursue his good for-

² Le Siècle, tom. i. p. 301.

tune. In this emergency the French king employed the elector of Bavaria to write letters in his name to the duke of Marlborough and the States-general, soliciting a congress; he besought the pope to interpose with the emperor in his behalf; he absolutely evacuated Italy, to have liberty to withdraw the broken remains of the duke of Orleans's army, and the little victorious corps under Medavy Grancy. One stroke of his pen ceded all the conquests obtained at the expence of rivers of blood. It is even asserted, that, to procure peace, Lewis proposed to resign Spain and the West Indies to the archduke Charles; to grant a barrier to the Dutch in the Netherlands; to indemnify the duke of Savoy, with such other conditions as prudence ought to have accepted; but they were rejected by England and Holland, intoxicated with success, and under the influence of the duke of Marlborough and the pensionary Hensius, whose particular interest it was to continue the war, by which their vanity and ambition were equally gratified. Lewis was aware that he should gain some advantage from these moderate proposals, and that, by signing terms with the emperor for Italy, he should foment jealousy and division among the allies. Indeed the schemes of opposition formed by the Tories in England against the duke of Marlborough afforded glimmerings of hope, that Great Britain would soon be tired of a war that had cost her immense treasures, without gaining her a single advantage, either in revenue, commerce, or dominion^a.

In the mean time, though the allies seemed to have acquired new strength by their successes; though Lewis was pressed on every side by sea and land; though his subjects were almost spent with taxes, his frontier towards Germany exposed, and Alsace open to the incursions of the enemy, yet France retained innate strength; it was only her conquests she had lost; the hereditary dominions of the crown remained untouched. His most Christian majesty, therefore, relying upon the justice of the conditions he offered, and the equity of his cause, determined upon farther efforts to bring the confederates to reason. To supply the deficiency of coin, and support the credit of the government, mint bills were issued, in imitation of the paper credit of England; but all the precautions taken, and all the security he was able to give, could not gain them currency, but at a discount of above fifty per cent.

A.D. 1707.

*Schemes for
raising money in
France.*
^a Hainault, ann. 1706.

*Military
transac-
tions.*

However, he had the pleasure to see marshal Villars victorious in Germany, forcing the lines of Stollhoffen, dispersing the several corps of the enemy, and raising contributions all round that country; extending from the Rhine to the Danube; to see Toulon invested by prince Eugene by land, and blocked up by an English squadron, relieved by the terror of his arms; and the affairs of the confederates in Spain fall into confusion, by the fatal defeat at Almanza. Inspired by these successes, he formed the great design of invading England, and replacing James on the throne of his ancestors. He supposed this invasion would at least make a powerful diversion, and, if it succeeded, entirely changed the face of affairs. Emissaries were employed in England and Scotland to form a party; a squadron of eight men of war and seventy transports were equipped at Dunkirk, and six thousand land forces embarked under the conduct of the count de Gacè and the marshal Mantignon. Fourbin Janson, one of the best sea officers in France, was appointed to the command of the fleet; and the greatest expectations of success were entertained, as there were not above three thousand regulars at that time in Scotland. This armament set sail from the port of Dunkirk on the 17th day of March, steered for the frith of Edinburgh, and overwhelmed Great Britain with consternation; but adverse winds, and the vigilance of sir George Byng, the English admiral, frustrated the intention of the expedition, and obliged Fourbin to return to port, after he had made several unsuccessful attempts to effect a disembarkation^b.

A.D. 1708.

Not discouraged by the miscarriage of the projected invasion, Lewis resolved to improve the advantages gained the preceding year on the continent. It was supposed that the presence of the duke of Burgundy, the presumptive heir of his crown, would animate his troops, excite emulation, and give life to his drooping affairs in Flanders. Incredible efforts were made to raise an army worthy of the prince, assisted by the duke of Vendôme; the elector of Bavaria, seconded by the duke of Berwick, was destined to command the forces on the Rhine; and marshal Villeroi appointed to conduct the forces in Dauphiné.

*The duke of
Burgundy
takes the
command
of the army.*

Early in the campaign a prodigious army was assembled in the Netherlands. It exceeded one hundred thousand men, while that of the confederates hardly amounted to eighty thousand. Notwithstanding this superiority it was deter-

mined to take advantage of circumstances, and act less by force than stratagem, for the recovery of Spanish Flanders. It was well known that the inhabitants of the great cities in the Netherlands, naturally turbulent, mutinous, and inconstant, were greatly dissatisfied with the Dutch government. The count de Bergeyk, who had great influence in the Netherlands, was devoted to the house of Bourbon; and the elector of Bavaria had rendered himself extremely popular in the great cities. Upon this foundation the scheme was formed of recovering the losses sustained in the preceding campaigns: the brigadiers la Faille and Pastence surprised the city of Ghent, while the count de la Motte made himself master of Bruges without opposition. But all the schemes of the cabinet were soon overturned by the operations in the field, and the vigilance, genius, and activity of Marlborough and prince Eugene, as well as the divisions in the French councils. The confederate generals had taken the resolution of attacking the duke of Burgundy near Oudenarde, and were for that purpose preparing to cross the Scheld. Vendosme proposed falling upon them while one half of the army only had crossed the river; but he was thwarted by the duke of Burgundy, who seemed confounded and perplexed at this critical juncture, on which his reputation and the security of France depended. When it was too late the duke of Burgundy acceded to Vendosme's opinion, and declared for an engagement, after almost the whole allied army had crossed the river, and formed on the banks. Vendosme then remonstrated that the opportunity was lost; however, he at last submitted with great reluctance. Grimaldi was ordered to begin the charge with the king's household troops; but finding the rivulet marshy, he refused to advance, and retired to the right. The enemy immediately fell on with incredible impetuosity, and took the village of Heynem, in which eleven battalions were posted. The main body of the army sustained the whole shock of the confederate infantry with great bravery, and the battle continued for an hour with dubious success, until the prince of Orange with the Dutch infantry made a motion, and fell on the flank of the French army. Count Tilly and general Overkirk had likewise made an impression on the right wing; then the French began to fall into disorder, nor could all the endeavours of the duke of Vendosme longer retard the fortune of Marlborough. Alighting from his horse he flew along the ranks, called the officers by name, implored them

*Battle of
Oudenarde,*

them to maintain the honour of their country, and animated the men with his voice and example. His great military talents had never appeared to greater advantage than upon this occasion; but they proved useless: his men were driven back on each other with such fury, that the whole army became a scene of confusion. Several regiments were cut in pieces among the inclosures; others threw down their arms. Night interposing saved the greater part of the army, and furnished Vendosme with an opportunity of drawing off his broken forces towards Ghent. Seeing the troops give way, he prognosticated a defeat, and had provided a rear-guard of twenty battalions to secure the retreat. To this precaution the French owed their safety; for the enemy sent detachments of horse at day-break in pursuit of the fugitives; but they found the hedges and ditches that skirted the roads so well lined with grenadiers, that it was impossible to form. In this action the king lost three thousand men killed, and seven thousand taken prisoners; although the rest of the army was saved by the conduct of Vendosme. The public, judging by the event, threw reflections upon his character; but Lewis did justice to his merit, well knowing that the occasion of the defeat was not in Vendosme, who did all that courage, tutored by conduct, could effect.

*The allies
reduce
Lisle.*

The allies, pressing their advantage, invested Lisle, the strongest town in the Netherlands, supplied with all kinds of necessaries, and reinforced with twenty-one battalions of the best troops in France, under the command of marshal Boufflers, whom the king found it necessary again to employ. This enterprize was thought by all Europe to favour of rashness and inconsiderate conceit; but the event justified the confederate generals. Vendosme cut off their communication with the magazines at Antwerp; but they drew their convoys from Ostend: they surmounted every difficulty, and pursued their plan with such admirable steadiness and perseverance, that Boufflers was under the necessity of capitulating after sustaining a siege of near four months. A great number of gallant actions were performed by the allies during the siege; but the most extraordinary was the defeat of a detachment of fifteen thousand French sent to attack a convoy coming from Ostend. General Webb, with six thousand English foot, guarded the convoy, who made so admirable a disposition,

and fought with such spirit, that the French retired in confusion, leaving near five thousand men killed on the field of battle. The reduction of Lisle astonished all Europe; for it was universally believed, that the duke of Burgundy had so cooped up the allied army, that he would reduce them to extreme necessity before they could make themselves masters of the city. One of the courtiers told Vendosme, "Now, sir, you see the consequence of not going to mafs." "What then (says Vendosme), do you believe that Marlborough goes to mafs any more than I?" In consequence of the reduction of Lisle, the enemy seized Ghent, Bruges, Plaffendal, Lessingen, and other places. The emperor persuaded himself that he had opened a way to the heart of France, and a party from the Dutch garrison of Courtray had the boldness to penetrate quite to Versailles, where they seized one of the household officers, mistaking him for the dauphin, father to the duke of Burgundy^d.

On the side of Dauphiné the king was not more successful. All the vigilance and activity of Villars could not hinder the duke of Savoy from possessing the important towns of La Perouse, Fenestrelles, and the valley of St. Martin. The French general had forced the two towns of Sanzana in sight of the duke's army; but his highness had, notwithstanding, formed to himself a strong barrier before the end of the campaign, opened a direct path to the French provinces, and made a powerful diversion in favour of the archduke, obliging the king to reinforce Villars by weakening his efforts in Catalonia.

In Spain, after the victory of Almanza, fortune seemed to declare wholly in favour of the king. Mohoui had possessed himself of Alcoi as early in the season as the month of January; the duke of Orleans reduced Tortosa in July; and the sieur d'Arsfeldt took Denia, in the kingdom of Valencia, in November, and Alicant in December. Those successes were, however, more than balanced by the losses in the Mediterranean, where the English fleet, under the command of sir John Leake, seized upon the islands of Sardinia and Minorca. Though in consequence of the fatal battle of Oudenarde the king's affairs suffered extremely; though he lay exposed on the side of Dauphiné to the insults of his enemies; though he lost Sardinia and Minorca, and could balance his misfortunes only by a few inconsiderable advantages in Spain; yet he sup-

*The French
unsuccessful
in Savoy.*

*Sardinia
and Mi-
norca seiz-
ed by the
English.*

*Lewis sues
for peace.*

ported all these vicissitudes, so different from the successes which had formerly attended his arms, with firmness and magnanimity. His courage seemed to be proof against the schemes of fortune; but he felt a real and just concern for the intolerable misery of his subjects, and tried by every method to set on foot a negociation. Though Holland led the only path to a general pacification, and no expedient was left untried to bring the pensionary Hensius to admit of proposals, or at least of the residence of a French envoy in Holland, this point had been unsuccessfully laboured since the year 1706; the most advantageous terms were offered to the States; they were left to fix their own barrier, to prescribe a treaty of commerce, to set what limitations to the encroachment of France they thought necessary, and had even the offer of keeping a great part of the Spanish Netherlands sequestered in their hands, as a security for the king's sincere intentions to perform his engagements. The haughty republic, intoxicated with prosperity, rejected every proposal, and raised her terms to a pitch of insupportable insolence. Lewis, however, was not discouraged in his designs. He saw the necessity of procuring peace at all hazards, and was sensible that a republic, whose very existence depended on her trade and navigation, would not long continue deaf to the advantageous proposals offered with respect to her commerce. His conjecture was well founded. The States first admitted inferior agents, and this year they expressed no dislike to the king's pressing solicitations, that Rouille might confer in person with Hensius and Vanderdussen, the two great oracles of the United Provinces. Rouille conducted himself with great address; but the operations of war broke through all the schemes of pacific intentions. The negociations met with so many difficulties that the campaign opened, the uncertain issue of which rendered all that had been hitherto concerted very precarious. It is probable, indeed, that the conferences which Marlborough and prince Eugene held with Hensius and Vanderdussen at the Hague, greatly retarded all the king's schemes for a treaty of peace. They were not satisfied with the demolition of Dunkirk, the king's abandoning the pretender, and acknowledging queen Anne's title, his ceding the Spanish monarchy, granting the Dutch a sufficient barrier, and England and Holland the greatest commercial advantages; they demanded the restitution of the Upper and Lower Alsace to the empire; they insisted the king should restore Strasburgh, and the town and castellany of

Lille,

Lille, demolish Dunkirk, New Brisac, Fort Lewis, and Hunningen; in a word, that he should make such concessions as they ought to have been ashamed to mention, and such as he would not have suffered to be repeated in his presence had he not been reduced to the lowest distress. The marquis de Torcy posted in disguise to the Hague on the faith of a common passport. He soothed, solicited, supplicated, and made concessions in the name of his sovereign; he attacked the duke of Marlborough on the side of his avarice; his offers were rejected. In a word, one can hardly reflect on the unhappy circumstances of Lewis, who had lately given law to Europe, without feeling sentiments of compassion for a monarch so long accustomed to conquests. Lewis, however, had the courage to reject the insolent preliminaries, and his subjects approved of his refusal. He published his own proposals, and the demands of the enemy. All France took fire at the indignity. Every one exclaimed against the injustice, the arrogance of the allies, and determined to perish for the glory of their monarch. The kingdom was severely afflicted by famine; but this procured soldiers. Those who had not the honour of their sovereign at heart, were forced, however, to insist from necessity. Many were actuated by more generous motives: impoverished and half-starved, they resolved to expend the last drop of their blood in support of their sovereign. Animated by these sentiments, France made such efforts as astonished those who believed her at the last gasp. A prodigious army was assembled in Flanders under Villars; and though the confederates exceeded a hundred thousand men, it was expected he would have acted offensively. But Villars well knew the superiority of veterans, flushed with victory, over raw undisciplined troops, whose eagerness of revenge would only increase their tumult and disorder.

*The spirit
of the
French na-
tion.*

As soon as Lewis had rejected the preliminaries, Rouillè was ordered to quit Holland in twenty-four hours, and Villars to open the campaign with all vigour and expedition. He was, however, so incapable of acting offensively, that he found it necessary to entrench himself in the plain of Lens. The fate of France and Spain depended on the issue of the campaign. A defeat would have been attended with the most dreadful consequences, the apprehension of which had prevented his making at-

A.D. 1709.

*Lewis pre-
pares for
continuing
the war.*

tempts to relieve Tournay, until his new-raised forces had been accustomed to the sight of an enemy. The confederates were no sooner in possession of Tournay than they cast their eyes on Mons, and passed the Scheld with intention to invest that strong fortress. Villars marched to cover Mons, and posted himself advantageously behind the woods of La Merte and Tanieres, in the neighbourhood of Malplaquet, where he fortified his camp, naturally strong, with triple entrenchments. Voltaire affirms, that his army did not exceed eighty thousand combatants; English writers augment his numbers to one hundred and twenty thousand soldiers, and perhaps they were nearer the truth, if we consider that he was joined by Boufflers, who stifled all rivalry out of regard to his country, and consented to act in an inferior capacity, though he was the senior commander. Villars took every possible precaution, yet his disposition is blamed. He so covered his camp with lines, entrenchments, hedges, batteries, and trees laid across, that it seemed quite inaccessible; but he ought, in the opinion of some military critics, to have marched beyond a hollow way that lay in the front of his camp. In this situation he was attacked with great fury by the enemy. The Dutch, on the left, were three times repulsed with prodigious slaughter, and as often led on by the prince of Orange, who persisted in his efforts with incredible perseverance and intrepidity. On the right the English forces were more successful; after an obstinate engagement the French were driven from their entrenchments into the woods of Saart and Tanieres. The marshal, in leading back the troops, was dangerously wounded, and thus the honour of a victory, attended with scarce any advantage, belonged to the enemy. The French had fought with an obstinacy of courage bordering on despair, and they now made a fine retreat towards Valenciennes, under marshal Boufflers, that prevented a pursuit. Twenty thousand of the confederates fell in the field of battle, whereas the loss on the side of France scarce amounted to eight thousand. In a word, the enemy gained a victory, so bloody and dear bought, as would have made a repetition of it fatal to the confederacy. When Villars retired to Valenciennes the allied army laid siege to Mons, which capitulating about the end of October, both armies were distributed into winter quarters^f.

*Battle of
Malpla-
quet.*

*Mons taken
by the
allies.*

^f Quincy, p. 205. Smollet. Vol. *ibid.*

On the Rhine, Lewis's affairs were successful. General Merci, having meditated an invasion of Franche Comté, was happily prevented by marshal Dubourg, who attacked, defeated, and obliged him to repass the Rhine, with the loss of two thousand men. In Italy, the duke of Berwick frustrated all the projects of the Imperial general; the Camisars were entirely defeated in the Cévennes, and the affairs in Spain in general bore a favourable aspect. The English and Portuguese were defeated at Caya, by the marshal de Bay; and the strong fortrefs of Alicant had, after a tedious siege, surrendered to count d'Asfeld.

Notwithstanding the campaign was, on the whole, more favourable than the most Christian king had reason to expect, peace became every day more necessary. The finances were so totally exhausted, and the kingdom impoverished, that Lewis resolved to sacrifice every consideration, and even the interest of his grandson, to procure the blessings of repose to his miserable subjects. He demanded passports, by virtue of which his ministers might repair in safety to Holland. When these were obtained, the marshal d'Uxelles, and the abbé Polignac, were pitched on to carry the king's supplications to Gertrudenberg, where conferences were appointed. The marquis de Torcy renewed his attempts on the integrity of Marlborough, and proceeded so far as to offer four millions of livres for that nobleman's interest in procuring terms, which the king would, but four years before, have rejected with disdain. Lewis now offered to renounce his grandson; he even agreed to pay the allies a subsidy to support their armies in driving Philip out of Spain, in case he should refuse to deliver the Spanish monarchy to the archduke Charles in the space of two months. At Gertrudenberg the French ministers were exposed to every kind of insult: injurious libels were every day published; their accommodation was mean, and the language of the Dutch deputies such as might be expected from brutal burghers, exalted to treat upon an equality with the ambassadors of a great monarch. They insisted upon the king's declaring war against his own grandson; so that Lewis, after having tried many other expedients, broke up the conference, recalled his ambassadors, and resolved to try the fortune of another campaign. He entertained hopes, that some fortunate incident in the event of war, and the approaching revolution in the English ministry, would be productive of more reasonable conditions,

Negotiations of peace renewed;

and again broke off.

ditions, or such at least as would have stained his character with less infamy than the unnatural act of taking up arms against his own grand-child. Measures were taken for opening the campaign, and the whole kingdom of France espoused, with warmth, the sentiments of the monarch. Without ever repining at the ambition that had reduced the nation to the most deplorable circumstances, the people imputed all their calamities to the insolence and pride of the confederates. Not a murmur of complaint broke forth against the sovereign, while they were under the pressure of extreme misery; on the contrary, all his subjects flocked to his banners, and fought under them with great spirit, attachment, and perseverance. They yielded the tenth penny of their whole substance for the services of the war; but all their loyalty and affection could not have preserved the kingdom from destruction, had not a body of merchants, with permission from the catholic king, made repeated voyages to South America, from whence they returned with immense treasures.

A.D. 1710.

*Doway
taken by
the allies.*

A numerous and well-appointed army was assembled by marshal Villars. His intention was first to cover Doway; and afterwards, finding the enemy had invested it, to relieve the garrison at the hazard of a battle. Their strong situation, however, prevented his designs: Doway surrendered, and the armies went into quarters, without undertaking any other considerable enterprize. Both sides remained inactive on the Rhine and in Italy, the duke of Berwick having thrown up intrenchments that baffled count Thaun's intention of penetrating into Dauphiné. Spain alone was fruitful in military incidents. The beginning of the year had been extremely unfortunate to king Philip. He had lost the battle of Saragossa, and was forced to retreat, with the shattered remains of his army, to Madrid, and from thence to Valladolid. But the arrival of Vendosme soon retrieved matters, and changed the fortune of the war. All Spain demanded this general, and Philip, who entertained the highest opinion of his ability, believed him alone capable of stemming the rapidity of Staremberg's successes. Vendosme acquired great glory in Italy; nor had the unfortunate campaign before Lisse in the least obscured the lustre of his reputation in the eyes of the Spaniards. His affability, openness, generosity even to profusion, and confessed intrepidity,

*Vendosme
successful in
Spain.*

† Torcy, *ibid.*

had

had gained him the hearts of the soldiers. The moment he set foot in Spain, volunteers flocked to him from every quarter, and Vendosme's popularity was as valuable to Philip as an army. A spirit of enthusiasm actuated the whole nation. Cities and corporations, villages and monasteries, offered all they had to their darling general, who soon approved himself worthy of their confidence and affections. In less than three months after the battle of Saragossa, Philip was in a condition to march in quest of his rival, who might have been confirmed on the throne, had he made the proper use of his victory; or rather, had he been duly supported by the allies. Vendosme would not suffer the ardor of his troops to cool by delay. He led them strait to Madrid, pursued the enemy to Portugal, crossed the Tagus, and obliged general Stanhope, with five thousand English forces, to surrender prisoners of war at Brihuega (A). Next day, December 10th, he attacked count Staremburg at Villa Viciosa; king Philip led the right wing, and Vendosme commanded on the left. The conflict was long and obstinate, and the victory disputed; though, if we may judge from consequences, it declared fairly on the side of Philip. Certain it is, that Staremburg's left wing was entirely defeated, and all the infantry cut in pieces. English writers allege, that the enemy's left wing fought with desperate fury, until night separated the combatants; but the French and Spanish writers more fully agree, that Staremburg was routed, with the loss of all his artillery, baggage, and upwards of five thousand men. Beyond dispute he was pursued by Vendosme, who took Balaguar in his way, and forced the Imperial general to take shelter under the cannon of Barcelona. Gironne surrendered to the duke de Noailles; and thus Philip, from a fugitive, became absolute master of all Spain, except Catalonia, in less than one campaign, the beginning of which had been extremely unfortunate^b.

^b Volt. tom. i. p. 331. Hainault, tom. ii. p. 864. Smollett, tom. viii. p. 372.

(A) The English writers affirm, that Stanhope's army did not exceed two thousand men; among whom were three lieutenant-generals, one major-general, one brigadier, and several colonels. Smollett, tom. viii. p. 371.

S E C T. XIX.

Containing the Operations of the Campaign in Flanders, Germany, Spain, and Italy; the Naval Expedition against Rio de Janeiro, and the Changes in the English Ministry, which paved the Way to a general Peace.

*Change of
the mini-
stry in
England.*

BUT these exploits, however fortunate to Philip and glorious to Vendosme, were less advantageous to France than the intrigues at the court of London. While the signal revolution in Spain astonished all Europe, and dazzled with its lustre, another more silent and decisive in Great Britain laid the foundation of such a peace as Lewis could not have expected. This was the change of the English ministry. During the reign of queen Anne, the Whigs had got the whole management of affairs into their hands. Marlborough governed the state, and his haughty artful duchess possessed the queen's most intimate confidence. By these means they had the disposal of the revenue, and of all places and preferments. The earl of Godolphin, closely connected to Marlborough by the ties of interest and of marriage, was lord treasurer of England, and his reputation was as high in a civil as the duke's in a military capacity.

The influence of the duchess of Marlborough over the queen's mind had been the means of the duke's elevation, and the principal support of the Whig faction. No sooner had she lost this ascendancy than the lord Godolphin was deprived of his office of treasurer, and earl Pawlet, Mr. Harley, Mansel, Paget, and Benson, were made commissioners of the treasury. Lord Sunderland, to avoid the disgrace of being superseded, resigned the place of secretary of state. Mrs. Masham, related to the duchess of Marlborough, and first introduced by her to court, rose in the queen's favour, in proportion as the interest of her benefactress declined. She had a brother, for whom she solicited a regiment; the queen urged the duke, and he represented to her majesty the prejudice that would redound to the service by preferring a young man to several old officers, who had exhibited repeated proofs of valour and capacity. He expostulated with his sovereign upon this partial instance of regard, which he considered

considered as a declaration against his own family; but, his remonstrances producing no effect, he retired in disgust to Windsor. Harley secretly directed these intrigues, and made a proper use of the earl of Sunderland's motion, that the parliament would address the queen to remove Mrs. Masham from her presence. He laboured from these circumstances to exasperate the queen, and by means of her favourite to destroy the credit of his enemies. He demonstrated how little emolument the nation had derived from the victories of Marlborough. He observed that the commerce of England was daily declining, her finances were exhausted, the people loaded with taxes, and the public debts augmented; but every prospect of peace was remote, and would ever remain so while it was the interest of those in power to continue a ruinous and expensive war. These were the conferences which Harley held with Mrs. Masham; they were by her reported to the queen, and the sentiments were so congenial to her own, that she desired Harley might be privately introduced. He soon convinced the queen of his ability, gave her cause to rely on his loyalty, and thus gained her confidence^a.

She thought it high time change the ministry, and to use Harley's counsels in the alterations, which her power and dignity rendered necessary. These were the reasons why the staff of high treasurer was taken from Godolphin; why Harley had the appointing commissioners to execute that office, by which he got the management of the revenue into his own hands; why the disgrace of Sommers, president of the council, succeeded that of the treasurer; why Mr. St. John was raised to the department of secretary of state; in a word, why Marlborough alone, of all the party, remained in office. It was dangerous to attempt any thing against a nobleman possessed so strongly of the confidence of the allies; yet to continue him at the head of the army was a point of dangerous consequence to the stability of the Tories. The Dutch immediately took the alarm, not doubting but a change in the administration would produce a change of measures, and work the disgrace of Marlborough. The new ministry, to remove their apprehensions, published a report of their resolution to adhere more steadily than the former to the interests of the allies of Great Britain; and the queen ordered her ambassador at the Hague to assure the States,

^a Hainault, Hist. tom. ii. sub. ann,

that, in chusing new ministers, she inviolably preserved the same sentiments for the common cause, and confidence in the abilities of Marlborough. The ministry, however, ventured to circumscribe the authority of this great commander; but in such a manner as shewed they were afraid: he was provoked at the usage; but he stifled his sentiments in hopes of revenge^b.

*The English
ministry
send Gaultier into
France.*

No sooner were the new ministers established than they shewed their inclination for peace, chiefly in order to ruin the duke of Marlborough and the Whig faction. It was now that a kind of secret negotiation was set on foot between the courts of Versailles and London, by means of the abbé Gaultier, a Frenchman, who had insinuated himself into the family of the earl of Jersey, ambassador in France after the treaty of Ryswick, and was left by marshal Tallard in England upon the last rupture between the two kingdoms. The marshal, imagining this ecclesiastic might be able occasionally to furnish useful intelligence, directed him to reside in London, carefully to observe every occurrence, and transmit, with the utmost discretion, whatever could contribute to the service of his country. Gaultier punctually executed his commission, and performed his duty without suspicion. He was now proposed by lord Jersey to the new ministry as a proper messenger to the court of France, with the first intimation of their pacific inclinations. Gaultier arrived at Versailles, reported his commission, which, however, was only verbal. He gave an exact account of the English government, and the state of affairs in that country. He desired a letter to lord Jersey, expressing nothing more than a general compliment to that nobleman; upon which he undertook to open the way to a negotiation. He obtained the letter, set out for London, and wrote back, that the English ministry, finding her majesty was averse to renew the negotiations by means of Holland, desired he would please to communicate the proposals for a general pacification, which they would transmit to Holland, their intention being to conclude a treaty in concert with their allies. A memorial accordingly was drawn up, approved of by the English, and sent over to Holland. The queen wanted cautionary towns in the West Indies, for the security of that trade, the fortresses of Gibraltar and Corunna, and

^b Idem. Torcy, Mem. vol. ii.

the island of Minorca, for the protection of the Mediterranean commerce. These were the immediate advantages demanded for Great Britain; but it was necessary the court of Spain should be consulted. Philip made no scruple about the cession of places, inconsiderable in respect to the security of his crown, and which would cost the English nation more to maintain, than the commercial advantages they produced would reimburse.

As the article relating to the cautionary towns was of a delicate nature, in which the court of Madrid was deeply interested, Lewis chose to be silent on that head, until he was perfectly informed of the sentiments of his grandson; but Gaultier was permitted to assure the queen's ministers, that his most Christian majesty would use his utmost influence with Philip, that nothing might obstruct the peace, so necessary to Spain, France, England, and indeed to all Europe.

In the mean time the Dutch, knowing it was not the interest of Holland, that England should either make a separate peace, or that any other power should hold in her hands the means of a general pacification, gave intimations to the French court, that, if the king would resume the negotiations in Holland, he should not find the States backward. Thus the two powers, the most opposite to reasonable terms of accommodation, the most vigorous prosecutors of the war, and strenuous enemies of France, became competitors for the great work of establishing peace, envying each other the honour of contributing to its happy issue. It was the request of the English ministry, that Lewis should listen to no propositions from the States, which should tend to bring the conferences back to Holland; and the king faithfully complied, a circumstance which obliged the Dutch to make application to Great Britain, that they should be consulted in the general scheme of pacification.

In the midst of these preliminaries to a negotiation, the season for action approached. Marlborough still continued at the head of the confederate army. The Tory ministry did not yet think themselves firmly enough established, or sufficiently advanced in their negotiations, to venture superseding a general who possessed the whole confidence of the empire and Holland. Such a measure would in particular have given umbrage to the latter.

*Death of
the emper-
ror.*

He was therefore permitted to set out for the Hague in the month of February, to make preparations for the ensuing campaign. Before either army was ready to take the field, the emperor Joseph died, leaving his Austrian dominions, the empire of Germany, and his pretensions to the Spanish monarchy, to his brother the archduke Charles, once crowned king of Spain, and now obliged to quit the capital by the late success of his rival Philip. This event, it was imagined, would greatly facilitate a peace. The objects of England and Holland were to preserve the balance of power, and to prevent the aggrandizement of the house of Bourbon by the accession of the Spanish monarchy; the same reasons now prevailed with respect to the house of Austria, whose pride, ambition, and lust of empire, would be equally dangerous, were the Austrian dominions, the Imperial dignity, Naples, Sicily, Lombardy, Spain, and America, to be united in one family, and composing one entire monarchy^d.

*Campaign
in Flanders.*

The death of the emperor made no alteration in the mutual preparation for trying the fortune of another campaign. The efforts made by Lewis were extraordinary, considering how long he had supported the war, and contended with the greatest powers in Christendom, and that he was, for the two preceding campaigns, supposed on the verge of destruction. His eager desire to restore the blessings of peace to his subjects, had indeed occasioned the confederates to conclude, that all his attempts to bring on a negotiation proceeded from despair. His army in Flanders this year, commanded by M. Villars, was not inferior to any he had yet sent into the field, and his subjects still espoused the cause of their monarch, and supported his glory with astonishing spirit and attachment. The spirit and activity of Villars had rendered him so very popular, that he found means to assemble a very numerous army, with which he encamped behind the river Sanset. His situation was so strong, that he could not be attacked with any prospect of success. He had drawn lines from Bouchain on the Scheld, along the Sanset and the Scarpe, to Arras, and from thence to Canche. They were defended by redoubts, and would indeed have been impenetrable, had not the marshal been weakened by the strong detachments necessarily made from his army to the Rhine, to reinforce the elector of

^d Volt. tom. i. chap. 21.

Bavaria. It was Marlborough's design to force these lines, and upon his success his reputation depended. From the 15th of June to the 12th of July the two armies remained incamped, separated only by the Scarpe. The French army formed a kind of circle on the other side of Arras, the right at Mouchin Preu, and the left at Duisan; while the confederate camp extended along the Lens, the right at Lieven, and the left at Henin Lister. Villars's situation greatly incommoded the confederates, who twice attempted to carry a small fort and redoubt, which covered a mole raised at Arlieux, by which the mills of Doway were rendered useless, and the navigation of the Scarpe interrupted. A third time they returned to the charge with a body of eight thousand chosen troops; when, after an obstinate conflict, they at length succeeded. Intending to fortify these posts, Marlborough left twelve battalions to cover the workmen, and marshal Villars formed the resolution of surprising their camp. The count de Gassion was pitched upon to execute this project, and he took his measures so well, that he arrived at day-break within a small distance of the enemy, without being discovered. He had ranged his horse in four lines; the first of which attacked the camp with such fury, that the confederate detachment was defeated, dispersed, and pursued to Doway. In this action the loss was inconsiderable, the victory complete, but fruitless. Marlborough made a feint, which deceived even the vigilance of Villars, and was, perhaps, the most masterly stroke of that consummate general. Advancing within two leagues of the French lines, he ordered a great number of fascines to be made, declaring he would attack the enemy. Villars drew his chief force on that side, in full expectation of an engagement, and was astonished when he heard that generals Cadogan and Hompesch had passed the Sansent at Vitry, and that the duke of Marlborough was in the neighbourhood of Arlieux. Now, certified of the design formed, Villars decamped with his whole army by break of day; and putting himself at the head of the household troops, marched with such expedition, that, by noon, he was in sight of the duke of Marlborough, who had by this time joined count Hompesch. This junction obliged him to retreat to Courtray, by which manoeuvre he got within the lines, encamping upon the Schelde, between Oisy and Estrun. French writers endeavour to qualify this disgrace of Villars; but the marshal shewed that he deserved better fortune, by the ingenuoufness with which he acknow-

leged himself baffled by the superior talents of the English general ^c.

It was after this enterprize that Marlborough formed the hazardous design of investing Bouchain, a town small indeed in extent, but strong by situation, surrounded by morasses, well fortified, and defended by a numerous garrison. Villars took every precaution for the security of Bouchain, and used his utmost address to defeat the designs of the confederates, and retrieve the shock his reputation had lately sustained. His detachments gained several advantages over the foraging parties of the confederates. These efforts were seconded by several brisk sallies of the besieged; they served to retard, but could not ward off the fate of Bouchain. The duke of Marlborough had exerted his utmost abilities in this siege. He formed lines, erected forts, raised batteries, completed a causeway through a deep morass, and carried on his approaches with such rapidity, that in twenty days after the trenches were opened, the garrison, consisting of four thousand men, were obliged to surrender prisoners of war. The conquest of Bouchain was the last military enterprize of the great duke of Marlborough, whose resignation removed that cloud, which for some time had obscured the lustre of Villars's reputation. The opposite armies began now to separate; but before Villars put his troops into quarters, he cut off the communication by water between Lisle, Doway, and Tournay. This enterprize was executed by marshal Montecquieu.

*Bouchain
taken by
the allies.*

*Campaign
in Germa-
ny, Italy,
and Spain.*

In Germany nothing memorable was transacted since the death of the emperor. All the care of the generals seemed directed to watch each other's motions, and provide convenient encampments. Europe was now intent on the election of a new emperor; and, on the 12th day of October, the archduke Charles was chosen, but was not recognised by the courts of Versailles or Madrid, the electors of Cologne and Bavaria likewise protested against the election. In Italy, the duke of Savoy, having passed Mount Cenis, attacked the French army commanded by the duke of Berwick, near Montmelian, and was repulsed after a bloody conflict. During the rest of the campaign, the superior talents of Berwick prevailed. He baffled all the projects of Amadeus, who, with a superior army, could do nothing more than recover the insignificant castle of Miolons, garrisoned only by fifty men. As to the

^c Hainault, sub ann.

transactions in Spain, they were equally unimportant. Vendosme's army was in a wretched condition, notwithstanding the astonishing rapidity of his successes in the preceding campaign. At length, however, he ventured to attack general Staremberg, who had advanced to the pass of Prato de Rey. This post was disputed with obstinacy, but at last relinquished by the enemy. He afterwards, by a strong detachment from the main army, invested the castle of Ardena, which was vigorously defended, and at last relieved by the Imperial general; who, after a bloody engagement, defeated the besiegers, with the loss of two thousand men, all their baggage, ammunition, and cannon ^f.

With respect to naval affairs, the French king was more fortunate, though his marine was in a ruinous condition. The sieur Saus, with a squadron of three ships of war and three privateers, set sail from Calais in the month of January, and in the Channel fell in with a fleet of English merchantmen homeward bound from Virginia, under convoy of two ships of war. Saus gave chase to the ships of war, ran two of the merchantmen aground, and brought fourteen rich prizes into Dunkirk. The attempt on the English convoy at Vado was not less glorious, though not equally successful. M. L'Aigle, with four frigates, fell upon three English ships of war sent to protect a fleet of transports destined for Barcelona. The engagement was warm, and so obstinate, that the English were ready to strike, when six more sail appeared, and obliged the French commodore to relinquish his prize and victory. One of M. L'Aigle's ships, commanded by M. Marquisan, was pursued by an English man of war of sixty guns as far as the Gulf of La Specie, where an obstinate fight ensued, that so disabled both sides as to make them draw off by mutual consent. On the coast of Corsica, two of the king's frigates took a Dutch man of war of thirty-six guns ^g.

The affairs in South and North America bore in general a favourable aspect; the English squadron under admiral Walker, being disappointed in the attempt on Quebec, and the sieur du Guay Trouin more fortunate than could be expected in the expedition to Rio de Janeiro in the Brazils. Trouin commanded a squadron, consisting of seven ships of the line, six frigates of forty and thirty guns, and a bomb ketch, with near three thousand land

^f Hainault, tom. ii. sub. an.

^g Idem ibid.

forces on board. He arrived in the bay of Rio de Janeiro on the 12th of September, and made the proper dispositions for a descent. The town, built along the bay, surrounded by three high mountains, was well fortified, and supplied with cannon and the necessary outworks. Every part of the road, accessible to boats, was defended by entrenchments and batteries, erected by the Portuguese governor, who was some time before apprised of the destination of the French admiral. The French writers allege, that he had assembled an army of thirteen thousand regular troops, a number that would seem to be greatly exaggerated, and that he had taken every precaution for his defence. Amidst the continual fire from forts and batteries, the French squadron passed the streights; the *Magnanime*, conducted by the chevalier Courserac, led the van; the entrance of the harbour was forced, though it was surrounded with batteries, and defended by three ships of the line under da Costa, general of the Portuguese fleet. The Portuguese ships were run aground and lost, and the enemy driven from the isle of Chevres by the sieur Guyen, with a detachment of five hundred men. Next day the troops were landed, and a camp formed on the eminences before the town. While batteries were erecting, frequent skirmishes passed, in which the Portuguese were generally worsted. As soon as the works were finished, the batteries began to play so furiously, that about midnight the enemy deserted the town, and retired to the mountains with their most valuable effects. Trouin sent notice to the Portuguese general, that unless he immediately ransomed the place, he would lay it in ashes, as it was not the intention of the king his master to maintain the colony. Six hundred and ten thousand crusadoes were offered, accepted, and paid, in fifteen days; upon which the French troops embarked. Upon the whole, this expedition did not bring much treasure into France; but it cost the Portuguese above fifteen millions of livres ^b.

*Death of
the dau-
phin.*

But no military advantage could repair the loss which France this year sustained by the death of the dauphin, the only son of Lewis, who was swept off by the small-pox, in the fiftieth year of his age, and lamented by the people, as the best son, the best father, and the most amiable and promising prince of his country. By his death the title of dauphin descended to the duke of Burgundy, who died

^b Ibid. Daniel. Anar. tom. ii. p. 294.

soon after, greatly regretted. Next the title devolved to the duke of Bretagne, who dying when but five years old, his brother the duke of Anjou, an infant, became dauphin of France, and presumptive heir to Lewis's crown and dominions. To these afflictions was superadded the loss of marshal Boufflers, one of the most experienced officers in France, who expired at Fontainebleau, after having faithfully served his king and country for forty years. His son, the young duke of Boufflers, was continued in the government of Flanders and Hainault by signing the treaty of Utrecht.

During the operations in the field, the preliminaries to a negotiation were adjusting between the courts of Versailles and London, by means of Gaultier, who was now returned to France, accompanied by Mr. Prior, who had formerly been secretary to the earls of Portland and Jersey, ambassadors at the court of Lewis. Prior had distinguished himself by his poetical talents: his wit, address, insinuating manner, and ardent desire to promote peace, rendered him exceedingly acceptable to the French ministry; but his instructions were extremely limited, and his inclination and abilities thereby rendered fruitless. He was only impowered to communicate the preliminary demands of the English nation, to receive the French king's answer, and to know whether king Philip had delegated a power of acting to his grandfather. Prior arriving incognito at Fontainebleau, punctually executed his commission, communicated the pretensions of England, and demanded a clear and determinate answer, previous to his entering upon any negotiation. The queen's memorial required a barrier for the Dutch in the Netherlands, and another for the empire on the Rhine; restitution for the duke of Savoy, and cession to that prince of such places as had been stipulated in his treaties with the allies; an acknowledgement of the succession of the crown of England, as established in the Protestant line; the demolition of the fortifications and filling up the harbour of Dunkirk; the cession of Gibraltar, Minorca, of the Negro trade, and certain cautionary towns in America to the crown of England; security for the English subjects trading in Spain; the restitution or cession of Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay; security that the French and Spanish monarchies should never be united in the same person; and, lastly, full and ample security for the commerce of the United Provinces. The death of the emperor made an entire change in the politics of England; and the expulsion

Negotiations resumed.

sion of king Philip was no longer desired, notwithstanding that measure had cost rivers of blood: These demands were to be kept secret, and revealed only by the mutual consent of the contracting parties. They were such, however, as it was impossible for the king to grant, without promoting the commerce of England at the expence of France, and indeed of all Europe; yet absolutely to reject them, would have been at once to break off the negotiation. In these circumstances the French monarch was forced to temporize; and indeed he had lately been well accustomed to that practice from the necessity of his affairs¹.

Sensible that a negotiation, where the parties are desirous of coming to an agreement, dispels a cloud of difficulties, and that the powers granted were too limited for this purpose, Lewis resolved to remove the seat of negotiation to London. He chose for this important business Menager, deputy from the city of Rouen to the board of trade, a person of equal knowledge, ability, and prudence. Menager was accordingly dispatched to England, with full powers to adjust the preliminaries of the treaty, and he was attended thither by the English envoy. As the cession of Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay was an article of the utmost consequence to the marine and commerce of France, Menager had particular directions to use the king's power with discretion, and to give up Placentia and Newfoundland upon certain conditions, when he found it absolutely necessary, to the great design of restoring the public tranquillity. As soon as the French minister set foot in London, he began his conferences with the duke of Shrewsbury, the earls of Jersey, Dartmouth, Oxford, and Mr. St. John. After long disputes and various alterations, in which Menager acquitted himself with great address, certain preliminary articles were signed; upon which the French minister was privately introduced to the queen at Windsor. The only difficulty was, that Lewis had not yet acknowledged that princess as queen of Great Britain; but such punctillos were not at this time to stand in the way of a treaty so essential to France. He was received graciously, charged with the queen's compliments to the king, and an assurance that she would neglect nothing in her power to accelerate the negotiations. It was about this time that marshal Tallard was released from his confinement, and permitted to return to

¹ Torcy Negot. tom. ii.

France on his parole: a circumstance which has made some writers imagine, that the marshal made the first overtures of peace. However probable this suggestion may appear, it is false, and positively contradicted by Torcy, the most intelligent writer upon the subject ^k.

The earl of Strafford, lately recalled from Holland, where he resided in quality of ambassador, was, on the departure of Menager, sent back to the Hague, to communicate to the pensionary the preliminaries signed by France and England, to signify the queen's approbation of them, and determine a place where the plenipotentiaries of the several powers should assemble. He was instructed to assure the pensionary, that the queen had granted nothing prejudicial to Holland, and that she was determined to conclude peace in conjunction with her allies. The same declaration was made to count Gallas, the Imperial minister in London, who resented the preliminaries with such indecent warmth, that, to inflame the minds of the people, he caused them to be translated into English, and inserted in the public papers; upon which he was forbid appearing at court. Nor was Holland less alarmed at a transaction carried on with so much privacy. Buys was immediately sent to London, in quality of envoy extraordinary, to intercede with the queen to alter her resolutions. No decency was observed in the declamations poured forth by Dutchmen against the English ministers, who were represented as traitors to their country and to their allies. Upon the queen's declaration that she would regard any delay on the part of the States as a refusal to comply with her propositions, Buys spoke with vehemency and indiscretion against the English administration: he entered into all the factions of the Whigs, to retard the treaty and ruin the ministry; connected himself intimately with Bothmar, the Hanoverian ambassador, and engaged in all the intrigues said to have been set on foot, for immediately calling over the duke of Hanover, and inviting prince Eugene into England. But the queen's firmness, and the miscarriage of all the projects set on foot, intimidated the Dutch, and obliged them to consent that the general conferences should be opened at Utrecht on the 1st day of January ^l.

^k Torcy Negot. tom. ii.

^l Hainault, sub. an. Torcy, *ibid*.

S E C T. XX.

Containing the Negotiations at Utrecht ; the Conclusion of the Peace ; the Operations of War against the Emperor, until he acceded to the Conditions accepted by the other Allies, and gave Peace to Europe by signing the Treaty of Rastadt.

*Conferences
at Utrecht.*

AT the time when the conferences for a general peace were opened at Utrecht, Lewis had no reason to be uneasy about the chimerical pretensions of the Hollanders, or the extravagant demands of the emperor. A free intercourse was carried on with Great Britain ; he was upon good terms with the queen, and was assured that the allies must in time necessarily acquiesce in the conditions which the British ministry would judge equitable. Britain had supported the chief burthen of the war : neither Holland, Portugal, the princes of the empire, or the emperor, had paid their contingencies ; all were in arrears : it would therefore have been impossible for them long to continue the war without the queen's money, troops, and general. Matters, however, went on slowly ; and it was not before the 29th that the conferences were opened at Utrecht, though the 1st day of the month was the time appointed. The marshal de Uxelles, the abbot Polignac, and M. Menager, appeared in quality of plenipotentiaries from the king ; the queen of England granted the same powers to the bishop of Bristol and the earl of Strafford ; and the Dutch deputies named for the congress were Buys and Vanderdussen ; ministers from the emperor, the duke of Savoy, and the other allies, appeared reluctantly at the congress, and all seemed to be actuated with sentiments very opposite to those of the French monarch and her Britannic majesty. A spirit of war seemed to prevail in the United Provinces ; nor was there any hopes that the deputies would alter their behaviour, until Britain spoke with more resolution, and her plenipotentiaries expressed themselves in a language more nervous and peremptory. Prior was impatiently expected by the French ministers, as the angel of peace, intrusted with the queen of England's secret sentiments, which she had not communicated to her plenipotentiaries. But in his room came Mr. Harley, cousin to the lord treasurer, with such instructions

tions as obliged the plenipotentiaries to the queen to declare, that Mr. Harley had demands so important to all the powers in Europe, that unless they were granted the negotiation must necessarily be at an end. It was signified that this demand was already couched, in a memorial presented by the abbé Gaultier. It respected the security which the courts of France and Spain should give, that the crowns of the two kingdoms should never be united in the same person. But of this article the king's plenipotentiaries had no power to treat; a circumstance that greatly astonished the English plenipotentiaries. Lewis, indeed, had wrote to Mr. secretary St. John, that the renunciation demanded was contrary to the fundamental laws of France; but that he had desired his grandson's sentiments upon this important difficulty. Gaultier therefore acquainted the congress with the occasion of the delay, Philip having not yet returned his answer.

Lewis, foreseeing the difficulties that arose from the death of the dauphin, and of so many princes of the blood, imparted his thoughts as early as the month of March to his Catholic majesty, referring the election of prosecuting the war, or renouncing the crown of France, to his own breast. In this letter he advised him to consider the situation of affairs in France and Spain, their inability to continue the war, to consult his own inclinations, and then to take his resolution. In expectation of Philip's answer the negotiations were suspended, this being deemed a fundamental article, to prevent the exorbitant growth of the house of Bourbon. The king urged his grandson to hasten his determination; but the plenipotentiaries growing impatient, he proposed, that the regulation of the Spanish succession, accepted and promulged at the assembly of the cortes, or states of Castile and Arragon, should be received by the allies as sufficient security against the union of the two monarchies; but this proposal was refused, as an insufficient barrier against so great and imminent a danger. To prevent the congress from breaking up, his majesty proposed, by a letter to the English ministry, another alternative; importing, that in case of Philip's refusal to renounce his birthright and pretensions to the crown of France, the most Christian king would, in conjunction with the queen of England, enter into such measures, as should be necessary to determine him, and to secure the conclusion of a peace, in which they had already made so considerable progress. We may judge of the difficulties to which Lewis found himself reduced, before

fore he could be brought to this alternative. The answer was penned by Mr. St. John. It contained assurances that her majesty would be glad of such a peace as the king ought to think reasonable. It was with a view of rendering every thing more agreeable to the king of Spain, that she now left it to that prince's choice, either to renounce his birthright, and preserve the Spanish monarchy with the Indies, or to renounce these, in order to secure his succession to the crown of France, and to receive in exchange for Spain and the Indies the kingdom of Sicily, of which he was now in possession, the kingdom of Naples, the dukedoms of Savoy, Montferrat, and Mantua; on condition that when he, or any of his descendants, should succeed to the crown of France, all those dominions should be united to the same crown, except Sicily only, which should be ceded to the house of Austria. By this project the duke of Savoy was to make the advantageous exchange of his dominions for Spain and the Indies. But the whole evaporated by the determination of king Philip, which was to renounce all pretensions to the crown of France, rather than quit those of Spain, in which it had pleased God to place him, after having struggled with innumerable difficulties.

The most Christian king was now in a condition to talk to the Dutch in a different style than he had used at Gertrudenberg. Finding the States still obstinately attached to their first chimerical preliminaries, he wrote to the plenipotentiaries, acquainting them with the king of Spain's answer, and that the English would now be no longer puzzled to propose a cessation of arms; adding, that it would be needless to look for expedients which might prove pleasing to the other allies. "It would be a very bad one (said he) to offer any cautionary towns to the Dutch; the time for flattering their pride is past; and henceforward, while I treat with them bona fide, I must do it with the dignity that becomes me." A style very different from that of the conferences at the Hague and Gertrudenberg¹.

*Operations
of the cam-
paign in
Flanders.*

Before the conferences made any farther progress, the season came on for taking the field. Villars still commanded in Flanders, and the king had put his army in the best posture which the circumstances of his kingdom would permit; but the chief reliance was upon the change of measures and a general in England. Marlborough was

¹ Torcy. Hainault, & Script. supra citat. ibid.

superfeded by the duke of Ormond, who was sent over with instructions which must have proved extremely disagreeable to a nobleman of spirit. Previous, however, to his taking the command, the earl of Albemarle, general of the Dutch forces, bombarded Arras, laid the suburbs in ashes, set fire to some houses in the city, and then retired. Ormond joined prince Eugene at Tournay, but with express orders not to hazard a battle, or engage considerably in any offensive measures; a circumstance well known to Villars, who therefore abated of his usual vigilance, and permitted prince Eugene to invest Quesnoi. The trenches were opened, under cover of the army commanded by the duke of Ormond; but an amnesty being now signed between the king and the queen of England, the duke was preparing to withdraw the English forces, and the foreigners in the pay of Great Britain. Prince Eugene, however, prosecuted the siege with such vigour and ability, that the garrison surrendered on the 4th of July, after sustaining a siege of three weeks. Soon after this exploit, to dazzle the confederates with some bold enterprize, prince Eugene detached general Grovestein, with fifteen hundred horse, to penetrate into the very bowels of France. Grovestein advanced into Champagne, passed the Noire, the Maese, the Moselle, the Saar, and retired to Traerbach with a rich booty, and a great number of hostages, after having levied contributions to the gates of Metz, and spread terror and consternation to Paris and Versailles. Marshal Villars was no sooner acquainted with the march of this partisan, than he retaliated, sending Pasteur with a detachment, who penetrating beyond Bergen-op-zoom, ravaged the island of Tertola belonging to Zealand, and overwhelmed the seven provinces with dismay^m.

The cessation of arms between France and England having been proclaimed, the fortifications of the town, the citadel, and the forts of Dunkirk, were consigned to the English troops, who landed there, under the conduct of general Hill. The king's fleet, vessels, and gallies, remained in the port; the intendant and the magistrates continued to exercise their several offices in the town, but the garrison retired to Winexberg.

In the mean time prince Eugene laid siege to Landrecy, and had prevailed on the foreign troops in the British pay not to obey the orders of the duke of Ormond; but his

^m Hainault, sub. an. Daniel, sub. an.

inferiority in point of strength, and the activity of Villars, obliged him to relinquish the enterprize. The earl of Albemarle was encamped with seventeen battalions and fourteen squadrons at Denain, to cover the lines. He was separated by the Scheld from prince Eugene's right wing. Eugene had drawn these lines from the Scheld to the Scarpe, to cover his convoys against the garrisons of Cambray and Valenciennes, and his grand magazines near Marchiennes. Villars, having formed the design of seizing upon these magazines, and forcing the camp at Denain, advanced to Chastillon, as if he intended to attack the confederates before Landrecy. To confirm the enemy in this opinion, he had thrown bridges over the river. Prince Eugene, no longer doubting that an attack was meditated, raised an intrenchment before his left wing, posted general Fagel behind with forty battalions, and advanced his right towards Landrecy, by which means he was three leagues distant from Denain. Villars, having thus attained his aim, lost no time in the farther execution of his project. He ordered the count de Broglie in the evening to advance with forty squadrons along the Selle, and guard all the posts of this small river so carefully, that the enemies out-parties should not be able to discover the march of the main army. He threw a bridge over the Scheld at Neuville, and was ready next morning to march his army over, before prince Eugene was apprised of his motions. A measure so prudently concerted, could not fail of success in the hands of the spirited and active Villars. Before the Imperial general could bring up any part of his army, the marshal had stormed and forced the lines between Neuville and Denain. After seizing a convoy of five hundred bread waggons that lay behind the lines, and taken prisoners the guard, composed of five hundred horse and an equal number of foot, he led his infantry against the intrenchment at Denain, lined by seventeen battalions. The resistance of the enemy was great; but the marshal attacked them so impetuously, that, after a bloody conflict, the French entered the camp, put all to the sword, and made terrible slaughter. Part of the enemy had retired to the village and abbey; they were again assaulted, and pressed so vigorously, that several battalions, endeavouring to save themselves by flight, were drowned in the Scheld. In a word, of seventeen battalions only four hundred men escaped, all the rest having been killed, taken, or swallowed up by the waters. At the close of the battle prince Eugene arrived with fresh troops,

Villars obtains a victory at Denain.

troops, and presenting himself before the bridge of Prouvi, defended by Algerotti, attacked it with great impetuosity, and was so warmly received, that he dropt the attempt, after losing four battalions. French writers allege, that if he had persisted longer in the attack it would have cost him his whole army: Germans, on the other hand, are positive he would have carried it; but both agree that the remonstrances of the Dutch deputies prevented the prince from making farther efforts. By this action the spirits of the French nation were elated; they had not been accustomed to victory in the Netherlands, and every advantage gained over so renowned a general as prince Eugene, was an uncontested addition to the lustre of Villars's character, at the same time that it shewed the confederates how inadequate was their strength, now they were deprived of the assistance of England.

In consequence of the victory of Denain, the strong post at Marchiennes was forced, after an obstinate resistance, by which Villars gained possession of a hundred pieces of cannon, three hundred waggons, and an immense magazine of stores and provisions. The projects of the allies were now wholly disconcerted, and the Dutch began to think more seriously of peace. To accelerate their resolutions, marshal Villars encompassed Doway and the fort of Scarpe. After twelve days open trenches the fort was taken, and the garrison made prisoners of war. The sluices were then opened, the waters drawn off, and the approaches to the town pushed with vigour. Though the garrison consisted of three thousand men, the besiegers surrendered in thirteen days prisoners of war, and just upon the same conditions granted to the French at Quesnoi.

On the very day that Doway surrendered, Sept. 8. Quesnoi was invested by a large detachment, commanded by the marquis St. Fremont. Villars arrived next day and covered the siege with his army, which he posted so advantageously as to frustrate all prince Eugene's attempts to succour the besieged. The defence was obstinate, but fruitless. On the 4th of October the garrison, consisting of two thousand men, surrendered prisoners of war, and Villars completed one of the most important, if not the most brilliant, conquest of the war. Prince Eugene had here laid up his artillery, after raising the siege of Landrecy; it fell into the hands of marshal Villars, and amounted to an hundred and sixteen pieces of heavy cannon, an infinity of a smaller calibre, forty mortars, four hundred

*Doway and
Bouchain
taken.*

thousand weight of powder, and a prodigious quantity of balls, bombs, grenadoes, and other military stores. Though the season was now rigorous, Villars thought the reduction of Bouchain necessary to fill the measure of glory acquired in this successful campaign. The garrison consisted of four battalions, and the fortifications had been considerably enlarged and improved by the confederates; but nothing could withstand the activity of Villars, and the impetuosity of a French army flushed with success. All the retribution made by the enemy, consisted in the reduction of Fort Knocque, garrisoned with an hundred and fifty French soldiers, and surprised by a German partizan.

*Affairs in
Germany,
Spain, and
Italy.*

In Germany nothing occurred besides an attack made by the duke of Wirtemberg on the French lines at Weissemburg, in which he was repulsed. In Italy the Germans were more successful; they reduced the garrison of Fort Philippe to the necessity of surrendering at discretion. Porto Ercole met with the same fate, after withstanding for two months the utmost efforts of the enemy. Nor did the campaign in Spain furnish any very material transactions. The archduke's party now acted entirely on the defensive; yet did Philip neglect pushing the advantages that were in his power from his superiority. Several sieges were formed, but relinquished; the most considerable was that of Campo Major in Portugal, invested on the 27th of October by the marquis de Bay. After the marquis had pressed the garrison vigorously, for three weeks open trenches, he effected a breach, but was prevented by deluges of rain from rendering it practicable, and giving the assault. An attempt, however, was made to storm the breach; but the valour of the besieged rendered it fruitless, and obliged the marquis to raise the siege with precipitation. Soon after a suspension of arms between Spain and Portugal was proclaimed at Madrid and Lisbon, by which an entire stop was put to the progress of the campaign.

*Naval
transac-
tions.*

Lewis's chief attention was employed in removing every obstruction to the treaty with England, and, by vigorous efforts in the Netherlands, to reduce the emperor and States of Holland to accede to the propositions for re-establishing the tranquillity of Europe; but he did not neglect his marine, now more capable of acting with vigour, since the armistice with England. An expedition was projected against the island of St. Jago, one of the principal of the Cape de Verdes, and a squadron for this purpose

pose was equipped at Toulon, under the conduct of fleur Cassart. This officer anchoring at the Fort de la Braye, landed one thousand men, summoned the garrison, and received their submission without exchanging a shot. Next day he appeared before the town of St. Jago, landed his men, and assumed so determined a countenance, that the governor surrendered at discretion, though the place was difficult of access, and the island in a condition to raise ten thousand men. The governor agreed to ransom the town and fort at sixty thousand piasters; but, without regarding the capitulation, he escaped with the chief inhabitants into the mountains. Cassart gave six days for recollection; but receiving no answer, he blew up the forts, burst forty pieces of iron cannon, carried off seventeen brass ones, with two hundred barrels of powder, a great quantity of merchandize, and four hundred Negroes, giving the town to be pillaged by the soldiers; after which he laid it in ashes. Afterwards Cassart set sail for Surinam, a Dutch colony in South America, laid siege to the place, and obliged the governor to purchase his security at the price of nine hundred thousand florins. The Medusa frigate, detached from his squadron, levied a contribution of three hundred and fifteen thousand florins on Brabin, another Dutch colonyⁿ.

Notwithstanding these trivial successes, it was high time for Lewis to put an end to a war which had ruined his people, impaired his own health, sacrificed his felicity, and worn out the lives of his best officers, grown old in prosecuting his ambitious projects. This year the active and experienced marshal Catinat, whose name will ever be memorable in Italy, yielded up his last breath at his castle of St. Gratian. He was soon followed to the grave by the renowned, the amiable, and the philosophical hero, Lewis Joseph, duke of Vendosme, after he had, by his glorious victories, firmly established king Philip in possession of the Spanish monarchy, and, in the course of one campaign, raised him from a fugitive to the throne of a powerful kingdom. The king's main object was to terminate all differences with Great Britain; this, however, was retarded by some unforeseen difficulties that arose in adjusting the commerce, and the limits of the countries possessed by both nations in South America. A long dispute ensued, and the French plenipotentiaries held frequent conferences

*Death of
Vendosme
and Cati-
nat.*

A.D. 1713.

ⁿ Hainault, sub ann. Daniel, tom. v. sub. ann. Volt. tom. i. chap. xxii. p. 340.

*Negocia-
tions of
peace.*

with the duke of Shrewsbury and Mr. Prior, At length matters were compromised greatly to the advantage of France, and satisfaction of the king and people. Both sides were ready to sign their respective treaties on the 11th day of April. Notice was given by the English to the other plenipotentiaries of the allies; but count Zinzendorf now exerted himself to raise fresh obstructions. Lewis granted to the intercession of the British ministers, that his Imperial majesty should have time to consider whether he would accept the proposals made by France; but this indulgence was extended no farther than the 1st day of June; nor would Lewis in the mean time check the ardor of his troops by consenting to an armistice.

With respect to Holland, the States were highly incensed at the conduct of the queen of England. As soon as the duke of Ormond had withdrawn his army from Quefnoi, they concluded, that all the troops in the British pay would be lost to the confederates, and whatever the prince's success might prove, the United Provinces would be exposed to danger. In this critical juncture they reproached the English plenipotentiaries with the treacherous conduct of the ministry. They already imagined themselves exposed to all the ravages of a justly incensed enemy, and reflected with horror on the disrespectful behaviour shewn at the conferences of Gertrudenberg to the most Christian king. They took heart, however, on advice that the foreign auxiliaries had refused to obey the duke of Ormond; but this glimmering of hope was soon extinguished. The miscarriage before Landrecy, the defeat at Denain, and the reduction of Doway and Bouchain, evinced the king's superiority, and the inability of the allies to continue the war without Great Britain. All these expectations, with which prince Eugene had fed their obstinate aversion to peace, were now blasted, their eyes opened, and their ministers bent on measures, very different from that insolence and pride with which their success had formerly inspired the republic. Holland was now forced to have recourse to the British plenipotentiaries to intercede with France, that the long interrupted conferences might be renewed. This interruption was occasioned by the obstinacy of the Dutch deputies, who refused admitting any answers from the king's plenipotentiaries that were not put in writing. They now dropt this pretension, and Lewis, at the request of the British ministers, consented to resume the conferences. Zinzendorf posted away from the Hague to Utrecht, upon hearing that the deputies had

had recourse to the mediation of the English for renewing the conferences. He repeated his exhortations and promises, to raise the drooping spirits of the republicans. He endeavoured to demonstrate, that it was the interest of Holland to temporize, and assured them, that prince Eugene was in full march to give battle to Villars. His remonstrances had some weight with the deputies; but what chiefly contributed to prolong the delay in the renewal of the conferences, was the following incident, in itself immaterial, but important, as it retarded the negotiations for giving peace to Europe. Richteren, deputy of the province of Overyffel, alleged, that in passing M. Menager's house, his servants were insulted by the footmen of that minister, by ridiculous grimaces, and indecent gestures. He complained to M. Menager, and demanded satisfaction. Menager answered in writing, that he should be far from permitting his domestics to insult the servants of the count de Richteren; that he was ready to give up any of them who were seen committing those indecencies, or his people could prove guilty. Before this answer was brought back, Richteren was gone to the Hague; it was therefore left to one of his colleagues. On the count's return, he sent his secretary to demand satisfaction of Menager, and received the same answer as before. He now acknowledged that he was not an eyewitness of the offence, but insisted for the liberty of sending to the French minister's house, in order to fix upon the offenders. Before any thing farther happened, Menager, taking a walk with the other plenipotentiaries, met Richteren, who, after mutual compliments, said he still demanded satisfaction, and insisted upon searching the French minister's house. This demand was refused; upon which Richteren with vehemence exclaimed, that the master and the servants would do themselves justice. "I represent (said he) a sovereign as well as you, and am not a man that will bear with such insults." He afterwards spoke something in Dutch to his servants behind, who immediately fell upon Menager's footmen, struck them on the face, and threatened to stab them with their long knives. Complaint was made to Richteren; and he immediately replied, "Every time they behave thus I will reward them; and if they had not done so, I should have turned them away." His colleagues endeavoured to excuse this extravagant behaviour; but finding their apologies insufficient, they took the same method of denying that he had spoken words, which all of them had heard,

and which they laboured to excuse. They intreated, that the whole should be looked upon as a quarrel among their servants, and begged of the French plenipotentiaries, that they would leave the affair to the arbitration of the English ambassadors, without either acquainting the king or the States-general with the dispute. The mediation of the English was not refused; but Menager persisted in demanding satisfaction, and rejected the excuses made by the deputies. They pretended that Richteren was drunk when he expressed himself so unguardedly; but the French minister insisted he should now make reparation when he was sober. Difficulties multiplied, and Menager acquainted the king with the whole transaction. It must be acknowledged; that this was an artful shift of both parties to procrastinate the conferences, to which Menager and Richteren were equally averse. The former knew his master's inclinations to humble the Dutch, and the necessity of delaying the conferences with the deputies, until every thing was fully adjusted with the queen of Great Britain. Richteren, on the other hand, from motives of gratitude to the emperor, who had created him a count, and of interest, as his brothers enjoying lucrative employments in the army, by no means desired peace. On the contrary, he was continually dissuading the province of Overysse from consenting to any treaty, but in concert with the emperor. Of all these circumstances, Menager took care to acquaint the king.

In consequence of the minister's representations, Lewis insisted that the States-general should declare, whether Richteren had followed their orders in approving of the violent behaviour of his domestic, in expressing himself with such vehemence and indecency; or whether he had only been directed by his own passions, heated and inflamed by the ministers of the house of Austria. If he had acted in obedience to his instructions, it was obvious the French plenipotentiaries could remain no longer in safety at Utrecht. If he was actuated by passion and private interest, it was reasonable the States-general should disavow the behaviour of a minister, who so grossly abused their confidence. In the end Lewis presented the terms, which consisted in recalling Richteren, and nominating another deputy.

Holland being now sufficiently mortified, the conferences were resumed. The king demanded restitution of Lisle, as an equivalent for the demolition of Dunkirk. He excepted Tournay, Condé, and Maubeuge, out of the barrier

rier demanded by the States. He required that all the fortresses taken since the year 1709 from the French should be restored: nor did he forget the interests of his faithful ally the elector of Bavaria; they were implied in those restrictions. Lisle accordingly was ceded by the deputies; but the restitution of Tournay created difficulties, as the English plenipotentiaries, as well as the Dutch, seemed to oppose this measure. At last, in compliance with the queen of England's remonstrances, the king yielded up his pretensions to that town, though he might have maintained them with some hopes of success. He was eager to secure peace, which the circumstances of his kingdom, his declining health, his old age, and the apprehensions of a minority, rendered every way necessary. Accordingly, on the 29th day of January, the plenipotentiaries proceeded to give the finishing stroke to the barrier treaty demanded by the Dutch, and settling the succession of the crown of Great Britain in the Protestant line. Not long after, contracts for the neutrality of Italy, for the evacuation of Catalonia, and the islands of Majorca and Ivica, were signed. As the emperor and several princes of the empire still refused to accede to the scheme of peace proposed, and the treaties between Spain and the other powers required debate and deliberation, it was determined to conclude matters with Great Britain, Holland, Savoy, and the other allies^a.

On the 11th of April, the treaties with the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, Savoy, Portugal, and the States-general, were signed. Two days before, the treaties of commerce between France and England had been ratified by the queen and parliament. In the treaty with the king of Portugal, it was agreed, that whatever places were taken, or forts built, in the colonies out of Europe, the places should be restored, and the forts demolished. The full property and sovereignty of the two banks, and the navigation of the river of the Amazons, was acknowledged to belong to his Portuguese majesty; and Lewis desisted from his pretensions to the lands of the Cape de Nord. To the king of Prussia cession was made of the town of Guelders, with part of the upper quarter of the Spanish Guelderland, the country of Kessel, and the balliage of Kreckenbeck. He was likewise acknowledged sovereign lord of the principality of Neufchatel and Vallengin, and the inhabitants were granted the same privileges

Conclusion of the conferences.

Treaties with Portugal and Prussia;

^a Torcy, Neg. tom. ii. Daniel, tom. v. Hainault, sub. ann.

in France as the other Swiss cantons. On the other hand, the king of Prussia renounced all pretensions to the principality of Orange, and the lordships of Chalons and Chastelbelin, undertaking to satisfy the late prince Nassau Frise with an equivalent. By this article liberty remained to his Prussian majesty to call that part of Guelderland, ceded to him, by the name of the principality of Orange, and to retain the title and arms of the principality. Besides these, there were two other articles which merit observation: the one was, that Lewis and Philip consented to give his Prussian majesty the title of king, and to pay his ministers the honours due to the ministers of a crowned head: the other, that the king of Prussia should cede to the archbishop of Cologne the town of Rhineberg, as soon as peace between the empire and France should be concluded; but without prejudice to his claim on the archbishoprick.

*with
Savoy;*

By the treaty with Savoy, the island of Sicily, with the title of king, were given to that prince. He was likewise secured in the succession of the Spanish monarchy and the Indies, for himself and his heirs male, in case of failure in the king of Spain and his posterity. The frontiers of France and Savoy were so regulated, that the summit of the Alps was to be the fixed boundary. Pursuant to this determination, Savoy yielded to the king the valley of Barcelonetta, with its dependencies; and the king restored to the duke the duchy of Savoy, the county of Nice, the valley of Rangelos, with the forts of Exilles and Fenestrelles; in a word, all the country along the Alps, towards Piedmont.

*with
Holland;*

His catholic majesty's renunciation of the crown of France, and the solemn cession of all pretensions to the crown of Spain and the Indies, by the dukes of Berry and Orleans, formed the basis of the treaties with Great Britain and the States-general. Each of these treaties had also their particular conditions. Those with Holland may be reduced to four heads. The first and second comprehend what the king promised to restore to the house of Austria in the Netherlands, and what the States-general agreed to cede to Lewis. The third and fourth regard the elector of Cologne and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel. His majesty promised to sequester in the hands of the States-general, for the house of Austria, all that France or her allies possessed in the Spanish Netherlands at the conclusion of the treaty of Ryfwick: but it was stipulated that Austria should not be put in possession before she had consented

consented to the barrier received by the States; that his Prussian majesty should retain what was granted in the treaty with him; that a portion of land, to the yearly value of thirty thousand crowns, should be reserved in the duchies of Luxemburgh and Limburgh, and erected into a principality for the princess de Ursino, that ambitious woman, who had more than once, with her airy projects, broke off the negociations for the tranquility of Europe; that the elector of Bavaria should be compensated for his great losses; that he should be restored to the rank of ninth elector, and to the estates he formerly possessed in the empire, except the Palatinate; that he should be put in possession of the island of Sardinia, with the title of king; and that in the mean time he should hold, as an equivalent, the sovereignty and revenues of the city and duchy of Luxemburgh, the city and county of Namur, and Charleroy. Other cessions besides were deposited in the hands of the States, for the use of the house of Austria; but upon this express condition, that the Roman Catholic religion should, in all these places, be preserved in the same condition as at the commencement of the war; that the magistrates should be Catholics, the clergy religious, and that the knights of Malta should enjoy their revenues. The States-general reciprocally consented to restore to the king the town and castellany of Lisle, Lalen, Lagorgue, Aire, Bethune, St. Venant, and Fort Francis. As to the elector of Cologne, the king promised he should demolish the fortifications of Bonne in three months after his establishment. It was farther agreed, that the States-general should maintain garrisons in Huy and the citadel of Liege at their own expence; that the town of St. Goar and the fortrefs of Rhinfeldtz should remain to the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and his successors, provided they maintained the catholic religion. An equivalent was to be given to the prince of Hesse Rhinfeldtz.

With respect to Great Britain, the king consented to the succession of that crown in the Protestant line of the house of Hanover; to the demolition of the fortifications and harbour of Dunkirk; to the cession of certain places in America, such as Newfoundland, Hudson's Bay, and Acadia. Gibraltar and Minorca were ceded to the crown of Great Britain by Spain, and certain privileges with respect to the American trade were granted by Philip to British subjects, which were denied to the French, who had placed him on his throne. We may reckon among the articles most glorious to the queen, that she obtained *with England.* the

the liberty of such of the king's subjects as were imprisoned on account of conscience and religion. This, indeed, was turning victory to noble purposes; it was dictating to a great monarch how to govern his own subjects, and pursuing the feelings of humanity amidst the labyrinths of politics¹.

The emperor refuses the terms of accommodation.

Peace was now happily restored to all Europe, except the empire and Spain, from whence the emperor refused to withdraw his forces, either from a confidence in the great abilities of prince Eugene, or the mistaken counsels of his ministers. Charles VI. denied his consent to the treaty of Utrecht, hoping, notwithstanding the misfortunes of the preceding campaigns, to obtain better conditions. Had he acceded to the proposals then made, he would have avoided the mortification of experiencing how unequal the strength of the house of Austria is to that of France, when unassisted by Great Britain and Holland. He persisted in war, and met with disappointments and disgraces. Villars, loaded with glory from his late victory over the most renowned general of the empire, took the field once more to oppose the celebrated Eugene, and, by additional conquests, to restore the tarnished lustre of the French arms. The prince was encamped near Philippsburgh, beyond the Rhine; and Villars, by a long and secret march, posted himself on the opposite bank of the same river, extending his wings from the causeway of Philippsburgh to Spire, thus cutting off from Landau, upon which he formed a design, all possibility of succour.

Progress of the war.

On the 12th of June the town was invested, and twelve days afterwards the trenches were opened, and the siege pushed with vigour, under the direction of marshal de Bezons. At the same time the town and castle of Keiserautern were attacked and carried by detachments made from the main army; M. Dillon obliged the garrison, composed of seven hundred men, to surrender at discretion, and immediately afterwards reduced the castle of Wolfstein. These excursions did not retard the siege of Landau; Bezons pressed the garrison so closely, erected his batteries so judiciously, and plied the enemy so warmly with his cannon, that, by the 20th of August, he was preparing to storm the breach; a circumstance which obliged prince Alexander of Wirtembergh, with his garrison of five thousand five hundred men, to surrender

¹ Torcy, *ibid.* Voltaire, tom. i. p. 342. Smollett, lib. viii. cap. 11.

prisoners of war. Every post was taken, and a lodgment made sword in hand; so that the French lost above three thousand men in this siege; but it augmented the reputation of Lewis's arms, and paved the way for a blow more decisive and fatal to the emperor.

The next object that attracted the notice of the victorious Villars, was the strong town of Friburg; but it was not possible to invest this place without forcing the enemy's lines, extending from Hornbergh to the outworks of Friburg. General Vaubonne was entrenched at Roscof with seventeen battalions and a body of cavalry, in a situation almost inaccessible; but marshal Villars, determined to conquer all difficulties, after several feints, arrived on the 20th of September within sight of the lines, on the side of Friburg. Dispositions were immediately made for an attack. The left was conducted by the count d'Estrades; and the duke de Mortemar, the chevalier d'Asfeldt, and sieur de Guerchois, commanded in the center; and count de Bourg was on the right, while Villars took post wherever glory was to be acquired, and his presence could be useful. The Imperialists sustained three attacks with great firmness, but the fourth was pushed with such impetuosity, as baffled all resistance; the lines were forced, and the enemy driven back with prodigious slaughter. Still, however, the greatest obstacle remained; the right line, supported by the entrenched camp, was untouched. A steep mountain was to be climbed and possessed before the enemy could be attacked, or the advantage rendered decisive. No difficulties could retard the French soldiers, eager to gain a complete victory, and whetted only by the success already obtained. Animated by the presence of the marshal, and the example of their officers, they proceeded with such resolution, as diffused a panic through the Imperial army, made them desert their posts, and suffer the French to take possession of the camp, without making scarce any resistance. Thus were prince Eugene's lines forced, marshal Vaubonne's camp taken, and the way opened for the siege of Friburg, the capital of Anterior Austria.

Villars successful in Germany.

On the 1st day of November Friburg was invested. No city was ever attacked or defended with greater valour. The baron d'Arfeh commanded the garrison, and shewed, by his vigilance and courage, how deserving he was of being opposed to Villars. It was not before the last day of the month that the trenches were opened; then began a furious discharge of artillery from the batteries, while the besieged

bésieged made frequent and vigorous sallies. In one of these they were so successful as to recover a lodgment, and gain possession of the head of the trenches; but they could not maintain their ground; they were furiously charged and driven thence by the chevalier de Pésieux. While the French grenadiers were marching out to attack a half-moon and the covered-way, the besieged sallied out with great impetuosity, and produced a bloody conflict, in which, after great slaughter on both sides, they were defeated. The attack of the covered-way was not disturbed by this accident; it was led on by the count de Bourg and Valori, engineer-general, who met with an obstinate resistance; at length, on the arrival of the marshal, it was stormed, and the enemy put to the sword. A lodgment, at the same time was effected on the half-moon, not without great effusion of blood; in both attacks above two thousand men perished, among whom were some general officers. Most of the month was employed in drawing off the waters, filling up the ditch, making a breach, and building bridges for the assaults, during which time the besieged kept up a terrible fire. At length, every thing being in readiness for a general assault, baron d'Arfeh retired to the citadel, sending notice to the marshal, that he left the town to his discretion, and two thousand sick and wounded he was forced to leave behind. Villars, having taken possession of the city, began his approaches against the citadel; and pushed them so vigorously, that the baron soon surrendered by capitulation, after he had sent a courier to prince Eugene, and found he could expect no relief. By the reduction of Friburgh, Villars had the honour of restoring the military reputation of France, of terminating the war, and of concluding peace with the emperor, by a treaty signed with prince Eugene at Rastadt. This was perhaps the first time that two opposite generals quitted the field to negotiate in the names of their sovereigns. But, before we come to the particulars of the treaty, it will be necessary to relate the transactions in Catalonia, where the emperor still maintained an army.

Count Staremberg had kept Gironne closely blocked up from the month of October, in the preceding year. He was now forced to retire, on advice that marshal Berwick was in full march to give him battle. Philip's general had already passed the Ter, a circumstance which obliged Staremberg to retreat with so much precipitation, that he left behind a part of his artillery, several loaded waggons, and

and great store of provision and ammunition. He had lost near two thousand men during the blockade; and the arms of the Imperialists were not more fortunate in Spain than in Germany. Berwick's sudden approach made the enemy evacuate Cervera, and excited a commotion in Barcelona in favour of the catholic king. So violently were the people set against the house of Austria, that the empress, who still continued here, found it necessary to her security to introduce several more regiments into the city. Nor could this precaution over-awe the mutineers; cries were heard in the night, alarms given, Philip's standards erected, and pasquinades fixed on the palace; but the arrival of an English squadron quieted the people. The empress then declared to the magistrates, that the circumstances of affairs obliged his Imperial majesty to renounce his pretensions to the Spanish monarchy. This declaration produced a tumult; the Catalonians, ever inconstant, suddenly dropped their resentment against the house of Austria, and were now as eager for the stay of the Germans as they were a little before for their departure; nor could the sedition be appeased but by menaces of introducing the French and Spanish troops^a.

Happily for Europe, and particularly for Germany, the war was now drawing to a conclusion. Charles VI. finding all his efforts against France baffled, was forced to accept of worse terms than had been offered at Utrecht. His towns had been reduced, his armies defeated in two successive campaigns, and his general, the first in reputation in Europe, had the mortification to see his laurels, collected with toil, blighted by the rancorous breath of malice and envy. It was the jealousy of the Imperial council, not the superiority of Villars's genius, that triumphed over Eugene. This consideration gave Villars occasion to tell the prince, on their meeting at Rastadt, "Sir, we are not enemies; your enemies are at Vienna, mine at Versailles." Both indeed were persecuted by factions and cabals at their several courts. The very names of these ministers were sufficient testimonials of their characters. They had tried their strength in the field, now they measured their genius in the cabinet. No mention was made of the emperor's vain title to the Spanish monarchy; peace was too essential to the empire, to be deferred for parade: however, it must be observed, in ho-

A.D. 1714.
*Treaty of
Rastadt.*

^a Volt. tom. i. chap. 22. Daniel, tom. v. Hainault, tom. lii. sub an.

nour of Lewis, that at three several treaties, at the conclusion of as many general wars, he seemed the principal support of the Germanic liberties. At Munster, he procured an eighth electorate in favour of the house of Bavaria. The treaty of Nimeguen confirmed that of Westphalia. By the treaty of Ryfwick, cardinal Fustemberg was restored to all his estates and titles; and, lastly, by the treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt two electors were established. In a word, Lewis gave law to the empire, and he had it prescribed to him by Great Britain. The particular conditions, signed by Eugene and Villars, were, that Lewis should yield to the emperor the fort of Keil; the city of Friburg, with all its appendages; Old Brisac, with all its dependencies; but that fort Mortier, with some other places upon the Rhine, should belong to the Christian king: that the fortifications of Hunningen, Homberg, Selingen, and la Pile, should be demolished; but that fort Lewis should remain the property of France: that the king should execute the treaty of Ryfwick, and restore his conquests in the empire, except the places stipulated: that Lewis should hold Landau, and its dependencies, as before the war, his Imperial majesty taking upon himself to obtain the consent of the empire: that the king should acknowledge the electoral dignity in the house of Hanover: that the electors of Cologne and Bavaria should be restored by the emperor to their estates, dignities, rights, rank, and prerogatives, which they enjoyed before the war; by virtue of this article, the Palatinate, excepted in the treaty of Holland, was now given to the elector of Bavaria; but the following article stipulated, that Sardinia, designed for him, should remain to the emperor: that the king should leave the emperor in the quiet possession of the estates he actually enjoyed in Italy; but that the emperor should do speedy justice to the dukes of Guastalla and Mirandola, and the prince of Castiglioni: that conferences should be held in Switzerland, for regulating, and reducing to form, the treaty with the empire, when all the princes of the empire should give their consent to the present agreement. Afterwards the peace with the emperor was proclaimed at Paris, on the 19th day of April. Thus Lewis, by his constancy and perseverance, obtained conditions, after numberless defeats and misfortunes, more favourable than some years before he could procure, after a rapid course of the most brilliant victories recorded in history. It will appear, indeed, from comparing the treaties of Utrecht and Ryfwick, that

not a single acquisition was made by any of the parties, in consequence of a tedious war which had almost desolated Europe, and for a series of years subjected it to every kind of calamity.

S E C T. XXI.

Containing a Survey of the Civil Policy of France, the Progress of Arts and Sciences, during the Reign of Lewis XIV.

THE reign of Lewis the Great effected a total revolution in the arts, genius, manners, and civil policy, of the French nation. It was by enlightening the mind, introducing science, and removing that dark cloud of ignorance, in which the greater part of Europe was still enveloped, that these great purposes were effected. The experimental academy at Florence, founded by Leopold de Medicis, and the Royal Society in London, furnished the French king with the idea of a philosophical institution, which soon became an incorporated society, of the utmost utility to knowledge. No pains, no expences, were spared, to engage persons eminent in science to honour the new academy with their presence; Cassini was brought from Italy, and Huygens from Holland, by the offer of large pensions and a fine philosophical retreat. Darkeness was dispelled from the human mind, and jargon banished the schools; the philosophers' stone was no longer the pursuit of naturalists; nor the prediction of future events, the study of astronomers. Every part of knowledge was accurately examined, and those particularly which regarded the conveniency of mankind, and the interests of society. The schools of civil law were again opened, and professors of French law established in all the universities of the kingdom. In a word, the spirit of good sense, that now prevailed, destroyed insensibly those silly prejudices and superstitious notions which had so long enthralled reason, and fettered the mind in shackles, which could only be removed by the influence of science. To these first dawnings of good sense, Voltaire attributes that celebrated declaration of Lewis, prohibiting the tribunals of justice from receiving informations of witchcraft. In the reign of his predecessor, such an edict might have produced dangerous consequences; now it was considered as an instance of the monarch's good sense and humanity.

France, however, hardly kept pace with some other nations in philosophy; that the people made any progress, was owing to the king and Colbert, who never failed to drag merit out of obscurity, and modesty to the exertion of talent. Poetry, oratory, and the eloquence of the bar, pulpit, and historian, were pushed to the summit of perfection under the auspices of Lewis. Corneille and Racine brought tragedy to perfection; Bourdaloue, Bossuet, Fenelon, and the abbé de St. Real, shone in eloquence and history. Moliere was the legislator of French comedy; his dramatic pieces banished affectation, as far as it could be separated from a lively presuming people. As to music, painting, sculpture, and architecture, they were in the womb at the accession of Lewis XIV. it was the obstetric hand of Colbert which brought them to light. The simplicity and exquisite taste of Lully then first charmed the ear; Colbert, the Mæcenæ of all the arts, laid the foundation of an academy of painting, a school that has produced pieces not unworthy of a Raphael or a Titian. The same encouragement was given to the study of architecture, though with unequal success. As to sculpture, the equestrian statue of the most Christian king at Bourdeaux, the tomb of cardinal Richelieu in the chapel of the Sorbonne, and the baths of Apollo at Versailles, are proofs of the progress of the French nation in this elegant art.

But Colbert did not confine himself to the culture of the mind; to render a kingdom respectable, it was necessary to introduce riches; and, to perpetuate the felicity of the people, ease, conveniency, order, and industry, were indispensable. He began with relieving the subject from the burden of oppressive taxes, at the same time that he augmented the revenue by introducing regularity and œconomy. All the great roads were levelled and repaired, and the canal of Languedoc formed, merely to assist industry. The year 1667 was at once the epoch of Lewis's first laws and first conquests; he possessed the happy art of making foreign victories and domestic policy go hand in hand. The civil ordinance appeared first; then the statutes of manufactures, the criminal edicts, the commercial and marine codes. His severity against duelling proved most beneficial to the nation, by giving a check to the remains of barbarism and ignorance, which allowed, that right, innocence, and opinion, should be adjudged by strength of arm.

In a former volume of this work, the reader will find an explicit account of the rise and progress of the French East India company; about the same time a company was formed to traffic to the West Indies. These new establishments were condemned^a, because they were not understood; they were termed ideal, because they exceeded the narrow comprehensions of shallow politicians. But the philosophical spirit excited by Colbert in France at length corrected the vulgar prejudices; the people were forced to acknowledge, that with all the œconomy, correctness, and regularity of Sully's judgment, he possessed the most extensive talents, a genius for improvements, projects, and the most useful establishments. This, however, is an honour granted only to his memory; the body of that great minister, after his death, hardly escaped being torn in pieces by the mad multitude.

To encourage industry, and render the kingdom populous, Colbert persuaded the king to encourage marriages in the provinces, by exempting all those who should marry at a certain age from paying taxes for the space of five years. Even this most popular of all institutions had its opposers, because it proceeded from Colbert. It was likewise an excellent regulation of the same minister, that every father of a family of ten children should for life be exempted from taxes, because the labour of his family contributed more to the state than the taxes he would have paid. In short, every year of Colbert's administration was distinguished by some wholesome ordinance, some useful establishment and improvement. Silks were manufactured in different parts of the kingdom, and fine broad-cloths made at Abbeville, the king advancing two thousand livres, besides other gratifications, to the manufacturer for every loom he employed. The carpets of Turkey and Persia were rivalled in the Savonnerie; and the tapestries of Flanders were equalled at the Gobelins, in design and pattern they were superior. In a word, laces, stockings, fine glasses, earthen-wares, and all the variety of new manufactures, were diligently cultivated, and rapidly attained in perfection.

Military improvements were not neglected; every day introduced some new manœuvre or weapon. Lewis first armed muskets with bayonets, and rendered infantry impenetrable. To this monarch posterity owes the proper use of artillery: he instituted academies for this purpose

^a Vide Mem. Abbé de Choisi, Pelisson, vol. ii.

at Doway and Metz; and the regiment of artillery was at last, says Voltaire, filled with officers who were almost all capable of conducting a siege. He likewise formed a regiment of bombardiers, and another of hussars. Companies of cadets were maintained in most of the frontier towns, where they were taught geometry, drawing, and the military exercises. To encourage merit, the order of St. Lewis was established; and to shelter the infirm, wounded, and decrepid veteran, the hospital for invalids was founded. To these regulations Lewis owed the strength, the union, and the spirit, of his forces. Officers and soldiers were actuated equally by motives of interest and glory to the discharge of their duty. Louvois was the spring of military changes; sometimes indeed, he abused the power lodged in his hands, by preferring interest and consanguinity to merit; in general, the good of his country and the king's honour prevailed.

Lewis was not more remiss in settling his marine on a respectable footing. The increase of commerce and navigation formed a seminary for sailors; and his fleets, in return, secured and promoted trade. The civil wars, and the policy of Mazarine, suffered the French navy to fall into decay. When Colbert came to the administration, all the ports in France afforded but a few crazy worm-eaten vessels: even before the talents of this minister had been distinguished, the king himself perceived the necessity of a marine. On his accession, he made some essays towards raising the maritime power of his kingdom; and, as early as the third year of his government, we read of a French squadron making conquests on the coast of Africa. In the year 1667, France had sixty ships of war in her harbours: these were glorious efforts, and such as enabled Lewis to dispute, with the masters of the ocean, that superiority they claimed. His admirals were ordered not to pay the usual homage of lowering the flag to the English. Charles II. and his council vainly insisted on this prerogative; their necessities were forced to yield to the firmness of the Christian king: a British monarch, more tenacious of his honour, would, however, have greatly embarrassed Lewis. In virtue of the solemn precedency granted a few years before, France maintained her naval superiority over Spain, while she insisted on equality with England. The Spaniards were forced to lower the flag to the king's ships; and the French refused to acknowledge that homage demanded by the English.

Nothing

Nothing could exceed the industry and spirit with which the French court pushed the marine. The sailors of the merchantmen and royal navy were registered, and found to exceed sixty thousand men. Every year the number was increasing: in the year 1681, France had a fleet of two hundred sail of men of war, exclusive of smaller vessels, and thirty galleys in the port of Toulon, which might soon be equipped for action. In a word, one hundred and sixty-six thousand men were classed for the various services of the navy; one thousand young gentlemen of family performed duty on board, and were instructed in the art of navigation; they were in the marine, what the cadets were in the army. The port of Rochefort was formed; councils for building ships in the most advantageous manner were established in the several ports; and five marine arsenals were erected at Toulon, Dunkirk, Havre, Brest, and Rochefort. To give dignity to the navy, marshals of France were appointed to the sea service; and the favours of the monarch indiscriminately dispensed among the sea and land officers. Before the reign of Lewis XIV. military honour was confined to the land service; the nobility never thought of reaping laurels on the ocean. The fruits of this spirit of emulation were soon perceived: France, the most feeble maritime power in Europe, became formidable to England and Holland; her fleets often triumphed over the joint squadrons of the sovereigns of the sea; and her power might have been of longer duration, had not a mistaken order from court obliged the gallant Tourville to hazard the fortune of France at La Hogue. Here a severe blow was sustained, to which all applications have proved inadequate.

Colbert was the first minister who studied and understood the constitution of the finances; but the situation of affairs would not suffer him to practise all his knowledge. To answer the continual expences of wars, improvements, and the pleasures and luxuries of the court, he was forced to have recourse to expedients very opposite to his system. It was not possible to adhere to the measures his own judgment approved, while the monarch was ambitious, and the court luxurious, effeminate, dissolute, and necessitous. This consideration obliged him to revive what he had determined eternally to abolish, provisional imposts, annuities, and other pernicious temporary expedients. The demesnes of the crown were trilling, commerce almost forgot, industry extinguished, and no remedy left to augment the

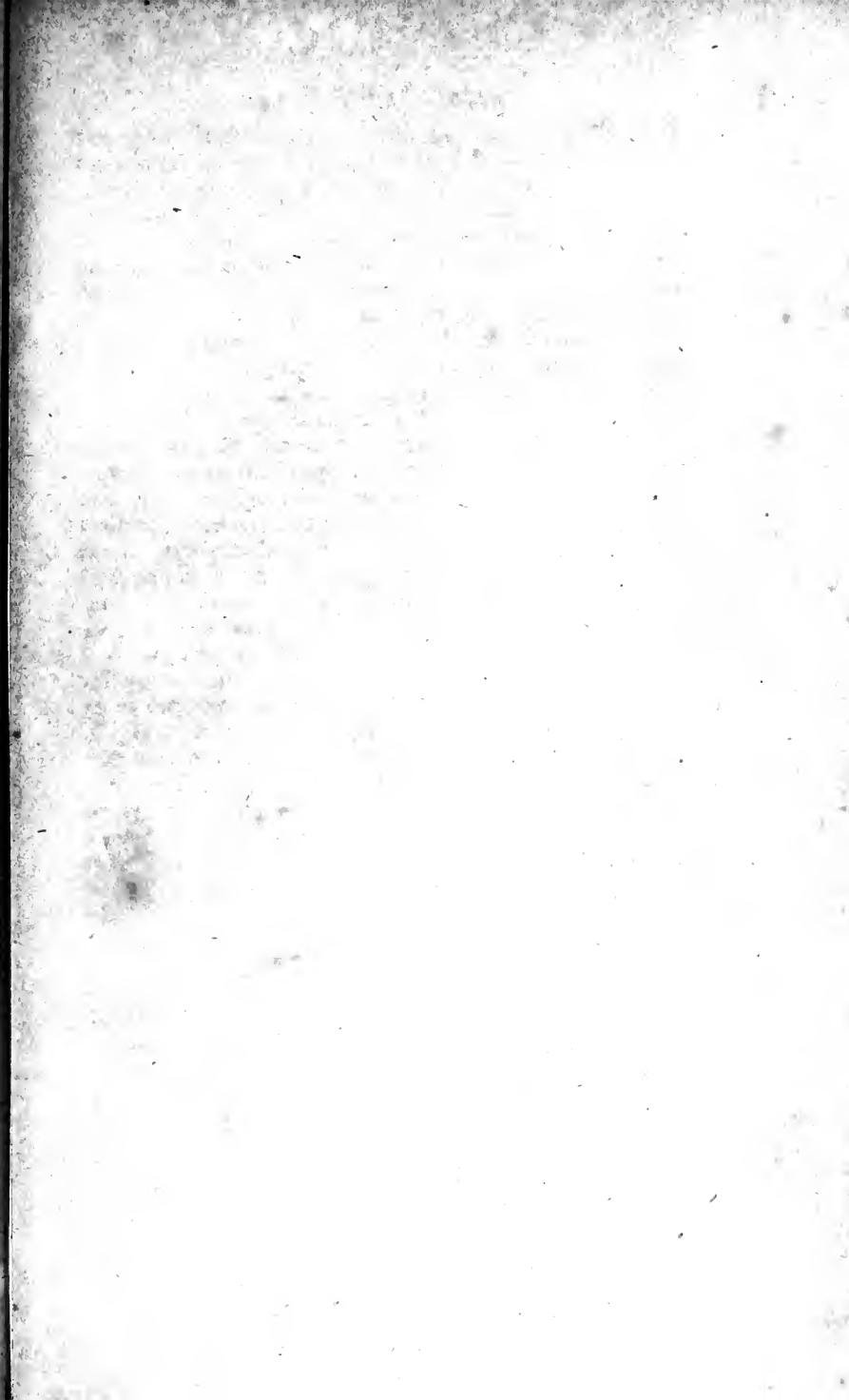
the revenue, but by taxes easily collected and proportioned. The spirit of this minister's politics is obvious from the pains he took to increase the number of the inhabitants, promote the culture of the lands, and the industry of the people; the edict for the establishment of the chamber of justice, and after the dissolution of the chamber, the arret of council, declaring it capital for any one to advance money upon new taxes. While the revenues were farmed, he was sensible the people must be fleeced and oppressed; yet did the necessities of government overturn all the fine-concerted schemes of Colbert. After his death the long war to maintain the duke of Anjou's right to the Spanish succession obliged the ministers, less faithful and able than Colbert, to use every expedient to remove the present necessity. Alterations were made in the value of coin; a mark of silver was rated at forty imaginary livres: the king was eased for a time, that his necessities might return with redoubled pressure. Under Chamillard, the king received little more than half a mark for a whole mark of silver; the debtor, who owed twenty-seven marks in the beginning of his administration, paying to the crown a mark, and the debtor who owed forty livres, paying no more than a mark at the death of that minister. His successor Moret, nephew to the illustrious Colbert, found it impossible to heal a disorder which circumstances concurred in rendering incurable. It was in vain to attempt renewing the scheme formed by Chamillard, of issuing payments in bank-bills; that was already condemned, and the bills discounted at fifty per cent. The disease now proceeded without endeavours to restrain its progress; and Lewis, notwithstanding he treated upon an equality with the confederates at Utrecht, and gave law to the emperor at Rastadt, left at his death a debt of two thousand six hundred millions of livres, at twenty-eight livres to the mark.

No prince knew better than Lewis how to subject the clergy to the civil power, without diminishing their dignity; and oblige them to contribute to the necessities of government, while he preserved their privileges inviolate. Stability, moderation, delicacy, and sovereign authority, were all necessary; Lewis would assume these at pleasure. He always mentioned the right of appealing to the parliament, in which he attained an undisputed authority, from the decrees of ecclesiastical courts, whenever such decrees affected the royal prerogative. Thus he frequently supported the national privileges against the clerical ambition, and

and maintained the right of the Gallican church against the usurpation of the pontiffs. In this particular he was considered sometimes as the enemy, sometimes as the protector, of the church: Lewis was indifferent by which name he passed, provided he was sure that his cause was popular. His right of enjoying the revenues of bishopricks, and disposing of the dependent benefices during the vacancy of the episcopal chair, was once disputed by the two most eminent and virtuous prelates in France, Lewis exerted his prerogative, and the prelates thundered out excommunications. They engaged the pope in their quarrel; and the king disregarding both, seized their temporalities, and confirmed his authority. The conduct of Lewis towards the Hugonots is not to be defended; policy and religion vigorously opposed so cruel a persecution. Colbert perceived and turned the stream of fanaticism in the Cevennes to the good of the public; his successors, as well as those who preceded him in the administration, took a different course. France was depopulated, and England and Holland filled with ingenious artizans. The truth is, Lewis's disposition was soured with ecclesiastical disputes; Calvinists, Jansenists, and Quietists, had in their turns disturbed the government; he desired uniformity in religion, for the sake of peace; but unhappily pursued measures productive only of eternal war and bloodshed.

From this general view it appears what changes were made during this reign in the kingdom. Lewis found France divided with factions, the laws neglected, industry extinguished, the finances disordered, commerce almost unknown, arts and sciences in oblivion, and the whole nation a scene of confusion, intrigue, poverty, and oppression. He abolished that spirit of rebellion which had possessed the nation, rendering the state one regular and consistent body; he reformed and improved the laws; he introduced industry, promoted commerce, cherished and cultivated science: in a word, with all the faults consequent on ambition, Lewis was the most magnificent, munificent, and splendid prince of his age and country.

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